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Handwritten signature or mark, possibly reading "A. J. S." or similar, with a large flourish extending downwards and to the left.

Sarah Macy

William H. Macy
No

THE HISTORY
OF
THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS
OF
THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS,
INTERMIXED WITH
SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

BY WILLIAM SEWEL.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH, AND TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,
COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

HAVING now left America, and being returned to England, let us go, and see the state of persecution at London, where desperate fury now raged; though it was not in that chief city alone the Quakers, so called were most grievously persecuted: for a little before this time there was published in print a short relation of the persecution throughout all England, signed by twelve persons, showing that more than four thousand and two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison in England; and denoting the number of them that were imprisoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or for denying to swear, &c. Many of these had been grievously beaten, or their clothes torn or taken away from them; and some were put into such stinking dungeons, that some great men said, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some prisons were crowded full both of men and women, so that there was not sufficient room for all to sit down at once; and in Cheshire sixty-eight persons were in this manner locked up in a small room; an evident sign that they were a harmless people, that would not make any resistance, or use force. By such ill-treatment many grew sick, and not a few died in such jails; for no age or sex was regarded, but even ancient people of sixty, seventy, and more years of age, were not spared: and the most of these being tradesmen, shopkeepers, and husbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty; for their goods were also seized, for not going to church, (so called,) or for not paying tithes. Many times they were fain to lie in prison on cold nasty ground, without being suffered to have any straw; and often they have been kept several days without victuals: no wonder therefore that many died by such hard imprisonments as these.

At London, and in the suburbs, were about this time no less than five hundred of those called Quakers, imprisoned, and some in such narrow holes, that every person scarcely had conveniency to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money. Many that were not imprisoned, nevertheless suffered hardships in their religious

meetings, especially that in London, known by the name of Bull and Mouth. Here the trained bands came frequently, armed generally with muskets, pikes, and halberds, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magistracy; and rushing in, in a very furious manner, fell to beating them, whereby many were grievously wounded, some fell down in a swoon, and some were beaten so violently, that they lived not long after it. Among these was one John Trowel, who was so bruised and crushed, that a few days after he died. His friends therefore thought it expedient to carry the corpse into the aforesaid meeting place, that it might lie there exposed for some hours, to be seen of every one. This being done, raised commiseration and pity among many of the inhabitants; for the corpse, beaten like a jelly, looked black, and was swelled in a direful manner. This gave occasion to send for the coroner, and he being come, impaneled a jury of the neighbors, and gave them in charge, according to his office, to make true inquiry upon their oaths, and to present what they found to be the cause of his death. They viewing the corpse, had a surgeon or two with them, to know their judgment concerning it; and then going together in private, at length they withdrew without giving in their verdict, only desiring the friends to bury the corpse, which was done accordingly that evening. And though the coroner and jury met divers times together upon that occasion, and had many consultations, yet they never would give in a verdict; but it appeared sufficiently, that the man was killed by violent beating. The reasons some gave for the suspense of a verdict were, that though it was testified that the same person, now dead, was seen beaten and knocked down; yet it being done in such a confused crowd, no particular man could be fixed upon, so that any could say, that man did the deed. And if a verdict was given that the deceased person was killed, and yet no particular person charged with it, then the city was liable to a great fine at the pleasure of the king, for conniving at such a murder in the city in the day-time, not committed in a corner, but in a public place, and not apprehending the murderer, but suffering him to escape. In the meanwhile the friends of the deceased were not wanting to give public notice of the fact, and sent also a letter to the lord mayor, which afterwards they gave out in print, together with a relation of this bloody business. In this letter it was said, 'It may be supposed thou hast heard of this thing, for it was done not in the night, but at the mid-time of the day; not suddenly, at unawares, or by mishap, but intendedly, and a long space of time a doing; and not in a corner, but in the streets of the city of London; all which circumstances do highly aggravate this murder, to the very shame and infamy of this famous city, and its government.'

A certain person who spread some of these printed relations, was imprisoned for his pains; nevertheless another brought one of them to the king, and told him how the thing had been done; at which the king said, 'I assure you it was not by my advice that any of your friends should be slain: ye must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute

the law against them.' This saying of the king was not long after also published in print : but violence prevailed still ; for the person that was apprehended for spreading the said books, was sent to prison, by the special order of alderman Brown, of whom, since mention may be made several times in this work, it gives me occasion to say something of what kind of man he was.

In the time of Cromwell he had been very fierce against the royalists, especially at Abingdon, not far from Oxford ; for this error he endeavored now to make compensation by violently persecuting the harmless Quakers ; otherwise he was a comely man, and could commit cruelty with a smiling countenance. But more of his actions may be represented hereafter.

The Quakers, so called, seeing that they could not obtain justice, let the matter of the murdered person alone ; for suffering was now their portion, and therefore they left their cause to God. Often-times they were kept out of their meeting-houses by the soldiers ; but then they did not use to go away, but stood before the place, and so their number soon increased ; and then one or other of their ministers generally stepped upon a bench, or some high place, and so preached boldly. Thus he sometimes got more hearers than otherwise he might have had. But such an one sometimes was soon pulled down, which then gave occasion for another to stand up and preach, and thus often four or five, one after another, were taken away, as innocent sheep, and carried to prison with others of their friends, it may be forty or fifty at once. This puts me in mind of what I heard my mother, Judith Zinspenning say, who in the year next following being gone for England, with William Caton and his wife, who lived at Amsterdam, to visit her friends there, and coming to London, went with others to the Bull and Mouth meeting ; but entrance being denied, they stayed in the street, where she saw one preacher after another pulled down, at the instant cry of some officer or other, ' Constable, take him away.' Several being thus led away, the constable came also to her, and perceiving by her dress that she was a Dutch woman, pulled her by the sleeve, and said with admiration, ' What, a Dutch Quaker !' but meddled no further with her. This keeping of meetings in the streets became now a customary thing in England ; for the Quakers, so called, were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship was a duty no man could discharge them from, and they believed that God required the performing of this service from their hands. And by thus meeting in the streets, it happened sometimes that more than one, nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach, one in one place, and another in another, which in their meeting places could not have been done conveniently. But thus they got abundance of auditors, and among these sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop. At this rate they found there was a great harvest, and thus their church increased under sufferings ; and in those sharp times they were pretty well purified of dross, since the trial was too hot for such as were not sincere : for by frequenting their meetings

in such a time, one was in danger of being either imprisoned, or beaten lame, or unto death ; but this could not quench the zeal of the upright.

Now the taking away of one preacher, and the standing up of another, became an ordinary thing in England, and it lasted yet long after, as I myself have been an eye-witness of there. And when there were no more men preachers present, it may be a woman would rise, and minister to the meeting ; nay, there were such, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their friends to steadfastness. In the meanwhile many also were imprisoned, without being hauled out of their meetings ; for some have been apprehended for speaking only something on the behalf of their friends ; as Rebecca Travers, who, going to the lieutenant of the Tower, desired him to have compassion on some who were imprisoned for frequenting of meetings. But he grew angry at this ; and when she went away, one of the keepers gave her ill language : on which she exhorting him, to be good in his place, whilst it was the Lord's will he had it, he was so offended, that going back to the lieutenant, he complained that she had spoken treason, and thereupon she was apprehended, and sent to prison. Nay, the rude soldiers were encouraged to cruelty by officers who were not a whit better, for they themselves would sometimes lay violent hands on peaceable people ; as amongst the rest the aforementioned, alderman Richard Brown, who formerly had been a major-general under Cromwell, and now behaved himself with such outrageous fierceness, that even the comedians did not stick to expose him, by an allusion to his name Brown, and saying, 'The devil was brown.'

A book was also printed, wherein many base abuses, and also his furious behavior were exposed to public view ; and this book was dedicated to him with this small epistle :

'Richard Brown,

'If thou art not sealed up already for destruction, and if repentance be not utterly hid from thy eyes, the Lord convert thee, and forgive thee all thy hard and cruel dealings towards us : we desire thy repentance rather than thy destruction ; and the Lord God of heaven and earth give judgment of final determination between thee and us, that all the earth may know whether thy cause against us, or our cause be just before him, who only is the righteous judge.'

The said book, though published without the author's name, yet one of them was not only sent to Brown, but as a sign that the Quakers, so called, owned it, others were, by about thirty of them, delivered to the lord mayor, and the sheriffs of London, that so they might know what was acted under their authority ; for some, though not authorized, yet being favorites at court, made bold to act against the Quakers whatever their malice prompted them to. Among these was one Phillip Miller,

who, though not an officer, yet in the month called May of this year, came into a meeting of the said people, in John's street, in the parish of Sepulchres, at London, without any order or warrant, and having a cane in his hand, commanded the rabble who attended him to secure whom he pleased; and then he fetched a constable, whom he forced by his threats to go along with him, and five persons he apprehended, among whom was John Crook, of whom further mention is like to be made again. Some days after, this Miller came to the said meeting place again, and struck several persons with his cane, because they would not depart at his command; and then he charged the constables, whom he brought along with him, to secure and take into custody whom he pleased.

About the latter end of the aforesaid month, on a First-day of the week, one captain Reeves, and some soldiers with muskets and drawn swords, came violently rushing into the Bull and Mouth meeting, where they pulled down him that was preaching, and presently laid hold of another, who desired Reeves to show his order for this his doing: to which he answered, he would not in that place; but it appeared afterwards that he could not, as having no warrant. Yet he caused his soldiers to take away about forty persons, (some of whom were not at the meeting, but had been taken up in the streets,) and have them into Paul's yard, where they were kept till the public worship was ended there; and then alderman Richard Brown came into the place where the prisoners were guarded, and with great rage and fury laid hands first on a very aged person, and pulled him down twice by the brim of his hat, whereby he lost it. Then he served another in like manner, and a soldier struck this person a great blow with a pistol on his bare head: two others, Brown used in the like manner, and then he sent them all to Newgate, guarded by soldiers.

The same day some soldiers came to a meeting in Tower street, and without any warrant, took away twenty-one persons, called Quakers, and carried them to the Exchange, where they kept them some time, and then brought them before the said Richard Brown, who in a most furious manner struck some, and kicked others; which made one of the prisoners, seeing how Brown smote one with his fist on the face, and kicked him on the shin, say, 'What, Richard, wilt thou turn murderer? Thou didst not do so when I was a soldier under thy command at Abingdon, and thou commandedst me with others, to search people's houses for pies and roast meat, because they kept Christmas as a holy time; and we brought the persons prisoners to the guard, for observing the same.' For such a precise man the said Brown was at that time, that he pretended to root out that superstitious custom; though there is reason to question, whether his heart were sincere in this respect: however, such blind zeal was unfit to convince people of superstition; and Brown well knowing that by his former carriage, he had very much disobliged those of the church of England, endeavored now to make amends for it, by his fierce brutality against the harmless Quakers, and so to come into favor with

the ecclesiastics and courtiers. One of Brown's family having heard what was said to him, replied, 'There is an Abingdon bird.' To which Brown, returned, 'He is a rogue for all that,' and struck him with his fist under the chin; which made another prisoner say, 'What, a magistrate and strike!' Upon which Brown with both his hands pulled him down to the ground by the brim of his hat, and then commanded the soldiers to take them all away, and carry them to Newgate.

Upon a First-day of the week, in the month called June, a company of soldiers came into the Bull and Mouth meeting, with pikes, drawn swords, muskets, and lighted matches, as if they were going to fight; though they knew well enough they should find none there but harmless people. The first thing they did was to pull down him that preached, whom they hauled out of the meeting, rejoicing as if they had obtained some great victory; then they brought him to the main guard at Paul's, and returned to the Bull and Mouth, where they apprehended some more, whom they also carried to Paul's. After some hours, these prisoners were carried to the house of the fore-mentioned Brown, and he, asking the names of the prisoners, and hearing that of John Perrot, said, 'What, you have been at Rome to subvert,' but recalling himself, said, 'to convert the Pope.' On which Perrot told him, 'He had suffered at Rome for the testimony of Jesus.' Whereupon Brown returned, 'If you had converted the Pope to your religion, I should have liked him far worse than I do now.' To which Perrot replied, 'But God would have liked him better.' After some more short discourse, Brown committed them all to Newgate.

After this manner, the meetings of those called Quakers were disturbed at that time, of which I could produce, if necessary, many more instances. Once, one Cox, a wine-cooper, came with some soldiers into a meeting, where, after great violence used, they took up two men of those called Quakers, whom they beat most grievously, because they refused to go along with them, though they showed no warrant for it. At length the soldiers carried them both upon muskets into Paul's yard, and when they laid them down, they dragged one of them by the heels on his back, in a very barbarous manner; which being done, the said wine-cooper was heard to say, he would go and get a cup of sack, for these devils had even wearied him out: and yet he went to another meeting-place of these people, where he also behaved himself very wickedly; and being asked for his order, his answer was holding out his sword, 'This is my order.' Thus it seems he would ingratiate himself with Brown, who now being in favor at court, was knighted, and sometime after also chosen lord mayor of London; and by his furious behavior, the soldiers were also encouraged to commit all manner of mischief: insomuch, that being asked, what order they had for their doings, one lifting up his musket, said, 'This is my order:' so that things now were carried by a club-law. Nor did the soldiers respect age, but took away out of a meeting at Mile-end, two boys, one about thirteen and the other about sixteen; and they were brought before the lieutenant of the Tower, who to one present,

saying, he supposed they were not of the age of sixteen years, and then not punishable by the act, returned, they were old enough to be whipped ; and they should be whipped out of their religion. And so he sent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the stocks, and so pinched for the space of two hours, that their wrists were much swelled ; and this was done because they refused to work, as being persuaded that they had not deserved to be treated so ; they also eating nothing at the charge of the said work-house. These lads, though pretty long in that prison, yet continued steadfast, rejoicing they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord : and they wrote a letter to their friends' children, exhorting them to be faithful in bearing their testimony for the Lord, against all wickedness and unrighteousness.

Some days before this time, Thomas and John Herbert, living in London, and other musketeers, came with their naked swords into some private dwellings, and broke two or three doors ; (for when some persons were seen to enter a house, though it was only to visit their friends, it was called a meeting.) Now it happened in one house, these rude fellows found five persons together, one of whom was William Ames, who was come thither out of Holland, and another was Samuel Fisher : and when it was demanded what warrant they had, they held up their swords, and said, ' Do not ask us for a warrant ; this is our warrant.' And thereupon they took away these persons by force, and carried them to Paul's yard, where they were a laughing-stock to the soldiers ; and thence they were brought to the Exchange, where they met with no better reception from the rude soldiers ; and thence they were conducted to alderman Brown's house in Ivy-lane. He seeing these prisoners, sent them to bridewell with a mittimus, to be kept at hard labor. But afterwards bethinking himself, and finding that his mittimus was not founded on justice, (for these persons were not taken from a meeting,) next morning he sent another mittimus, wherein they were charged with unlawfully assembling themselves to worship. Now, suppose one of the musketeers had heard any of these persons speak by way of exhortation to faithfulness in this hot time of persecution, this would have been taken for a sufficient charge, though not cognizable by law : but they ran upon shifts, how poor or silly soever.

Thus these persons were committed to bridewell, and required to beat hemp ; and they were treated so severely, that W. Ames grew sick, even nigh to death, wherefore he was discharged ; for in a sense it might be said, that his dwelling-place was at Amsterdam in Holland, since he was there the most part of the time for some years successively, and that he might not be chargeable, he worked at wool-combing ; and it being alleged that he was of Amsterdam, it seems they would not have him die in prison, as some of his friends had done. The others having been six weeks in bridewell, were presented at the sessions in the Old Bailey : but instead of being tried for what was charged against them, they were required to take the oath of allegiance, as the only business, (according to what the deputy recorder said,) they were brought thither for. The

prisoners then demanded, that the law might be read, by virtue of which the said oath was required of them. This was promised by the court to be done ; but instead thereof, they ordered the clerk to read only the form of the oath, but would not permit the law for imposing it to be read. But before the prisoners had either declared their willingness to take it, or their refusal of it, they weré commanded to be taken away ; which the officers did with such violence, that they threw some of them down upon the stones. This made Samuel Fisher say, 'Take notice people, that we have not yet refused to take the oath ; but the court refuseth to perform their promise which they made but just now before you all, that this statute for it should be read : if such doings as this ever prosper, it must be when there is no God.' But this was not regarded ; and the prisoners without any justice were sent to Newgate. Among these, was also one John Howel, who had been sent by alderman Brown to work at bridewell, because he being brought before him, did not tell on a sudden what was his name : and being demanded in the court why he did not tell his name, he answered, because he had been beaten and abused in the presence of Richard Brown, when he was brought before him. Brown who was also on the bench, asked him roughly, 'Wherein were you abused ?' And Howel replied, 'Blood was drawn on me in thy presence ; which ought not to be done in the presence of a justice of peace.' But Brown growing very impetuous, returned, 'Hold your prating, or there shall be as much done again here in the presence of the court.'

About mid-summer, Daniel Baker returned into England, (who, as hath been related, had been at Malta,) and about a fortnight after his arrival, he, with four others, were taken by a band of soldiers from the Bull and Mouth meeting, and carried to Paul's yard, where having been kept for some hours, they were brought to Newgate ; but in the evening they were brought before alderman Brown, to whom Baker with meekness said, 'Let the fear of God and his peace be set up in thy heart.' But Brown fell a laughing, and said, 'I would rather hear a dog bark ;' and using more such scoffing expressions, he charged Baker, &c., with the breach of the king's law in meeting together. To which Baker said, 'The servants of God in the apostles' days, were commanded to speak no more in the name of Jesus ; and they answered, and so do I too, whether it be better to obey God than men, judge ye.' He also instanced the case of the three children at Babylon, and Daniel who obeyed not the king's decrees. But Brown grew so angry, that he commanded his men to smite Daniel on the face. This they did, and pulling him four or five times to the ground, they smote him with their fists, and wrung his neck so, as if they would have murdered him. This these fellows did to please Brown, showing themselves to be ready for any service, how abominable soever. And Baker reflecting on his travels, signified, that even Turks and heathens would abhor such brutish actions. His fellow-prisoners were also abused by Brown, and then sent to Newgate again. And after some days, they were called to

the sessions, where their indictment was read, which like others in such cases, did generally run in these terms : that the prisoners, under pretence of performing religious worship, otherwise than by the laws of the kingdom of England established, unlawfully and tumultuously did gather and assemble themselves together, to the great terror of his majesty's people, and to the disturbance of the peace of the king, in contempt of our said lord the king, and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, &c. The indictment being read, no witness appeared against the prisoners, save Brown, who sat on the bench : and therefore the oath, as the ordinary snare, was tendered to them ; for it was sufficiently known, that their profession did not suffer them to take any oath. They denying to swear, were sent back to prison, to stay there until they should have taken the oath.

If I would here set down all such like cases as have happened, I might find more work than I should be able to perform : for this vexing with the oath was become so common, that some have been taken up in the streets, and brought to a justice of the peace, that he might tender the oath to them, and in case of denial, send them to prison, though this was directly contrary to the statute of Magna Charta, which expressly saith, 'No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, but by the law of the land.' But this was not regarded by Richard Brown, who did whatever he would ; for force and violence were now predominant : and sometimes when the prisoners were brought to the bar, for frequenting meetings, freedom was denied to them to justify themselves ; but to be hectorred and baffled was their lot.

Once it happened, that a prisoner, who had been a soldier formerly under Brown, seeing that no justice or equity was observed, called to him, saying, 'That he was not fit to sit on the bench ; for he made the son to hang the father at Abingdon ; so that he could prove him to be a murderer. This bold saying caused some disturbance in the court, and Brown, how heavy soever the charge was, did not deny the thing in court, nor clear himself from it : yet the other Quaker prisoners did not approve this upbraiding, but signified, that though the fact were true, yet they were not for reproaching any magistrate upon the bench, whose place and office they did respect and honor. But I do not find that Brown, (on that account,) ever prosecuted him that spoke so boldly, although otherwise he did whatever he would, without fearing that his fellow-magistrates, (who respected him that was a favorite at court,) would disclaim it, as may appear by this following instance.

A certain person who had been in a very violent and abusive manner taken to prison by the soldiers out of a meeting, because he was not willing to go, said in the court, that his refusing to go, was because they would not show him any warrant for their apprehending him : since for aught he knew, they might be robbers or murderers, with whom he was not bound to go. But Brown, who was for violence, said to this, if they had dragged him through all the kennels^o in the street, they had served

him right, if he would not go. This he spoke in such a furious manner that one of the prisoners told him, 'Thou hast had many warnings and visitations in the love of God, but hast slighted them; therefore beware of being sealed up in the wrath of God.' Hereupon one of the jailers came with his cane and struck several of the prisoners so hard, that divers of them were much bruised; and it was reported by some, that Brown cried knock him down, though others, (for mitigating it a little,) would have it, pull him down. But the former seems most probable: for the blows were so violent, that some of the spectators cried out, murder! murder! and asked, 'Will ye suffer men to be murdered in the court?' Whereupon one of the sheriffs in person came down from his seat to stop the beating. But Brown was so desperately filled with anger, that he said to the prisoners, 'If any of you be killed, your blood shall be upon your own head:' and the hangman standing by with his gag in his hand, threatened the prisoners to gag any of them that should speak any thing. Thus innocence was forced to give way to violence. And once, when one at the common juridical question, guilty, or not guilty, answered, I deny I am guilty, and I can say I am not guilty; and also in Latin, *non reus sum*. Yet he was sentenced as mute, and fined accordingly, though the words he spoke, fully signified not guilty, albeit he had not expressed them in the same terms. But now they were for crossing the Quakers in every respect.

I will yet mention some more instances of Brown's brutality, before I leave him. Another being demanded to answer to his indictment, guilty, or not guilty, and not presently answering, but thinking a little what to speak safely, Brown scoffingly said, 'We shall have a revelation by and by.' To which the prisoner said, 'How long will ye oppose the innocent? How long will ye persecute the righteous seed of God?' But whilst he was speaking, Brown indecently began to cry in the language of those wenches that go crying up and down the street, 'Aha, aha, Will you have any wall-fleet oysters.' And, 'Have you any kitchen-stuff, maids?' And when a prisoner at the bar said he could not for conscience-sake forbear meeting among the people of God, Brown scurrilously returned, 'Conscience,—a dog's tail.' And when alderman Adams speaking to one of the prisoners said, 'I am sorry to see you here;' 'Sorry!' said Brown, 'What should you be sorry for?' 'Yes,' said Adams, 'He is a sober man.' But Brown, who could not endure to hear this, replied, that there never was a sober man amongst them, meaning the Quakers. The spectators, who took much notice of him, dis-commended this his carriage exceedingly. But he seemed to be quite hardened; for at a certain time two persons being upon their trial for robbing a house, he told them, they were the veriest rogues in England, except it were the Quakers.

Sometimes it happened that the prisoners were brought to the bar without being indicted; and when they said, 'What have we done?' and desired justice, Brown, having no indictment against them, often cried, 'Will you take the oath?' And they then saying 'that for conscience-sake

they could not swear,' were condemned as transgressors, though such proceedings as these were directly against the law. But this seemed at that time little to be regarded

However, sometime before, it happened at Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that judge Windham, at that time showing himself just in the like case, sharply reprov'd the justices upon the bench, for having not only committed some persons to prison, but also had them up to the bar, when no accuser appeared against them. But Richard Brown did whatever he would, and showed himself most furiously wicked, when any prisoner was brought before him with his hat on.

One John Brain, being taken in the street, and not in any meeting, was brought by some soldiers before Brown; who, seeing him with his hat on, ordered him to be pulled down to the ground six or seven times, and when he was down, they beat his head against the ground, and stamped upon him; and Brown, like a mad-man, bade them pull off his nose; whereupon they very violently pulled him by the nose. And when he got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have spoken in his own behalf against this cruelty, Brown bade them stop his mouth. Whereupon they not only struck him on the mouth, but stopped his mouth and nose also so close, that he could not draw breath, and was liked to be choked: at which actions Brown fell a laughing, and at length sent him to jail.

Thomas Spire, being brought before Brown, he commanded his hat to be taken off; and because it was not done with such violence as he intended, he caused it to be put upon his head again, saying, 'It should not be pulled off so easily.' Then he was pulled down to the ground by his hat, and pulled up again by his hair. William Hill being brought before him, he commanded his hat to be pulled off, so that his head might be bowed down: whereupon he being pulled to the ground, was plucked up again by the hair of his head. George Ableson was thus pulled five times one after another to the ground, and plucked up by his hair, and so beaten on his face, or the sides of his head, that he staggered, and bled, and for some days was under much pain.

Nicholas Blithold being brought before Brown, he took his hat with both his hands, endeavoring to pull him down to the ground; and because he fell not quite to the ground forwards, he pushed him, to throw him backwards; and then he gave him a kick on the leg, and thrust him out of doors. Thomas Lacy being brought before him, he himself gave him a blow on the face; and Isaac Meritt, John Cook, Arthur Baker, and others, were not treated much better; so that he seemed more fit to have been a hang-man, than an alderman, or justice. But I grow weary of mentioning more instances of his cruelty. These his abominable achievements were published in print, more at large than I have mentioned them: and the book, as hath been said already, was dedicated to him. And yet I do not find any have been prosecuted on

that account ; though his wickedness was extravagant, and such as if he wanted to have stakes erected at Smithfield to vend his wood ; being by trade a wood-monger.

In this hot time of persecution, Francis Howgill wrote, and gave forth the following paper for encouragement of his friends.

‘The cogitations of my heart have been many, deep, and ponderous some months, weeks, and days, concerning this people which the Lord hath raised to bear testimony unto his name, in this the day of his power ; and intercession hath been made often for them to the Lord, and a patient waiting to know his mind concerning them for the time to come ; which often I received satisfaction in as to myself, but yet something I was drawn by the Lord to wait for, that I might comfort and strengthen his flock by an assured testimony. And while I was waiting out of all visible things, and quite out of the world in my spirit, and my heart upon nothing but the living God, the Lord opened the springs of the great deep, and overflowed my whole heart with light and love ; and my eyes were as a fountain because of tears of joy, because of his heritage, of whom he showed me, and said unto me in a full, fresh, living power, and a holy, full testimony, so that my heart was ravished there with joy unspeakable, and I was out of the body with God in his heavenly paradise, where I saw and felt things unutterable, and beyond all demonstration or speech. At last the life closed with my understanding, and my spirit listened unto him ; and the everlasting God said, “ Shall I hide any thing from them that seek my face in righteousness ? Nay, I will manifest it to them that fear me ; I will speak, do thou listen, and publish it among all my people, that they may be comforted, and thou satisfied.” And thus said the living God of heaven and earth, upon the 28th of the Third month, 1662.

‘The sun shall leave its shining brightness, and cease to give light to the world ; and the moon shall be altogether darkness, and give no light unto the night ; the stars shall cease to know their office or place ; my covenant with day, night, times, and seasons, shall sooner come to an end, than the covenant I have made with this people, into which they are entered with me, shall end, or be broken. Yea, though the powers of darkness and hell combine against them, and the jaws of death open its mouth, yet I will deliver them, and lead them through all. I will confound their enemies as I did in Jacob, and scatter them as I did in Israel in the days of old. I will take their enemies ; I will hurl them hither and thither, as stones hurled in a sling ; and the memorial of this nation, which is holy unto me, shall never be rooted out, but shall live through ages, as a cloud of witnesses, in generations to come. I have brought them to the birth, yea, I have brought them forth ; I have swaddled them, and they are mine. I will nourish them and carry them, as on eagles’ wings ; and though clouds gather against them, I will make my way through them ; though darkness gather together on

a heap, and tempests gender, I will scatter them as with an east wind ; and nations shall know they are my inheritance, and they shall know I am the living God, who will plead their cause with all that rise up in opposition against them.'

'These words are holy, faithful, eternal, good, and true ; blessed are they that hear and believe unto the end : and because of them no strength was left in me for a while ; but at last my heart was filled with joy, even as when the ark of God was brought from the house of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it, and Israel shouted for joy.

FRANCIS HOWGILL.'

That this writing of F. Howgill, who was a pious man, of great parts, together with many other powerful exhortations of such who valiantly went before, and never left the oppressed flock, tended exceedingly to their encouragement in this hot time of persecution, is certain. For how furious soever their enemies were, yet they continued faithful in supplications and fervent prayers to God, that he might be pleased to assist them in their upright zeal, who aimed at nothing for self, but from a true fear and reverence before him, durst not omit their religious assemblies. And they found that the Lord heard their prayers, insomuch that I remember to have heard one say, that at a meeting where they seemed to be in danger of death from their fierce persecutors, he was as it were ravished, so that he hardly knew whether he was in or out of the body. They then persevering thus in faithfulness, to what they believed the Lord required of them, in process of time, when their enemies had taken such measures, that they were persuaded they had found out such means, by which they should suppress and extinguish the Quakers, they saw the Lord God Almighty rose up in their defence, and quashed and confounded the wicked devices of their cruel persecutors, as will be seen in the course of this history.

In the meanwhile let us take a view of the persecution in Southwark. Here the Quakers' meetings were no less disturbed than in London. Several persons having been taken from their religious meetings, were committed ; and after having been in White-lion prison about nine weeks, were brought to the bar, where Richard Onslow sat judge of the sessions. The indictment drawn up against them was as followeth.

'The jurors for our lord the king do present upon their oath, that Arthur Fisher, late of the parish of St. Olave, in the borough of Southwark, in the county of Surrey, yeoman ; Nathaniel Robinson, of the same, yeoman ; John Chandler, of the same, yeoman ; and others, being wicked, dangerous, and seditious sectaries, and dis-loyal persons, and above the age of sixteen years, who on the 29th day of June, in the year of the reign of our lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. the fourteenth, have obsti-

nately refused, and every one of them hath obstinately refused, to repair unto some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, according to the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in the like case set forth and provided, (after forty days next after the end of the session of parliament, began and holden at Westminster, on the 29th day of February, in the year of our lady Elizabeth, late queen of England, the thirty-fifth, and there continued until the dissolution of the same, being the tenth day of April, in the 35th year abovesaid.) To wit, on the 3d day of August, in the year of the reign of the said Charles, King of England, the fourteenth above said, in the parish of St. Olave aforesaid, in the borough of Southwark aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, of themselves, did voluntarily and unlawfully join in, and were present at an unlawful assembly, conventicle, and meeting, at the said parish of St. Olave, in the county aforesaid, under color and pretence of the exercise of religion, against the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in contempt of our said lord the king that now is, his laws, and to the evil and dangerous example of all others in the like case offending against the peace of our said lord the king that now is, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute in this same case set forth and provided.'

I have inserted this indictment, that the reader may see not only the manner of proceeding, but also with what black and heinous colors the religious meetings of those called Quakers, were represented. This indictment being read, the prisoners desired that they might be tried by the late act of parliament against conventicles. But it was answered, they might try them by what they would, that was in force. Then the prisoners desired that the statute, (viz. the 35th of Elizabeth,) might be read. This was done but in part, and it was said to the clerk, it was enough. The prisoners said then, that that act was made in the time of ignorance, when the people were but newly stepped out of popery; and they showed also how unjustly they were dealt with. Then being required to plead guilty, or not guilty, to the indictment, some who were not very forward to answer, were hauled out of the court, as taken *pro confessis*; and so sent back to prison. The rest, being twenty-two in number, pleaded not guilty. Then the jurymen were called, and when they had excepted against one, the judge would not allow it, because he did not like the reason they gave, viz. that they saw envy, prejudice, and a vain deportment in him. Another was excepted against, because he was heard to say, that he hoped ere long, that the Quakers should be arraigned at the bar, and be banished to some land, where there were nothing but bears. At this the court burst out into a laughter: yet the exception was admitted, and the man put by. The prisoners not thinking it convenient to make more exceptions, the jury were sworn; then two witnesses were called, who testified at most, that in such a place they took such persons met together, whose names were specified in writing. Then the prisoners bid the jury, take heed how they did sport or dally

with holy things, and that those things, which concerned the conscience, were holy things. And as a man was not to sport with the health or illness of his neighbor, so he was not to sport with the liberty or the banishment of his neighbor. And whereas they were accused of being wicked, dangerous, and seditious sectaries, that was not true; for they were not wicked, but such as endeavored to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world; concerning the truth of which, they appealed to themselves. Neither were they seditious, but peaceable. And whereas they were charged for not coming to hear the common prayer, this was incongruous; for the service book was not quite printed several weeks after the said 29th of June; so that they could not be charged of neglecting to hear that which was not to be heard read any where. This puzzled the court not a little; and other pinching reasons were also given by the prisoners, some of whom were men of learning; insomuch that the judge was not able to answer the objections, but by shifts and evasions. At length the jury went out to consult, and one of them was heard to say, as they were going up stairs, 'Here is a deal to do indeed, to condemn a company of innocent men.'

After some time, the jury coming again, and being asked whether the prisoners at the bar were guilty or not guilty, they said they were guilty in part, and not guilty in part. But this verdict did not please the judge. The jury then going out again, and prevailing upon one another, quickly returned, and declared the prisoners guilty, according to the form of the indictment. Hereupon the judge Onslow pronounced sentence, viz. That they should return to prison again, and lie there three months without bail; and if they did not make submission according as the law directed, either at or before the end of the aforesaid three months, that then they should abjure the realm: but in case they refused to make abjuration, or after abjuration made, should forbear to depart the realm within the time limited, or should return again without license, they should be proceeded against as felons.

Just before sentence given, the judge said to one of the prisoners, there was a way to escape the penalty, viz. Submission. And being asked, what that was? the judge answered, 'To come to common prayer, and refrain these meetings.' The prisoners giving reasons for refusal of both, the judge said, 'Then you must abjure the land.' 'Abjure,' returned the prisoners, 'is forswear.' To which one of the justices said laughingly, 'And ye cannot swear at all.' Just as if it were but jest, thus to treat religious men. But they had signified already to the jury, that they must rather die than do so. How long they were kept prisoners, and how released, I could not learn; but this I know, that many in the like cases have been long kept in jail, till sometimes they were set at liberty by the king's proclamation.

In this year it was the share of John Crook, (who himself once had been a justice,) to be taken out of a meeting at London in John's street, as hath been said already, by one Miller, though not in office. And he

with others was brought to his trial in the said city, before the lord mayor of London, the recorder of the same, the chief justice Forster, and other judges and justices, among whom was also Richard Brown.

Now since J. Crook published this trial in print, and by that we may judge, as *ex ungue leonem*, of other trials of the Quakers, I will give it here at large.

J. Crook being brought to the sessions house in the Old Bailey, with two of his friends, viz. Isaac Gray, doctor of physic, and John Bolton, goldsmith: one of the prisoners was called to the bar, and then asked by the

Chief Judge. What meeting was that you were at?

Prisoner. I desire to be heard; where is my accuser?

Ch. Judge. Your tongue is not your own, and you must not have liberty to speak what you list.

Pris. I speak in the presence and fear of the everlasting God, that my tongue is not my own, for it is the Lord's, and to be disposed of according to his pleasure, and not to speak my own words; and therefore I desire to be heard: I have been so long in prison——(then he was interrupted by the judge.)

Judge. Leave your canting; and commanded him to be taken away, which he was accordingly, by the jailer. This was the substance of what the prisoner aforesaid spoke the first time.

C. Judge. Call John Crook to the bar; which the crier did accordingly, he being amongst the felons as aforesaid.

J. C. being brought to the bar:

C. Judge. When did you take the oath of allegiance?

J. C. I desire to be heard.

C. Judge. Answer to the question, and you shall be heard.

J. C. I have been about six weeks in prison, and am I now called to accuse myself? For the answering to this question in the negative, is to accuse myself, which you ought not to put me upon; for, *Nemo debet seipsum prodere*.* I am an Englishman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken, nor imprisoned, nor dis-seized of my freehold, nor called in question, nor put to answer, but according to the law of the land; which I challenge as my birthright, on my own behalf, and all that hear me this day; (or words to this purpose.) I stand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do desire that my accuser may be brought forth to accuse me for my delinquency, and then I shall answer to my charge, if any I be guilty of.

C. Judge. You are here demanded to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, then you shall be heard about the other; for we have power to tender it to any man.

J. C. Not to me upon this occasion, in this place; for I am brought hither as an offender already, and not to be made an offender here, or

* No one should be obliged to betray himself.

to accuse myself; for I am an Englishman, as I have said to you, and challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Englishman, than that which I received from my parents: for by the former the latter is preserved; and this is seen in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, and the petition of right, mentioned in the third of Car. I. and in other good laws of England; and therefore I desire the benefit and observance of them; and you that are judges upon the bench, ought to be my counsel, and not my accusers, but to inform me of the benefit of those laws; and wherein I am ignorant, you ought to inform me, that I may not suffer through my own ignorance of those advantages, which the laws of England afford me as an Englishman.

Reader, I here give thee a brief account of my taking and imprisoning, that thou mayest the better judge what justice I had from the court aforesaid; which is as followeth.

I being in John's street, London, about the 13th day of the Third month, (called May,) with some other of the people of God, to wait upon him, as we were seated together, there came in a rude man called Miller, with a long cane in his hand, who laid violent hands upon me, with some others, beating some, and commanding the constables who came in after him, but having no warrant, were not willing to meddle; but as his threatenings prevailed, they, being afraid of him, joined with him to carry several of us before justice Powel, (so called,) who the next day sent us to the sessions, at Hicks' Hall; where after some discourse several times with them, we manifested to them the illegality both of our commitment, and their proceedings thereupon; yet notwithstanding, they committed me and others, and caused an indictment to be drawn against us, founded upon the late act against Quakers and others; and then remanded us to New Prison, where we continued for some days; and then removed us to Newgate, where we remained until the sessions in the Old Bailey aforesaid: whereby thou mayest understand what justice I met withal, by what went before, and now further follows:

Ch. Judge. We sit here to do justice, and are upon our oaths; and we are to tell you what is law, and not you us: therefore, sirrah, you are too bold.

J. C. Sirrah is not a word becoming a judge: for I am no felon: neither ought you to menace the prisoner at the bar: for I stand here arraigned as for my life and liberty, and the preservation of my wife and children, and outward estate, (they being now at the stake;) therefore you ought to hear me to the full, what I can say in my own defence, according to law, and that in its season, as it is given me to speak: therefore I hope the court will bear with me, if I am bold to assert my liberty, as an Englishman, and as a Christian; and if I speak loud, it is my zeal for the Truth, and for the name of the Lord; and mine innocency makes me bold—

Judge. (Interrupting John Crook;) It is an evil zeal.

J. C. No: I am bold in the name of the Lord God Almighty, the everlasting Jehovah, to assert the Truth, and stand as a witness for it: let my accuser be brought forth, and I am ready to answer any court of justice——

Then the judge interrupted me, saying sirrah, with some other words I do not remember. But I answered, ' You are not to threaten me, neither are those menaces fit for the mouth of a judge; for the safety of the prisoner depends upon the indifferency of the court: and you ought not to behave yourselves as parties, seeking all advantage against the prisoner, but not heeding any thing that may make for his clearing or advantage.' The judge again interrupted me, saying:

Judge. Sirrah, you are to take the oath, and here we tender it you, (bidding, read it.)

J. C. Let me see mine accuser, that I may know for what cause I have been six weeks imprisoned, and do not put me to accuse myself by asking me questions; but either let my accuser come forth, or otherwise let me be discharged by proclamation, as you ought to do—Here I was interrupted again.

Judge Twisden. We take no notice of your being here otherwise than of a straggler, or as any other person, or of the people that are here this day; for we may tender the oath to any man. And another judge spake to the like purpose.

J. C. I am here at your bar as a prisoner restrained of my liberty, and do question whether you ought in justice to tender me the oath on the account I am now brought before you, because I am supposed to be an offender; or else why have I been six weeks in prison already? Let me be cleared of my imprisonment, and then I shall answer to what is charged against me, and to the question now propounded; for I am a lover of justice with all my soul, and am well known by my neighbors, where I have lived, to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God and towards man.

Judge. Sirrah, leave your canting.

J. C. Is this canting, to speak the words of the scripture?

Judge. It is canting in your mouth, though they are Paul's words.

J. C. I speak the words of the Scripture, and it is not canting, though I speak them; but they are words of truth and soberness in my mouth, they being witnessed by me, and fulfilled in me.

Judge. We do ask you again whether you will take the oath of allegiance? It is but a short question, you may answer if you will.

J. C. By what law have you power to tender it?

Then, after some consultation together by whispering, they called for the statute book, and turning over the leaves, they answered,

Judge. By the third of King James.

J. C. I desire that statute may be read; for I have consulted it, and do not understand that you have power by that statute to tender me the oath, being here before you in this place, upon this occasion, as a delinquent

already ; and therefore I desire the judgment of the court in this case, and that the statute may be read.

Then they took the statute-book, and consulted together upon it, and one said, ' We are the judges of this land, and do better understand our power than you do, and we do judge we may lawfully do it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court ?

Judge. Yes.

J. C. I desire the statute to be read that empowers you to tender the oath to me upon this occasion in this place ; for, *Vox audita perit, sed litera scripta manet*,* therefore let me hear it read.

Judge. Hear me.

J. C. I am as willing to hear as to speak.

Judge. Then hear me : you are here required to take the oath by the court, and I will inform you what the penalty will be, in case you refuse ; for your first denial shall be recorded, and then it shall be tendered to you again at the end of the sessions ; and upon the second refusal you run into a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your estate, (if you have any,) and imprisonment.

J. C. It is justice I stand for ; let me have justice, in bringing my accuser face to face, as by law you ought to do, I standing at your bar as a delinquent ; and when that is done, I will answer to what can be charged against me, as also to the question ; until then, I shall give no other answer than I have already done—at least at present.

Then there was a cry in the court, take him away, which occasioned a great interruption : and J. Crook spake to this purpose, saying, Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may come to the knowledge of his will, and do justice ; and take heed of oppressing the innocent, for the Lord God of heaven and earth will assuredly plead their cause : and for my part, I desire not the hurt of one of the hairs of your heads ; but let God's wisdom guide you. These words he spake at the bar, and as he was carrying away.

On the sixth day of the week, in the forenoon following, the court being seated, John Crook was called to the bar.

C. Judge. Friend Crook, we have given you time to consider of what was said yesterday to you by the court, hoping you may have better considered of it by this time ; therefore, without any more words, will you take the oath ? And called to the clerk, and bid him read it.

J. C. I did not, neither do I deny allegiance, but do desire to know the cause of my so long imprisonment ; for, as I said, I stand at your bar as a delinquent, and am brought hither by force, contrary to the law ; therefore, let me see my accuser, or else free me by proclamation, as I ought to be, if none can accuse me ; for the law is grounded upon right reason, and whatsoever is contrary to right reason, is contrary to law ; and therefore if no accuser appear, you ought to acquit me first, and then I shall

* Words only spoken are lost ; writing remains.

answer, as I have said, if any new matter appear; otherwise it is of force, and that our law abhors, and you ought not to take notice of my so being before you: for what is not legally so, is not so; and therefore I am in the condition, as if I were not before you: and therefore it cannot be supposed, in right reason, that you have now power, at this time, and in this place, legally to tender me the oath.

Judge. Read the oath to him: and so the clerk began to read.

J. C. I desire justice, according to the laws of England: for you ought first to convict me, concerning the cause of my so long imprisonment; for you are to proceed according to laws already made, and not to make laws, for you ought to be ministers of the law.

Judge. You are a saucy and an impudent fellow: will you tell us what is law, or our duties?

Then said he to the clerk, read on; and when the clerk had done reading,

J. C. said, read the preface to the act; I say again, read the title and preamable to the act; for titles to laws are *claves legum*, as keys to open, the law; for by their titles, laws are understood and known, as men by their faces. Then the judges would have interrupted me, but I said as followeth: if you will not hear me, nor do me justice, I must appeal to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is judge of quick and dead; before whom we must all appear, to give an account of the deeds done in the body; for he will judge between you and me this day, whether you have done me justice or not.

These words following, (or the like,) I spake as going from the bar being pulled away, viz: Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may do justice, lest you perish in his wrath. For sometimes the court cried, pull him away, and then said, bring him again: and thus they did several times, like men in confusion and disorder.

The same day, in the afternoon, silence being made, John Crook, was called to the bar, before the judges and justices aforesaid: the indictment being read, the judge said,

Mr. Crook, You have heard your indictment, what say you? Are you guilty or not guilty?

J. C. I desire to speak a few words in humility and soberness, in regard that my estate and liberty lie at stake; and am like to be a precedent for many more; therefore I hope the court will not deny me the right and benefit of the law, as being an Englishman. I have some reason, before I speak any thing to the indictment, to demand and tell you, that I desire to know mine accusers; I have been kept these six weeks in prison, and know not, nor have I seen the faces of them.

Judge. We shall afford you the right of the law, as an Englishman. God forbid you should be denied it; but you must answer first, guilty, or not guilty, that so in your trial you may have a fair hearing and pleading; but if you go on as you do, (and will not answer guilty, or not guilty,) you will run yourself into a premunire, and then you lose

the benefit of the law, and expose yourself, body and estate, to great hazards ; and whatever violence is offered to your person or estate, you are out of the king's protection, and lose the benefit of the law ; and all this by your not answering, (guilty, or not guilty.) If you plead not guilty, you may be heard.

J. C. It is recorded in the statutes of the 28 Edw. 3. & 3. and 42 Edw. 3. & 3. in these words, ' No man is to be taken, or imprisoned, or be put to answer, without presentment before justices, or matter of record, or by due process, or writ original, according to the old law of the land ; and if any thing from henceforth be done to the contrary, it shall be void in law, and holden for error.' And also in the 25th of Edw. 1. 2. and the 3 Car. 1. and the 29 cap. Mag. Chart. ' No freeman shall be taken and imprisoned but by the law of the land : ' these words, (the law of the land,) are explained by the statute of 37 Edw. 3. 8. to be, without due process of law ; and if any judgments are given contrary to Mag. Chart. they are void, 25 Edw. 1. 2.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are out of the way, and do not understand the law, though you adore the statute law so much, yet you do not understand it.

J. C. I would have you tell me the right way.

Judge. Mr. Crook, hear me : you must say, guilty, or not guilty ; if you plead not guilty, you shall be heard, and know how far the law favors you. And the next thing is, there is no circumstance whatsoever that is the cause of your imprisonment, that you question, but you have as a subject, your remedies, if you will go this way, and waive other things, and answer guilty, or not guilty ; and what the law affords you. you shall have, if you do what the law requires you ; or else you will lose the benefit of the law, and be out of the king's protection.

J. C. Observe how the judge would draw me into a snare, viz : By first pleading, (guilty, or not guilty,) and when I have done so, he and his brethren intend suddenly to put me, (as an outlawed person,) out of the king's protection ; and how then can I have remedy for my false imprisonment ? Therefore first clear me, (or condemn me,) from my false imprisonment, while I am in a capacity to have the benefit of the law, and not to outlaw me for an offence created by yourselves ; and then, to stop my mouth, you tell me, that if I have been wronged, or false imprisoned, I may have my remedy afterwards : this is to trepan me, and contrary to both law and justice, &c.

Judge. You must plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I do desire in humility and meekness to say, I shall not ; I dare not betray the honesty of my cause, and the honest ones of this nation, whose liberty I stand for, as well as my own ; as I have cause to think I shall, if I plead to the present indictment, before I see the faces of my accusers ; for truly, I am not satisfied in my judgment and conscience, that I ought to plead to a created offence by you, before I be first acquitted of the cause of my being brought prisoner to your bar ; and therefore it

sticks with me to urge this further, viz: That I may see my accusers—(interruption.)

Judge. 'The most arrant thief may say, he is not satisfied in his conscience.

J. C. My case is not theirs, yet they have their accusers: and may not I call for mine? And therefore call for them, for you ought to do so: as Christ said to the woman, Woman, where are thine accusers? So you ought to say to me, Man, where are thine accusers?—(Interruption.)

Judge. Your indictment is your accuser, and the grand jury have found you guilty, because you did not swear: what say you, Mr. Crook, are you guilty, or not guilty? If you will not answer, or what you have said, be taken for your answer, as I told you before, you lose the benefit of the law; and what I tell you, is for your good.

J. C. What is for good, I hope I shall take it so.

Judge. If you will not answer, you run yourself into a premunire; and you will lose the benefit of the law, and the king's protection, unless you plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I stand as brought forcibly and violently hither: neither had I been here but by a violent action; and that you should take no notice of it, seems strange to me; and not only so, but that you should hasten me so fast into a course, that I should not be able any ways to help myself, by reason of your hasty and fast proceedings against me, to put me out of the king's protection, and the benefit of all law: was ever the like known, or heard of, in a court of justice?

Judge. Friend, this not here in question, whether you are unjustly brought here, or not: do you question that by law, but not disable yourself to take advantage by the law: if brought by a wrong hand, you have a plea against them; but you must first answer guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. How can I help myself when you have outlawed me? Therefore let proclamation be made in the court, that I was brought by force hither, and let me stand cleared by proclamation, as you ought to do; for you are *discernere per legem, quid sit justum*,* and not to do what seems good in your own eyes—here I was interrupted again, but might have spoken justice Crook's words in Hampden's case, who said, That we who are judges speak upon our oaths, and therefore must deliver our judgments according to our consciences; and the fault will lie upon us, if it be illegal, and we deliver it for law: and further said, We that are judges must not give our judgments according to policy, or rules of state, nor conveniencies, but only according to law. These were his words, which I might have spoken; but was interrupted.

Judge. What, though no man tendered the oath to you, when you were committed, (as you say,) it being now tendered to you; from the time you refused it, being tendered to you by a lawful authority, you refusing, are indicted: we look not upon what you are here for; but here

* To determine by law what is just.

finding you, we tender you the oath ; and you refusing it, your imprisonment is now just, and according to law. (Something omitted which I spoke afterwards.)

J. C. How came I here ? if you know not, I have told you it is by force and violence, which our law altogether condemns ; and therefore I not being legally before you, am not before you ; for what is not legally so, is not so ; and I not being legally brought to your bar, you ought not to take notice of my being here.

Judge. No, no, you are mistaken ; so you may say of all the people gazing here, they not being legally here, are not here : I tell you, a man being brought by force hither, we may tender him the oath ; and if he take it not, he may be committed to prison ; authority hath given us the power, and the statute-law hath given us authority to tender the oath to any person, and so have we tendered it to you ; and for your not taking it, you are indicted by the grand jury : answer the accusation, or confute the indictment ; you must do the one or the other ; answer, guilty or not guilty.

Here I was interrupted, but might have said, that the people that were spectators, beholding and hearing the trials, are not to be called gazers, as the judge terms them ; because it is their liberty and privilege, as they are Englishmen, and the law of England allows the same ; so that they are not to be termed gazers upon this account, but are legally in that place, to hear trials, and see justice done, and might have spoken, (if occasion had been,) any thing in the prisoner's defence, tending to clear up the matter in difference, and the court must have heard them or him : and this as a stander-by, or *amicus curiæ* ;* so saith Cook.

J. C. The law is built upon right reason, or right reason is the law ; and whatever is contrary to right reason, is contrary to law ; the reason of the law, being the law itself. I am no lawyer, and my knowledge of it is but little, yet I have had a love to it for that reason I have found in it, and have spent some leisure hours in the reading thereof ; and the law is that which I honor, and is good in its place ; many laws being just and good, (not all,) but, I say, a great part of them, or much of them ; and it is not my intention in the least to disparage, or derogate from them.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you have been told, you must plead guilty or not guilty, or else you run yourself into a premunire ; be not your own enemy, nor be so obstinate.

J. C. I would not stand obstinately before you, neither am I so ; if you understand it otherwise, it is a mistake indeed.

Judge. Will you speak to the indictment, and then you may plead ? If you will not answer guilty, or not guilty, we will record it, and judgment shall go against you. Clerk, enter it.

Recorder. Mr. Crook, if you will answer, you may plead for yourself : or will you take the oath ? The court takes no notice how you came

* A friend of the court.

hither ; what say you ? Will you answer ? For a man may be brought out of Smithfield by head and shoulders, and the oath tendered to him, and may be committed, without taking notice how he came here.

J. C. That kind of proceeding is not only unjust, but unreasonable also—(here was some interruption,) and against the laws aforesaid, which say, ‘No man shall be taken or imprisoned but by warrant, or due process of law :’ so that this speech of the recorder’s, savors more of passion than justice ; and cruelty, than due observance of law ; for every forcible restraint of a man’s liberty, is an imprisonment in law. Besides, this kind of practice, to take men by force, and imprison them, and then ask them questions, the answering of which makes them guilty, is not only unrighteous in itself, but against law, and makes one evil act the ground of another ; and one injury offered to one, the foundation of another ; and this is my case this day. (Interruption.)

Judge. Mr. Crook you must not be your own judge ; we are your judges ; but for our parts we will not wrong you ; will you answer, guilty or not guilty ? If not, you will run yourself into a premunire unavoidably, and then you know what I told you would follow ; for we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath.

J. C. Then it seems you make the law a trepan to ensnare me, or as a nose-of-wax, or what you please : well, I shall leave my cause with the Lord God, who will plead for me in righteousness. But suppose I do take the oath (now,) at this time, you may call me again, (to-morrow,) and make a new tender ; or others may call me before them.

Judge. Yes, if there be new matter ; or if there fall out any emergent occasion whereby you may minister on your part new occasion : Mr. Crook, will you swear ?

J. C. If I do take it to-day, it may be tendered me again to-morrow, and so next day, *ad infinitum*, whereby a great part of my time may be spent and taken up, in taking the oath and swearing.

Ch. Judge. When you have (once) sworn, you may not be put upon it again, except you minister occasion on your part.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court, that the oath (once) taken by me is sufficient, and ought not to be tendered a second time, without new matter ministered on my part ?

Judge. Yes ; you making it appear you have (once) taken it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the whole court ? For I would not do any thing rashly.

Judges. Yes, it is the judgment of the court. (To which they all standing up, said, Yes.)

J. C. Then it seems there must be some new occasion ministered by me after I have (once) taken it, or it ought not to be tendered to me the second time.

Judges. Yes.

J. C. Then by the judgment of this court, if I may make it appear that

I have taken the oath (once) and I have ministered no new matter on my part, whereby I can be justly charged with the breach of it, then it ought not to be tendered to me the second time : but I am the man that have taken it, (once) being a freeman of the city of London, when I was made free ; witness the records in Guildhall, which I may produce, and no new matter appearing to you on my part ; if there do, let me know it ; if not, you ought not, by your own judgment, to tender me it the second time ; for *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem ratio est*.* (Interrupted by the shout of the court, when these last words might have been spoken.)

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are mistaken, you must not think to surprise the court with criticisms, nor draw false conclusions from our judgments.

J. C. If this be not a natural conclusion from the judgment of the court, let right reason judge ; and if you recede from your own judgments in the same breath, (as it were,) given even now, what justice can I expect from you ? For, if you will not be just to yourselves, and your own judgments, how can I expect you should be just to me ?

Judge. Mr. Crook, if you have taken it, if there be a new emergency, you are to take it again ; as for instance, the king hath been out of England, and now is come in again ; there be many that have taken it twenty, thirty, or forty years since, yet this new emergency requires it again ; and although you have taken it, yet you must not make it appear before you answer guilty, or not guilty ; therefore do not wrong yourself, and prejudice yourself and family : do you think that every fellow that comes hither, shall argue as you do ? We have no more to do, but to know of you, whether you will answer (guilty, or not guilty,) or take the oath, and then you shall be freed from the indictment : if you will not plead, clerk, record it : What say you ? Are you guilty, or not guilty ?

J. C. Will you not stand to your own judgments ? Did you not say, even now, that if I had (once) taken the oath, it ought not to be tendered to me the second time, except I administered new matter on my part that I have not kept it, &c. But no such matter appearing, you ought not to tender it to me the second time, by your own confession, much less to indict me for refusal.

Judge. If you will not plead, we will record it, and judgment shall be given against you : therefore say, guilty, or not guilty, or else we will record it. (The clerk beginning to record it.)

J. C. Before I answer, I demand a copy of my indictment ; for I have heard it affirmed by counsel learned in the law, that if I plead before I have a copy, or have made my exceptions, my exceptions afterwards against the indictment will be made void : therefore I desire a copy of the indictment.

Judge. He that said so, deserves not the name of a counsel ; for the law is, you must first answer, and then you shall have a copy. Will you plead guilty or not guilty ?

* That which doth not appear, is to be judged of as that which doth not exist.

J. C. If my pleading guilty or not guilty, will not deprive me of the benefit of quashing the indictment, for insufficiency, or other exceptions that I may make against it, I shall speak to it.

Judge. No, it will not. Will you answer, guilty or not guilty. If you plead not, the indictment will be found against you : will you answer ? We will stay no longer.

J. C. I am upon the point : will not my pleading deprive me of the benefit of the law ? For I am tender in that respect, because it is not my own case only, but may be the case of thousands more ; therefore I would do nothing that might prejudice others, or myself, as a Christian, or as an Englishman.

Judge. Understand yourself, (but we will not make a bargain with you, said another judge,) you shall have the right done you as an Englishman, the way is to answer, guilty or not guilty : if you plead, and find the indictment not good, you may have your remedy ; answer, guilty or not guilty ?

J. C. As to the indictment it is very large, and seems to be confused, and made up of some things true, and some things false ; my answer therefore is, what is true in the indictment I will not deny, because I make conscience of what I say, and therefore, of what is true, I confess myself guilty, but what is false, I am not guilty of.

Judge. That is not sufficient, either answer guilty, or not guilty, or judgment will be given against you.

J. C. I will speak the truth, as before the Lord, as all along I have endeavored to do ; I am not guilty of that which is false, contained in the indictment, which is the substance thereof.

Judge. No more ado ; the form is nothing, guilty or not ?

J. C. I must not wrong my conscience, I am not guilty of what is false, as I said before ; what is true, I am guilty of ; what is not true, I am not guilty of that ; which is the substance thereof, as I said before.

Recorder. It is enough, and shall serve turn. Enter that, clerk.

The seventh day of the week, called Saturday.

Silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar. The clerk of the sessions read something concerning the jury, which was impaneled on purpose, (as we said,) the jury being discharged who were eye-witnesses of what passed between us and the court : and this jury, were divers of them soldiers, some of whom did by violence and force pull and haul Friends out of their meetings, and some of us out of our houses ; and these were of the jury by whom we were to be tried. The clerk reading the indictment, (as I remember.)

J. C. I desire to be heard a few words, which are these, that we may have liberty till the next quarter sessions to traverse the indictment, it being long and in Latin, and like to be a precedent ; and I hope I need not press it ; because I understood that you promised, and (especially

the recorder, who answered, when it was desired, you shall,) that we should have counsel also, the which we cannot be expected to have had the benefit of as yet, the time being so short, and we kept prisoners, that we could not go forth to advise with counsel, neither could we tell how to get them to us; we having no copy of the indictment before this morning; and because so suddenly hurried down to the sessions, we cannot reasonably be supposed to be provided, (as to matter of law,) to make our defence.

Judge. We have given you time enough, and you shall have no more; for we will try you at this time, therefore swear the jury.

J. C. I desire we may have justice, and that we may not be surprised in our trial, but that we may have time till the next quarter sessions, our indictment being in Latin, and so large as it is; and this is but that which is reasonable, and is the practice of other courts: for, if it be but an action above forty shillings, it is not ordinarily ended under two or three terms. And in the quarter sessions, if one be indicted for a trespass, if it be but to the value of five shillings, he shall have liberty to enter his traverse, and upon security given to prosecute, he shall have liberty until the next sessions, which is the ordinary practice: which liberty we desire, and we hope it is so reasonable, that it will not be denied, especially upon this occasion, we being like to be made a precedent: and courts of justice have used to be especially careful in making of precedents; for we are not provided, according to law, to make our defence at this time; and therefore if we be put upon it, it will be a surprisal.

Judge. There is no great matter of law in the case; it is only matter of fact, whether you have refused to take the oath or not; that is the point in issue: and what law can arise here?

Recorder. Mr. Crook, the keeper of the prison was spoken to, to tell you, that we intended to try you this day, and therefore ordered him that counsel might come to you if you would; and also that the clerk should give you a copy of the indictment: this is fair; therefore we will go on to swear the jury, for the matter is, whether you refuse the oath, or not? And that is the single point, and there needs neither law nor counsel in the case; and therefore we considered of it last night, when we sent you word, and did determine to try you; and therefore it is in vain to say any thing, for the court is resolved to try you now; therefore swear the jury, crier.

J. C. I hope you will not surprise us.

Then the other prisoners, (who also were indicted,) cried out, (having spoken something before,) let us have justice, and let not the jury be sworn till we be first heard. So there was a great noise, the court being in a confusion, some crying, Take them away; others, Stay, let them alone; others saying, Go on to swear the jury; and the crier, in this uproar and confusion, did do something as if he had done it: then we all cried out for justice and liberty till the next sessions; the court being in a confusion, some crying one thing, and some another, which now cannot

be called to mind, by reason of the great distraction that was in the court; neither what we said to them, nor they to us, the noise was so great, and the commands of the court so various to the officers, some commanding them to take us away; others, to let us alone; others, to bring us nearer; others cried, put them into the bail-dock; others, to put them within the furthest bar where the felons use to stand; which we were forced into accordingly. And in this hurly-burly and confusion that was amongst them, some men were sworn, to testify that we refused to take the oath, which we never positively did; other officers of the court, whom they would have sworn, refused to swear, though pressed to it by the chief justice, they desired to be excused. Then spake one of the prisoners again pretty much, but could hardly be understood, by reason of the noise in the court; but the people, to whom he spake with a loud voice, by way of exhortation, might hear the substance of what he said, which cannot now particularly be called to mind; but it was to express the presence and love of God to himself, and to exhort others to mind his fear, that they also might be acquainted with God, &c.

Judge. Stop his mouth, executioner. (Which was accordingly done.)

Prisoners. Then we cried out, will you not give us leave to speak for ourselves? We except against some of the jury, as being our enemies, and some of them who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, contrary to law, and carried us to prison without warrant, or other due process of law; and shall these be our judges? We except against them.

Judge. It is too late now, you should have done it before they had been sworn jurymen. Jury, go together, that which you have to find, is whether they have refused to take the oath, or not, which hath been sworn before you that they did refuse: you need not go from the bar. And like words said the recorder and others, there being a confusion and noise in the court, many speaking together.

Then we cried for justice, and that we might be heard, to make our defence, before the jury gave their verdict; but the judge and recorder said, we should not be heard, (making good by their practice, what the chief judge had said the day before, viz. That if we had liberty to speak, we should make ourselves famous and them odious,) crying again stop their mouths, executioner; which was done accordingly with a dirty cloth, and also endeavored to have gagged me, striving to get hold of my tongue, having a gag ready in his hand for that purpose; and so we were served several times. Then I called out with a loud voice, Will you condemn us without hearing? This is to deal worse with us, than Pilate did with Christ, who, though he condemned him without a cause, yet not without hearing him speak for himself; but you deny us both.

Judge. Let Mr. Gray come to the bar.

Room being made he was conveyed to an officer in the inner bar, where he spake to the court to this purpose: 'I desire to know whether, according to law and the practice of this court, myself and my fellow

prisoners, may have liberty to put in bail, to prosecute our traverse at the next sessions ?

Court. No, we will try you presently.

Judge. Stop their mouths, executioner.

And this was the cry of many upon the bench, they being still in a continued confusion ; some crying to the jury, Give in your verdict, for we will not hear them ; with other words which could not be heard for the noise, the court being in confusion.

J. C. You might as well have caused us to have been murdered before we came hither, as to bring us hither under pretence to try us, and not give us leave to make our defence ; you had as good take away our lives at the bar, as to command us thus to be abused, and to have our mouths stopped : was ever the like known ? Let the righteous God judge between us. Will you hear me ? You have often promised that you would.

Judge. Hear me, and we will hear you.

Then he began to speak, and some others of the bench interrupted him : sometimes they speaking two or three at a time. and a noise amongst the officers of the court : but the judge said, ' We may give you liberty till the next sessions, but we may choose ; and therefore we will try you now.'

I bade the people take notice of their promise, that I should have liberty to speak, saying, See now you be as good as your words.

Judge. The law of England is not only just, but merciful ; and therefore you shall not be surprised, but shall have what justice the law allows—(Interruption.)

I remember what the judge said even now, that the law of England was a merciful law ; that the court had said before, they might if they would, give us liberty till the next sessions, but they would not ; and the maxim of the law also is, *Summum jus est summa injuria* ;* therefore I hope your practice will make it good, that it is a merciful law ; and not to execute *summum jus*, &c., upon me, and thereby condemn yourselves out of your own mouths.

Judge. Jury, give in your verdict.

J. C. Let me have liberty first to speak, it is but few words, and I hope I shall do it with what brevity and pertinency my understanding will give me leave, and the occasion requires ; it is to the point in these two heads, viz. Matter of law, and matter of conscience : to matter of law I have this to say, First, as to the statute itself, it was made against the Papists, occasioned by the Gunpowder Plot, and is entitled, for the better discovery and suppressing of Popish Recusants : but they have liberty, and we are destroyed, what in you lies—(interrupted by the judges and disturbance of the court.) As to conscience, I have something to say, and that is, it is a tender thing, and we have known what it is to offend it ; and therefore we dare not break Christ's commands, who hath said,

* The extreme of the law is extreme injustice.

Swear not at all : and the apostle James said, Above all things my brethren swear not.—(Interrupted. The court calling again to the executioner to stop my mouth ; which he did accordingly, with his dirty cloth, as aforesaid, and his gag in his hand.)

Judge. Hear the jury :

Who said something to him, which was supposed to give in the verdict, according to his order ; for they were fit for his purpose, as it seems, they beginning to lay their heads together, before we had spoken any thing to them, only upon his words.

Judge. Crier, make silence in the court.

Then the recorder, taking a paper into his hand, read to this purport, viz. The jury for the king do find, that John Crook, John Bolton, and Isaac Gray, are guilty of refusing to take the oath of allegiance ; for which you do incur a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your real estates during life, and your personal estates for ever ; and you to be out of the king's protection, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure : and this is your sentence.

J. C. But we are still under God's protection.

Then the prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where J. Crook found opportunity to make a narrative of the whole trial, which was printed as aforesaid, together with the Latin indictment, in which he showed several errors, either by wrong expressions, or by omissions. 'Thus the injustice of these arbitrary proceedings was exposed to public view, when this trial appeared in print ; that the king himself might see thereby, how ill his subjects were treated. But at that time there were so many among the great ones and bishops, who were inclined to promote the extirpation of the Quakers, that there seemed no human help. J. Crook showed also circumstantially, how in many cases of trial, they had acted against law ; for he himself having formerly been a justice, knew well enough how, and after what manner, justice ought to be administered and maintained. How long he continued prisoner, I cannot tell. But by this trial alone the reader may see, how the Quakers, so called, were treated in regard to the oath ; and such kind of proceeding was the lot of many of them, because the intent of those in authority seemed to be to suppress them quite.

Now follows a copy of the indictment, with some notes and observations on the same ; whereby it may appear, how false it is, and how easily it might have been quashed for insufficiency, had we been allowed time, (which by law they ought to have granted,) and been suffered to have made our own defence ; but that they would not do, but stopped our mouths, as before is said, by the hands of the executioner, to prevent what otherwise, (as the judge said,) might have come to pass, viz. by having liberty to make our defence, by that means we should make ourselves famous, and them odious.

London session. *Jur. pro dno. rege super sacra. suu. presentant qd. ad general. quarterial. session. pacis d'ni. regis tent. pro civitat. London. apud Guihald. ejusdem civitat. die Mercurij scilt. vicesimo quinto die Junij anno regni d'ni. n'ri. Caroli sc'di Dei gra. Anglix, Scot' Franc, & Hiberniæ Regis Fidei defensor. &c., quarto decimo, coram Joh. Frederick milite, majore civitate. London. Thoma Adams milite & baronet, Rico' Brown milite & baronet, & Thoma Aleyn milite & baronet, aldr'is d'ce civitat. ac al. socii, suis justic, d'ci. d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conservand. Necnon ad diver's felon. transgr. & al. malef'ca infra eandem civitat. perpetrat. audiend. & terminand. assign. sessio. ista pacis adjornat. fuit. per præfat. Justic. d'ci d'ni regis ib'm usq; diem Jovis scilt. vicesim. sext. diem ejusdem mensis Junij anno supradicto ad horam septimam ante merid. ejusdem diei apud justicehall in le Old Bailey in paroch. sci. Sepulchri in warda de Farringdon extra London. præd. tenend. coram præfat justic. & al. sociis suis. ad faciend. ulterius prout. cur. con. &c. Ac ad eundem diem Jovis. vicesimum sextum diem Junii anno quarto decimo supradicto general. quarterial. sessio ista pacis tent. fuit pro civitat. London. præd. per adjornament. præd. apud justicehall præd. in paroch & ward. præd. corum præfat. Johe Frederick milite, majore civitat. London. Thoma Adams milite & baronet. Ricardo Brown milite & baronet, & Thoma Aleyn milite & baronet, aldr'is d'ce civitat ac Willo Wilde milite & baronet, uno scrivien d'ci. d'ni regis ad legem ac recordator. civitat. præd. ac. al. sociis suis justic. d'ci d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conservand. Necnon ad divers. felon. transgr. & al. malefaca. infra. eandem civitat. perpetrat. audiend. & terminand. assign. Ac ad tunc & ibm. præd. general. quarterial. sessio pacis præd. ulterius adjornat. fuit per præfat. justic. usque diem veneris, scilt. vicesim septem. diem. dci. mensis Junii, anno quarto decimo supradicto, ad horam septimam ante merid. ejusdem diei apud justicehall præd. in parochia & warda præd. tenend. coram præst. justic. & al. sociis suis ad faciend. ulterius. prout cur. con. Ac superiende ad istam eandem general. quarterial. session. pacis tent. pro civitat. London. per adjornament. præd. apud justicehall præd. in paroch. & warda præd. dco. die veneris vicesimo septimo die Junii, anno quarto decimo superadicto coram præfat. Johe Frederick milite, majore civitat. London.' Thoma Adams milite & baronet, Rico' Brown milite & baronet, Rico' Chiverton armigero,* & Thoma Aleyn milite & baronet, aldr'is d'ce civitat. ac. Willo' Wilde milite & baronet. uno scrivien. d'ci. d'ni regis ad legem ac recordator. ejusdem civitat. ac al. sociis suis justic. d'ci d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conservand. Necnon ad divers. felon. transgr. & al. malef'ca infra eand. civitat. perpetrat. audiend. & terminand, assign. in aperta general. quarterial. session. præd. præfat. justiciar. pacis ult no'iat. existentes*

* This is error, for R. C. arm. was not before named.

major pars justic. pacis ipsius d'ni regis infra d'cam civitat. London, ad tunc scilt. d'co. vicesimo. septimo die Junii anno quarto decimo saprad'co. apud d'cam paroch. sci Sepulchri in warda de Farringdon extra. Londou. præd. presen. existend. obtuler. (Anglice die tender) Johi Crook nuper de London, generoso Johi Bolton, nuper de London, aurifabro, & Isaac Gray nuper de London. generoso & cor. cuilibet separatim per se, (ad tunc existen. et cuilibet. eor. existen. ultra ætat. octodecim annor.) Jurament. content. in quodam Actu in Parliament. D'ni Jacobi nuper regis Angliæ tent. per. prorogationem† apud Westm. in com. Middles. quinto die Novembris Anno Regni sui Angliæ Franc. et Hiberniæ tertio, et Scotiæ tricesimo nono nuper edit. et pro vis in his Anglicanis verbis sequen. viz. It do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king Charles the Second‡ is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries: and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church, or see of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or to dispose of any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state or government, or to any of his majesty's subjects, within his majesty's dominions. Also, I do swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted by the pope, or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his see, against the said king, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or color of any such sentence or declaration, otherwise; and will do my best endeavors to disclose and make known unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of, to be against him or any of them. And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes*

* This is error, because, it is not said, '*Et subditi d'ni regis.*'

† This should be *prorogationes*, for there was a double prorogation.

‡ This is error, because it wants A. B.

§ It ought to be with some expression of '*mutatis mutandis*,' of the name of king Charles the Second, instead of king James, who is only named in the act. This is error, it is not agreeable to the statute; for that saith only king James: and certainly the statute intended no otherwise; for it is said. For the trial of his majesty's subjects, how they stand affected, &c., and not the subjects of his majesty's heirs and successors.

which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in my* conscience am resolved, that neither the pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God. *Ac ad prefat. justic. pacis ult. no' iatt ad tunc† scilt. d'co. vicesimo septimo die Junii anno quarto decimo supradicto apud paroch. et ward. præd. in d'ca‡ quarterial session, pacis præd. cosdem Joh'em Crooke, Joh'em Bolton, et Isaacum Gray, et eor. quemlibt. separatam per se requisiver. ad jurament. illud super. sacrosco. Dei Evangel. capiend. quodq. ; iidem, Johes Crooke, Johes Bolton, et Isaacus Gray, jurament. præd. sic per pr. noi' at justic. pacis ejusdem Johi Crooke, Johi Bolton, et Isaaco Gray, ut præfectur oblat. et requisit. adtunc et ibm. obstinate et pertinaciter cape. recusaver. et quilibt. eor. recusavit.¶ In malum exemplum omniu. alior. d'ci. d'ni regis nunc fidel. subdit. Et in contempt. d'ci. d'ni. regis nunc legumq. ; suar. contra formam statut. præd. Ac contra pacem d'ci. d'ni regis nunc coron. et dignitat. suas, &c.*

WILD.

Any Englishman that understands Latin, may, notwithstanding the abbreviations, indifferently understand this indictment; but a foreigner not understanding English, though a scholar, will be at a loss in many places; yet to complete my work, I thought it convenient not to omit such an authentic piece.

Memorand. That in the writ of Oyer and Terminer, Pasche 9 Hen. 8. upon the insurrection in London, it was resolved clearly by all the justices of England, that the justices of Oyer and Terminer cannot inquire one day, and the same day determine; no more can the justices of the peace, &c. But the justices of jail delivery, and justices in Eyre, may well do it; El. 8. Keyleway's Rep. f. 159. b. pl. 2. But they do not call themselves so in the indictment.

If one in his absence be found guilty of an offence, whereby he incurs a premunire, he hath two months time allowed him after he is outlawed,

* (My) not in the statute.

† *Ad pacem conservand. nec non, &c.*, left out.

‡ *Et ibidem*, is left out.

§ *Generalis*, left out.

¶ *Contra debitam quoadlibet eor. Legeanciam*, ought here to be inserted; for if he be not a natural subject, the oath is not to be tendered to him. Immediately after the tender to J. C. J. B. and J. G. though they be termed, *sub ditos d'ci*: end: *Re.*

to be heard, 27 Ed. 3 1 cap. Coke upon Littleton, sect. 201. fo, 134. b. saith, That the ancient law was, upon trials for felony, &c. the defendant had fifteen days time, or more, (if he prayed it,) to consider of his answer.

With this agrees Britton, fo' 10. b.

Fortescue in libro de laudib. legum Angliæ.

Mirror of Justice, cap. 4. sect. 7.

The statute of 28 Edw. 1. 9. provides that inquests shall be of the next neighbors, most sufficient, and least suspicious, upon penalty of double damages.

25 Edw. 3. cap. 3. No indictor be upon the inquests for felony nor trespass, if challenged.

34 Edw. 3. 4. Juries to be of the next people, not to be suspected or procured. With this agrees Regist. fo. 178.

11 Hen. 4. 9. That if any indictment be made, but by inquest returned by the sheriff, (without denomination to him of their names,) by any but his sworn officer, it shall be void.

By these and the like treatments, we see how the persecutors endeavored to root out the Quakers, if possible; for the effecting of which, alderman Richard Brown did whatever he could, continually letting loose the reins of his exorbitant malice, without regarding whether that which he was bent against, was really punishable, or not, whereof the following instance may serve for an evidence.

A certain mender of old shoes, who belonged to the society of the Quakers, was desired by a laboring man, on a Seventh day of the week, late at night, to mend a pair of shoes for him, that he might have them again in the morning, because he had no other to wear. The cobbler, to accommodate the man, set up at work till after midnight; but the shoes not being finished then, he went to bed, and rising early in the morning, went to his work again as privately as he could in his chamber; but an envious neighbor informed against him for working on a Sunday; whereupon he was had before the said R. Brown, who committed him to Bridewell, to be kept there to hard labor. And he refusing to beat hemp, as being fully persuaded that he had not deserved such a punishment, was cruelly whipped, but he bore it with great constancy, and not yielding, he was turned up among those of his society, who were imprisoned there on a religious account.

As this case, which befel an honest man, was to be pitied, so there happened about that time, something among the Quakers at London, which was facetious and ridiculous: for several of them being taken out of their religious meetings, were confined in Newgate, where in the night they lodged in a large room, having in the middle of it a great pillar, to which they fastened their hammocks at one end, and to the opposite wall on the other, quite round the room, in three stories high, one over another; so that they who lay in the upper and middle rows were fain to go to bed first, being obliged to climb up to the higher, by getting into the

lower: and under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall side, were laid beds, upon the floor. Such a multitude of bedding for so many persons in one room, could not but somewhat infect the air, and cause an unhealthy steam: so that some of the prisoners grew sick, and one of them died. This caused some bustle, and it was not without good reason that an ancient grave citizen, having seen the prisoners thus crowded up, said 'This is enough to breed an infection among them.' And this having been told to Sir William Turner, one of the sheriffs of London, he came into Newgate, and bidding the turnkey bring down the said prisoners to him in the press-yard, where he was, he ordered they should return to Bridewell, where they had been before.

Now among these was a shabby fellow, who, to get victuals without working, had thrust himself among the Quakers, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpose to be sent to prison, and to be maintained by them. This lazy varlet was no small burden to our prisoners; for whenever any victuals were brought in to them, either for their money, or sent to them by their friends, he did not stick to thrust in with his knife in hand, and make himself his own carver; and such was his impudence, that if he saw the provision was short, he would be sure to take enough, though others wanted. But how burdensome soever this lazy drone was to the prisoners, they could get no relief; for to whom should they complain? Since the keepers, as well as others, were for vexing and oppressing them. But now at length an opportunity was come to be rid of his troublesome company. Among the prisoners was Thomas Ellwood, a man of literature, and of an acute wit, with whom, long after, I entered into a familiar and pleasing correspondence by letters. The said Ellwood, when he had heard that they were to be sent to Bridewell, drew near to the sheriff and pointing to the aforesaid fellow, said, 'That man is not only none of our company, but an idle dissolute fellow, who hath thrust himself among our friends, that he might live upon them; therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him at Bridewell.' The sheriff smiling, and seeing this fellow standing with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the sheriff might take him for a Quaker, called him forth, and said to him, 'How came you to be in prison?' 'I was taken at a meeting,' said he. 'But what business had you there,' said the sheriff. 'I went to hear,' returned the fellow. 'Ay, you went upon a worse design, it seems,' replied the sheriff; 'but I will disappoint you,' continued he; 'for I will change your company, and send you to them that are like yourself.' Then calling for the turnkey, he said, 'Take this fellow, and put him among the felons; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.' The fellow, not a little astonished at the hearing of this doom, on a sudden parted with his Quakership: for off went his hat, and falling to bowing and scraping, he said to the sheriff, 'Good your worship, have pity upon me, and set me at liberty.' 'No, no,' said the sheriff, 'I will not so far disappoint you: since you had a mind to be in prison, in prison you shall be for me.' Then bidding the turnkey once

more to take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons. After this manner this pretended Quaker was rewarded according to his deeds ; and so the true Quakers got rid of him.

Breaking off now this jocose and diverting, though true narrative, I return to a serious relation of the sufferings of the faithful, which caused the death of some of them ; among these was Richard Hubbertorn, who some time before, as hath been related, had a conference with the king ; who then promised him, that he and his friends should not suffer for their opinions or religion. But now he was in the month called June, violently hauled from the meeting, bearing the name of the Bull and Mouth, and brought before alderman Richard Brown, who with his own hands pulled down his hat upon his head with such violence, that he brought his head near to the ground, and then committed him to Newgate, where being thronged among others, he soon grew sick ; and his sickness so increased, that he had hardly been two months in prison, before he was taken away by death. Two days before his departure, being visited by some of his friends, who asked him if any thing was upon his spirit, he said, that there was no need to dispute matters, for he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord. He also said, ' That faith which hath wrought my salvation, I well know, and have grounded satisfaction in it.' In the morning before he deceased, one Sarah Blackberry was with him, to whom he said, ' Do not seek to hold me, for it is too strait for me, and out of this straitness I must go ; for I am wound into largeness, and am to be lifted up on high, far above all.' In this frame of mind he departed this life, in the evening, and so entered with happiness into eternity.

Now I come also to the glorious exit of E. Burrough, that valiant hero, of whom mention hath often been made in this history. For several years he had been very much in London, and there preached the gospel with piercing and powerful declarations. And that city was so near to him, that oftentimes, when persecution grew hot, he said to Francis Howgill, his bosom friend, ' I can freely go to the city of London, and lay down my life for a testimony to that Truth, which I have declared through the power and Spirit of God.' Being in this year at Bristol, and thereabouts, and moved to return to London, he said to many of his friends, when he took his leave of them, that he did not know he should see their faces any more ; and therefore he exhorted them to faithfulness and steadfastness, in that wherein they had found rest for their souls. And to some he said, ' I am now going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer amongst Friends in that place.'

Not long after, coming to London, and preaching in the meeting-house called the Bull and Mouth, he was violently pulled down by some soldiers, and had before alderman Richard Brown, and committed to Newgate. Several weeks afterwards, being brought to the sessions-house

in the Old Bailey, he was fined by the court twenty marks, and to lie in prison till payment. But judging this unreasonable in a high degree he could not bend thereto for conscience-sake. He was kept there in prison about eight months, with six or seven score prisoners beside, upon the same account. But they being so crowded, that for want of room their natures were suffocated, many grew sick and died, of which number he was one. And though a special order from the king, was sent to the sheriffs of London, for his and some other prisoners' release, yet such was the enmity of some of the city magistrates, especially Brown, that they did what was in their power to prevent the execution of the said order. And thus E. Burrough continued prisoner, though his sickness increased. During the time of his weakness, he was very fervent in prayer, as well for his friends as for himself; and many consolatory and glorious expressions proceeded from his mouth. Once he was heard to say, 'I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth: and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee.' Another time he said, 'There is no iniquity lies at my door; but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel justifies me.' Another day he was thus heard in prayer to God, 'Thou hast loved me when I was in the womb; and I have loved thee from my cradle: and from my youth unto this day; and have served thee faithfully in my generation.' And to his friends that were about him, he said, 'Live in love and peace, and love one another.' And at another time he said, "The Lord taketh the righteous from the evil to come." And praying for his enemies and persecutors, he said, 'Lord, forgive Richard Brown, if he may be forgiven.' And being sensible that death was approaching, he said, 'Though this body of clay must turn to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God in my generation; and that spirit which hath lived and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands.' The morning before he departed this life, (which was about the latter end of this year,) he said, 'Now my soul and spirit is centered into its own being with God; and this form of person must return whence it was taken.' And after a little season he gave up the ghost. This was the exit of E. Burrough, who, in his flourishing years, viz: about the age of eight and twenty; in an unmarried state, changed this mortal life for an incorruptible, and whose youthful summer flower was cut down in the winter season, after he had very zealously preached the gospel about ten years.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he first came to London with a public testimony, and continued almost eight years together to preach the word of God in that city, with great success; so that many came to be convinced, and great addition was made to the church there. In his youth he surpassed others of his age in knowledge; and though G.

Croese, who wrote the pretended history of the Quakers, calls him a rustic fellow, yet he was no more such than the said author himself, who is a country preacher : for he was well educated and instructed in that learning which the place of his nativity, viz : the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, afforded. Insomuch, that though he was not skilful in languages, yet he had the tongue of the learned ; and in his public ministry was very fluent, and elegant in speech, even according to the judgment of learned men.

His enemies now began to rejoice, for they seemed to imagine that the progress of that doctrine, which he so powerfully and successfully had preached, by his decease would have been stopped or retarded : but they made a wrong reckoning. Francis Howgill then gave forth a kind of *epicedium*, which though in prose, yet was not void of poetical expressions, and was as followeth :

‘ Shall days, or months, or years, wear out thy name, as though thou hadst no being ? Oh nay ! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou hast wrought through the power of him that separated thee from the womb, live in generations to come ? O yes ! The children that are yet unborn, shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee, in generations, who yet have not a being, and shall count thee blessed. Did thy life go out as the snuff of a candle ? O nay ! Thou hast penetrated the hearts of many, and the memorial of the just shall live forever ; and be had in renown among the children of men forever : for thou hast turned many to righteousness, and shalt shine as a star of God in the firmament of God’s power, for ever and ever ; and they that are in that, shall see thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more be seen in mutability ; yet thy life and thy spirit shall run parallel with immortality. Oh Edward Burrough ! I cannot but mourn for thee, yet not as one without hope or faith, knowing and having a perfect testimony of thy well-being in my heart, by the Spirit of the Lord ; yet thy absence is great, and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did for a worse man than thee, even for Abner ; when in wrath he perished by the hand of Joab, without any just cause, though he was a valiant man ? David lamented over Abner, and said, died Abner as a fool dieth ? (Oh nay ! He was betrayed of his life.) Even so hast thou been bereaved of thy life by the hand of the oppressor, whose habitations are full of cruelty. Oh my soul, come not thou within their secret, for thy blood shall be required at the hands of them who thirsted after thy life ; and it shall cry as Abel’s who was in the faith ; even so wert thou, it shall weigh as a ponderous millstone upon their necks, and shall crush them under, and be as a worm that gnaweth, and shall not die. When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow ; and because of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee, my substance is even as dissolved. Shall I not say as David did of Saul and Jonathan,

when they were slain in mount Gilboa, the beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places ; even so wast thou stifled in nasty holes, and prisons, and many more who were precious in the eyes of the Lord : and surely precious wast thou to me, oh dear Edward ; I am distressed for thee my brother, very pleasant hast thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, passing the love of woman : Oh thou whose bow never turned back, nor sword empty from the blood of the slain ; from the slaughter of the mighty ; who made nations and multitudes shake with the word of life in thy mouth, and wast very dreadful to the enemies of the Lord ; for thou didst cut like a razor, and yet to the seed of God brought forth ; thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honey-comb. Thou shalt be recorded amongst the valiants of Israel, who attained to the first degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day, and wast worthy of double honor, because of thy works. Thou wast expert to handle thy weapon, and by thee the mighty have fallen, and the slain of the Lord have been many ; many have been pricked to the heart through the power of the word of life ; and coals of fire from thy life came forth of thy mouth, that in many a thicket, and among many briers and thorns it came to be kindled, and did devour much stubble that cumbered the ground, and stained the earth. O how certain a sound did thy trumpet give ! And how great an alarm didst thou give in thy day, that made the host of the uncircumcised greatly distressed ! What man so valiant, though as Goliath of Gath, would not thy valor have encountered with, while many despised thy youth ? And how have I seen thee with thy sling and thy stone, (despised weapons to war with,) wound the mighty ! And that which hath seemed contemptible to the dragon's party, even as the jaw bone of an ass, with it thou hast slain the Philistines heaps upon heaps, as Samson. Thou hast put thy hand to the hammer of the Lord, and hast often fastened nails in the heads of the Lamb's enemies, as Jael did to Sisera ; and many a rough stone hast thou polished and squared, and made it fit for the buildings of God ; and much knotty wood hast thou hewed in thy day, which was not fit for the building of God's house. Oh, thou prophet of the Lord, thou shalt for ever be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, among the Lord's worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witness for thee from the beginning ; and at last hast overcome, and been found worthy to stand with the Lamb upon mount Zion, the hill of God ; as I have often seen thee, and thy heart well tuned as a harp, to praise the Lord, and to sound forth his great salvation ; which many a time hath made glad the hearts of them that did believe, and strengthened their faith and hope. Well, thou art at rest, and bound up in the bundle of life ; and I know tears were wiped away from thy eyes, because there was no cause of sorrow in thee : for I know thou witnessed the old things done away, and there was no curse, but blessings were poured upon thy head as rain, and peace as a mighty shower, and trouble was far from thy dwelling ; though in

the outward man trouble on every side, and hast had a greater share in that, for the gospel-sake, (though a youth,) in thy time, than many besides : but now thou art freed from that, and hast obtained a name through faith, with the saints in light. Well, hadst thou more to give up than thy life for the name of Jesus in this world ? Nay : and to seal the testimony committed unto thee with thy blood, as thou hast often said in thy day, which shall remain as a crown upon thee for ever and ever. And now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death ; and from thy outward enemies, who hated thee because of the love that dwelt in thee ; and remainest at the right hand of God, where there is joy and pleasure for ever more in the everlasting light ; which thou hast often testified unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto thee by the Holy Ghost ; and art at rest in the perfection thereof, in the beauty of holiness ; yet thy life and thy spirit I feel as present, and have unity with it, and in it, beyond all created and visible things, which are subject to mutation and change ; and thy life shall enter into others, to testify unto the same Truth, which is from everlasting to everlasting ; for God hath raised, and will raise up children unto Abraham, of them that have been as dead stones ; his power is Almighty, great in his people in the midst of their enemies.'

With these sublime expressions F. Howgill lamented his endeared friend E. Burrough.

In the latter end of this year, William Ames also deceased at Amsterdam, being come from England in a weak condition, for he had suffered so much hardship in Bridewell, in London, that his health was much impaired when he came into Holland. In his sickness, which was a lingering disease, he was told, that among the Baptists and Collegians, it was said of him, that he had changed his judgment, and was grieved for having judged them wrongfully. But to this he said, It was not so ; but that he still judged their way of worship, especially their disputations and will worship, to be out of the way of the Lord. And in this belief he died in peace.

In his youth he was of a cheerful temper, and a lover of such company ; but being in that condition often disquieted in his mind, he became a closer follower of the priests and teachers, and exercised himself diligently in reading the Holy Scriptures, which, though good in itself, yet did not bring him to true peace with God ; but being of a quick understanding, he could talk much out of them, insomuch, that entering into society with the Baptists, he became a teacher among them. Now, though he was more precise, and endeavored to avoid the committing of sins, yet he found that root whence they sprang remained alive in him ; for when he met with something that was contrary to his own will, or mind, anger soon prevailed : nevertheless, in that state he would speak of justification, sanctification, and cleansing by the blood of Christ, though he himself was not come to that pure washing. In this state he perceived that he

was no true member of Christ, because regeneration was still wanting. Thus he saw that a high profession would not avail, and that something more was required to obtain a happy state ; but as yet, he knew not what it was that thus disquieted him ; though sometimes, on the committing of any sin, he felt something that struck him with terror. At length it pleased the Lord, that hearing one of the Quakers, so called, preach, that that which convinceth man of sin, was the light of Christ, which enlightens every man coming into the world, this doctrine entered so deep with him, that he embraced it as wholesome ; and thus walking with great circumspection and fear before the Lord, he found that by giving diligent heed to that which inwardly reprov'd and condemn'd him of evil, he came to be deliver'd therefrom, and to witness sanctification. And thus advancing in godliness he himself became a zealous preacher of that doctrine, which had struck him so to the heart. He was indeed a zealous man, and though some were ready to think him too zealous, yet he was discreet ; and I know that he was condescending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were customs, which though not followed in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was also generous, and lest he might seem to be burdensome to any, he rather chose to work with his hands.

Now I return again to the occurrences of G. Fox, whom we left at London, where, having spent some time, he went about the beginning of the year 1663, to Norwich, and thence to Cambridgeshire, where he heard of E. Burrough's decease, and, being sensible how great a grief this loss would be to his friends, wrote the following lines to them.

' Friends,

' Be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the seed of God, that doth not change ; that in that ye may feel dear E. B. among you, in the seed, in which, and by which, he begot you to God, with whom he is ; and that in the seed ye may all see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life ; and to enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is invisible.

G. F.'

G. Fox afterwards travelling through several places, came again to London, where having visited his friends in their meetings, which were numerous, he travelled with Thomas Briggs into Kent, and coming to Tenderden, they had a meeting there, where many came and were convinced of the Truth that was declared. But when he intended to depart with his companion, he saw a captain, and a company of soldiers, with muskets and lighted matches ; and some of these coming to them said, they must come to their captain. And when they were brought before him, he asked, where was G. Fox ? which was he ? To which G. Fox answered, ' I am the man.' The captain being somewhat surprised, said, ' I will secure you among the soldiers : ' yet he carried

himself civilly, and said some time after, 'You must go along with me to the town.' Where being come, he brought G. Fox and T. Briggs, with some more of their friends, to an inn, which was the jailer's house. And after a while the mayor of the town, with the said captain and the lieutenant, who were justices, came and examined G. Fox, asking, why he came thither to make a disturbance? G. Fox told them, he did not come to make a disturbance, neither had he made any there. They then said, there was a law, which was against the Quakers' meetings, made only against them. G. Fox told them he knew no such law. Then they produced the act which was made against Quakers and others. G. Fox seeing it, told them, that law was against such as were a terror to the king's subjects, and were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government; and therefore it was not against his friends, for they held truth, and their principles were not dangerous to the government, and their meetings were peaceable, as was well known. Now it was not without good reason that George said, he knew no such law; since they had said, there was a law made only against the Quakers' meetings: whereas the act had the appearance of being made against plotters, and enemies to the king, which certainly the Quakers were not. Yet it was said to G. Fox he was an enemy to the king; but this he denied, and told them, how he had once been cast into Derby dungeon, about the time of

- Worcester fight, because he would not take up arms against the king; and how afterwards he had been sent up to London by colonel Hacker, as a plotter to bring in king Charles, and that he was kept prisoner at London till he was set at liberty by Oliver Cromwell. They asked him then, whether he had been imprisoned in the time of the insurrection? And he said, 'Yes,' but that he was released by the king's own command. At length they demanded bond for his appearance at the sessions, and would have had him promise to come thither no more. But he refused the one as well as the other. Yet they behaved themselves moderately, and told him, and Thomas Briggs, and the others, 'Ye shall see we are civil to you, for it is the mayor's pleasure you should all be set at liberty.' To which G. Fox returned, their civility was noble: and so they parted; and he passed on to many places, where he had singular occurrences, and though wiles were laid for him, yet sometimes he escaped the hands of his persecuting enemies.

Coming into Cornwall he found there one Joseph Hellen, and George Bewly, who though they professed Truth, yet had suffered themselves to be seduced by Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, who had ensnared them chiefly by asking, 'Who made the devil, did not God?' This silly question, which Hellen and Bewly were at a loss to answer, they propounded to G. Fox, and he answered it with, 'No; for,' said he, 'all that God made was good, and was blest, but so was not the devil: he was called a serpent, before he was called a devil and an adversary; and afterward he was called a dragon, because he was a destroyer. The devil abode not in the truth, and by departing from the truth he became

a devil. Now there is no promise of God to the devil, that ever he shall return into truth again ; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promise of God is, that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, and break his power and strength to pieces.' With this answer, G. Fox gave satisfaction to his friends ; but Hellen was so poisoned, and run out, that they denied him ; but Bewly was recovered from his fault by sincere repentance.

G. Fox, having performed his service there, went to Helston near Falmouth, where he had a large meeting, at which many were convinced ; for he opened to the auditory, the state of the church in the primitive times, and the state of the church in the wilderness, as also the state of the false church that was got up since : next he showed that the everlasting gospel was now preached again, over the head of the whore, beast, anti-christ, and the false prophets, which were got up since the apostles' days ; and that now the everlasting gospel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light. And this sermon was of such effect, that the people generally confessed, it was the everlasting Truth that had been declared there that day.

G. Fox passing on, came at length to the Land's End, where there was an assembly of his friends, and also a fisherman, called Nicholas Jose, who preached among them, having three years before been convinced there by the ministry of G. Fox.

Whilst in these parts, there happened a very dismal and dreadful case.

' One colonel Robinson was, since the king came in, made justice of the peace ; and became a cruel persecutor of those called Quakers, of whom he sent many to prison ; and hearing that some liberty was allowed them, by the favor of the jailer, to come home sometimes, to visit their wives and children, he made complaint thereof to the judge at the assizes, against the jailer ; who thereupon was fined a hundred marks by judge Keeling. Not long after the assizes, Robinson sent to a neighboring justice, desiring he would go with him a fanatic hunting, (meaning the disturbing of Quakers' meetings.) On the day that he intended thus to go a hunting, he sent his man about with his horses, and walked himself to a tenement that he had, where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his servants were then milking. Being come there, he asked for his bull, and the maids said, they had shut him into the field, because he was unruly amongst the kine. He then going into the field, and having formerly accustomed himself to play with the bull, he began to fence at him with his staff, as he used to do ; but the bull snuffing, went a little back, and then ran fiercely at him, and struck his horn into his thigh, and lifting him upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly ; and when he came to the ground, he broke his leg, and the bull then gored him again with his horns, and roared, and licked up his blood. One of the maid servants hearing her master cry out, came running into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off ; but he, without hurting her, gently

put her by with his horns, and still fell to goring him, and licking up his blood. Then she ran and got some workmen that were not far off, to come and rescue her master; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought mastiff dogs to set on him; and then the bull fled. His sister having notice of this disaster, came and said, 'Alack, brother, what a heavy judgment is this!' And he answered, 'Ah, sister, it is a heavy judgment indeed: pray let the bull be killed, and the flesh given to the poor.' So he was taken up, and carried home, but so grievously wounded, that he died soon after; and the bull was become so fierce, that they were forced to kill him by shooting. This was the issue of Robinson's mischievous intent to go a fanatic hunting. I remember that in my youth I heard with astonishment the relation of this accident from William Caton, who by a letter from England had received intelligence of it; for the thing was so remarkable, that the tidings of it were soon spread afar off.

Now I return to G. Fox, who from Cornwall travelled to Bristol, and so into Wales, whence passing through Warwickshire and Derbyshire, he came to York. Here he heard of a plot, which made him write a paper to his friends wherein he admonished them to be cautious, and not at all to meddle with such bustlings. And travelling towards Lancashire, he came to Swarthmore, where they told him, that colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant thither to search for him, and that he had searched trunks and chests. G. Fox having heard this, the next day went to Kirby hall, where the said colonel lived; and being come to him, he told him, 'I am come to visit thee, understanding that thou wouldst have seen me, and now I would fain know what thou hast to say to me, and whether thou hast any thing against me.' The colonel who did not expect such a visit, and being then to go up to London, to the parliament, said before all the company, 'As I am a gentleman I have nothing against you: but Mrs. Fell must not keep great meetings at her house; for they meet contrary to the act.' G. Fox told him, 'That act does not take hold on us, but on such as meet to plot and contrive, and to raise insurrections against the king; and we are none of those, but are a peaceable people.' After some words more, the colonel took G. Fox by the hand, and said, he had nothing against him; and others said, he was a deserving man.

Then G. Fox parted, and returned to Swarthmore, and shortly after he heard there had been a private meeting of the justices and deputy lieutenants at Houlker-hall, where justice Preston lived, and that there they had issued a warrant to apprehend him. Now he could have gone away, and got out of their reach; but considering that, there being a noise of a plot in the north, if he should go away, they might fall upon his friends; but if he staid, and was taken, his friends might escape the better; he therefore gave up himself to be taken. Next day an officer came with his sword and pistols to take him. G. Fox told him, 'I knew thy errand before, and have given up myself to be taken; for if I would

have escaped imprisonment, I could have been gone forty miles off; but I am an innocent man, and so matter not what ye can do to me.' Then the officer asked him, how he heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlor. G. Fox said, it was no matter for that: it was sufficient that he heard of it. Then he asked him to show his order. But he laying his hand on his sword, said, 'You must go with me before the lieutenants, to answer such questions as they shall propound to you.' Now though G. Fox insisted to see the order, telling him it was but civil and reasonable to show it, yet the officer would not; and then G. Fox said, 'I am ready.' So he went along with him, and Margaret Fell also, to Houlker-hall. Being come thither, there was one justice Rawlinson, Sir George Middleton, justice Preston, and several more whom he knew not. Then they brought one Thomas Atkinson, one of his friends, as a witness against him, for some words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed against him; and these words were, that he had written against the plotters, and had knocked them down: but from these words little could be made. Then Preston asked him, whether he had a hand in the Battledore? (being a folio book already mentioned,) 'Yes,' said G. Fox. He then asked him whether he understood languages? He answered, 'sufficient for myself.'

Preston having spoken something more on that subject, said, 'Come, we will examine you of higher matters:' then said George Middleton, 'You deny God, and the church, and the faith.' 'Nay,' replied G. Fox 'I own God, and the true church, and the true faith:' 'But,' asked he, (having understood Middleton to be a Papist,) 'what church dost thou own?' The other, instead of answering this question, said 'You are a rebel and a traitor.' G. Fox perceiving this Middleton to be an envious man, asked him whom he spoke to? or whom he called a rebel? The other having been silent a while, said at last, 'I spoke to you.' G. Fox then striking his hand on the table, told him, 'I have suffered more than twenty such as thou, or any that are here; for I have been cast into Derby dungeon for six months together, and have suffered much, because I would not take up arms against this king, before Worcester fight; and I have been sent up prisoner out of my own country by colonel Hacker to O. Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles. Ye talk of the king, a company of you; but where were ye in Oliver's days; and what did ye do then for the king? But I have more love to him, for his eternal good and welfare, than any of you have.' Then they asked him, whether he had heard of the plot? And he said, 'Yes.' Hereupon he was asked, how he had heard of it, and whom he knew in it? And he answered, he had heard of it through the high sheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson, that there was a plot in the north; but that he never heard any thing of it in the south; and that he knew none of them that were in it. Then they asked him, 'Why would you write against it, if you did not know some that were in it?' 'My reason was,' answered he, 'because ye

are so forward to mash the innocent and guilty together ; therefore I wrote against it to clear the Truth from such things, and to stop all forward foolish spirits from running into such things : and I sent copies of it into Westmoreland, Cumberland, Bishoprick, and Yorkshire, and to you here ; and I sent also a copy of it to the king and his council ; and it is like it may be in print by this time.' Then said one of them, ' O this man hath great power.' ' Yes,' said he, ' I have power to write against plotters.' ' But,' said one of them, ' you are against the laws of the land.' ' Nay,' said he, ' for I and my friends direct all the people to the Spirit of God in them, to mortify the deeds of the flesh : this brings them into well doing, and from that which the magistrates' sword is against ; which eases the magistrates, who are for the punishment of evil doers,' &c.

Middleton now weary as it seemed, of his speaking, cried, ' Bring the book, and put the oath of allegiance and supremacy to him.' But G. Fox knowing him to be a Papist, asked him, whether he who was a swearer, had taken the oath of supremacy ; for this oath tending to reject the pope's power in England, was a kind of test to try people whether they were Papists, or no : ' But as for us,' said G. Fox, ' we cannot swear at all, because Christ and his apostles have forbidden it.' Now some of these that sat there, seeing Middleton was thus pinched, would not have had the oath put to G. Fox ; but others would, because this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get him into prison : for all other things had been cleared : but this was like the Papists' sacrament of the altar, by which they formerly ensnared the martyrs : and in the Low Countries they asked the Baptists, whether they were re-baptized ; and if this appeared, then they said, ' We do not kill you, but the emperor's decree condemns you.' So they tendered G. Fox the oath, and he refusing to take it, they consulted together about sending him to jail ; but all not agreeing, he was only engaged to appear at the sessions : and so for that time they dismissed him.

Then he went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, where colonel West, who was at that time a justice of the peace, came to see him. And G. Fox asking him, what he thought they would do with him at the sessions, he said, they would tender the oath to him again. The time of the sessions now approaching, G. Fox went to Lancaster, and appeared according to his engagement ; where he found upon the bench, justice Flemming, who in Westmoreland had offered five pounds to any man that would apprehend G. Fox. There were also the justices Spencer and Rawlinson, and colonel West ; and a great concourse of people in court, and when G. Fox came up to the bar, and stood with his hat on, they looked earnestly upon him. Then proclamation being made for all to keep silence on pain of imprisonment, he said twice, ' Peace be among you.' Then Rawlinson, who was chairman, spoke, and asked, if he knew where he was ? To which he answered, ' Yes, I do ; but it may be my hat offends you ; but that's a low thing, that's not the honor I give to magistrates : for the true honor is from above ; and I hope it is not the

hat which ye look upon to be the honor.' To which the chairman said, 'We look for the hat too. Wherein do you show your respect to magistrates, if you do not put off your hat?' G. Fox replied, 'In coming when they call me.' They then bid one take off his hat. After some pause, the chairman asked him, whether he knew of the plot. To which he returned, that he had heard of it in Yorkshire, by a friend that had it of the high-sheriff. The next question was, whether he had declared it to the magistrates; and his answer was, 'I have sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my friends: for it was, and is our principle to declare against such things.' Then they asked him, if he knew not of an act against meetings. To which he made answer, that he knew there was an act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the king's subjects, and were enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles. 'But I hope,' said he, 'ye do not look upon us to be such men; for our meetings are not to terrify the king's subjects, neither are we enemies to him, or any man.'

That which followed hereupon, was the tendering of the oath of allegiance and supremacy to him. To which he told them, that he had never taken any oath in his life: and that he could not take any oath at all, because Christ and his apostles had forbidden it. Then Rawlinson, who was a lawyer, asked him, whether he held it was unlawful to swear? G. Fox presently perceived this question to be put on purpose to ensnare him; for by a certain act 13 and 14 Car. 2. cap. 1, such who said, it was unlawful to swear, were liable to banishment, or to a great fine. Therefore to avoid this snare, he told them, that in the time of the law amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ who did fulfill the law in the gospel time, commands, not to swear at all; and the apostle James forbids swearing even to them that were Jews, and had the law of God. Now after much other discourse, the jailer was called, and G. Fox committed to prison. He then having the paper about him which he had written against plots, desired it might be read in the court; but this they would not suffer. Being thus committed for refusing to swear, he said to those on the bench, and all the people, 'Take notice that I suffer for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to his command.' Afterwards he understood, the justices said, that they had private instructions from colonel Kirby to prosecute him, notwithstanding his fair carriage, and seeming kindness to him before.

Leaving G. Fox in prison, I am to say that the act already mentioned, whereby a penalty was laid on all such who should say, it was unlawful to take an oath, was that which extended to banishment, being made not long before, and expressly levelled against the Quakers, as plainly appeared by the title. This is that act, by direction whereof, the Quakers, so called, were afterwards banished, as may be related in due time and place; and though the king himself was pretty good-natured, yet he suffered himself

to be so swayed by the instigations of some envious men, as well among the ecclesiastics, as among the laity, that he gave the royal assent thereto.

Whilst G. Fox was prisoner at Lancaster, many of his friends were also imprisoned, for frequenting religious meetings, refusing to take oaths, and for not paying tithes to the priests; but since he was not brought to his trial till next year, we will leave him still in jail, and in the meanwhile will take a turn to Colchester, where persecution now was exceeding fierce.

In the month of October, William More, mayor of that town, came on a First-day of the week, and broke up the meeting of the Quakers, so called, and committed some of them to prison; the next week he did so again, and a week after he caused a party of the county troop to come to the meeting. These beat some, and did much mischief to the forms, seats, and windows of the meeting-place. And afterwards the mayor employed an old man to stop people from going in at the gate to the meeting-room; who told those that would have entered, that the mayor had set him there to keep them out. Now though they knew he was no officer, nor had any warrant, yet they made no resistance, but continuing in the street, thus kept their meeting in a peaceable manner, being not free for conscience-sake to leave off their public worship of God, though in that time of the year it was cold, and often wet weather; and thus it continued many weeks, though attended with so much difficulty.

In the forepart of December there came about forty of the king's troopers, on horseback, in their armor, with swords, carbines, and pistols, crying, 'What a devil do ye here?' And falling violently upon this harmless company, they beat them, some with swords, and others with carbines, without distinction of male or female, old or young, until many were much bruised; chasing them to and fro in the streets. The next First-day of the week these furious fellows came again, having now got clubs, wherewith, as well as with swords and carbines, they most grievously beat those that were peaceably met together in the street to worship God. This cruel beating was so excessive, that some got above a hundred blows, and were beaten so black and blue, that their limbs lost their natural strength. One there was whom a trooper beat so long, that the blade of his sword fell out of the hilt, which he that was thus beaten seeing, said to the other, 'I will give it thee up again,' which he did, with these words, 'I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge.'

But to avoid prolixity, I shall not mention all the particular misusages which I find to have been committed there. These cruel doings continued yet several weeks, and some were beaten so violently, that their blood was shed in the streets, and they sunk down and fainted away. One Edward Graunt, a man of about threescore and ten years of age, (whose wife and daughters I was well acquainted with,) was so terribly knocked down, that he outlived it but a few days. So hot was this time now, that these religious worshippers, when they went to their meeting, seemed to go to meet death: for they could not promise to themselves

to return home either whole or alive. But notwithstanding all this, their zeal for their worship was so lively, that they durst not stay at home, though human reasoning might have advised them thereto. And some of them had been people of note in the world ; among others one Giles Barnadiston, who having spent six years in the university, in the study of human literature, afterwards came to be a colonel ; but in process of time, having heard G. Fox the younger, preach, he was so entirely convinced of the Truth by him declared, that laying down his military command, he entered into the society of those called Quakers, and continuing faithful, he in time became a minister of the gospel among the said people ; being a man of a meek spirit, and one whom I knew very well. This Barnadiston did not forbear frequenting meetings, how hot soever the persecution was, being fully given up to hazard his life with his friends.

One Solomon Fromantle, a merchant, with whom I was well acquainted, was so grievously beaten, that he fell down and lost much of his blood in the street ; and yet the barbarous troopers did not leave off beating him. His wife, a daughter of the aforesaid Edward Graunt, fearing lest he should be killed, fell down upon him, to cover and protect him from the blows with the hazard of her own body, as she herself told me in the presence of her said husband : a conjugal love and fidelity well worthy to be mentioned, and left upon record. And though she then did not receive very fierce blows, yet there were some women whose lot it was to be sorely beaten with clubs, whereinto iron spikes were driven, as among the rest an aged widow, who received no less than twelve such bloody blows on several parts of her body ; and another woman was pierced in her loins with such a spiked club. An ancient man of sixty-five years was followed a great way by three on foot and one on horseback, and so beaten and bruised, that a woman, pitying this old man, spoke to these mischievous fellows to leave off ; but this so incensed him that was on horseback, that he gave her a hard blow with his sword on the shoulder, with cursing and railing. This barbarity continued, till the persecutors seemed to be more wearied out than the persecuted, who seemed to grow valiant in these sore tribulations, how grievous soever. A great promoter of this furious violence was captain Turner, who drove on his troopers to act thus ; nay, such was his malice, that once at the breaking up of a meeting, he not only gave order to beat the people, but also to spoil the doors, windows, and walls, so that the damage came to five and twenty pounds.

Now I could enter upon a large relation of the trial of many prisoners at Worcester, before the judges Hyde and Terril ; but since that trial was much after the same manner as that of John Crook, here before-mentioned at large, I will but cursorily make some mention of it. When the prisoners, being brought to the bar, asked, why they had been kept so long in prison ; they were answered with the question, whether they would take the oath of allegiance. And endeavors were used to draw

some to betray themselves, by asking them, where they had been on such a day. For if they had said, at meeting, then it would have appeared from their own mouth that they had acted contrary to the law ; but they answered warily, that they were not bound to accuse themselves. Others by evidence were charged with having been at a meeting ; and when they said, that their meetings were not always for public worship ; but that they had also meetings to take care for widows, fatherless, and others that were indigent ; yet it was said to the jury, that though there was no evidence, that there had been any preaching in the meeting, yet if they did but believe that the prisoners had kept a meeting for religious worship, it was sufficient for them to approve the indictment. And yet such proceedings in other cases would have been thought unwarrantable.

One Edward Bourn being imprisoned for having been at a meeting, and afterwards brought to his trial, the oath was tendered to him. Among other words he spoke in defence of himself, he said, ' Suppose Christ and his apostles kept a meeting here in this time, would this act against conventicles also take hold of them ? ' ' Yes,' said the judge, ' it would.' But bethinking himself, he said, ' I wont answer your questions ; ye are no apostles.' The conclusion was, that Bourn and several of his friends were fined each of them five pounds.

Now since those that were fined thus, did not use to pay the fines, judging that the thing which they were fined for was an indispensable duty they owed to God, and therefore they could not pay any such fine with a good conscience, the consequence thereof generally was imprisonment, and distraining of their goods, whereby some lost twice, and it may be, thrice as much as the fine amounted to. Some of the prisoners made it appear, that they had been somewhere else, and not in the meeting, at the house of one Robert Smith, at such time as the evidence declared by oath ; yet because they gave no satisfactory answer to the question, whether they had not been there on that day, they were deemed guilty. The said Robert Smith was premunired : for the oath of allegiance being tendered to him, and he, menaced by the judge with a premunire, asked, for whom that law, for taking the said oath, was made, whether not for Papists. And on suspicion that some of that persuasion sat on the bench, he asked also, whether they, for the satisfaction of the people, there present, ought not also to take the oath. But the judge waived this, telling him, he must take the oath, or else sentence should be pronounced against him. Smith asked then, whether the example of Christ should decide the question ; but the judge said, ' I am not come here to dispute with you concerning the doctrine of Christ, but to inform you concerning the doctrine of the law.' Then Smith was led away, and afterwards, when an indictment for his refusing the oath was drawn up, he was brought into the court again, and asked, whether he would answer to the indictment, or no ; and the reasons he gave not being accepted, the judge said, before Smith had done speaking, ' This is your sentence, and the judgment of the court : You shall be shut out of the king's protection, and forfeit your

personal estate to the king for ever, and your real estate during life.' To this Robert said with a composed mind, 'The Lord hath given, and if he suffers it to be taken away, his will be done.' Thus Robert Smith suffered, with many more of his friends, there and elsewhere: all which I believe my life-time would not be sufficient to describe circumstantially.

Passing then by the other persecutions of this year, I will relate one remarkable case that happened in this year, 1663, where patience triumphed very eminently over violence. But before I enter upon this narrative, it will not be amiss to go back a little, and mention some singular cases of the chief actor of the fact I am going to describe.

His name was Thomas Lurting, who formerly had been boatswain's mate in a man-of-war, and often had been preserved in imminent dangers: as once being at the Canary islands, under admiral Blake, commander in this expedition, they ruined the admiral and vice-admiral of the Spanish galleons, and this being done, he with seven men was sent with a pinnace to set three galleons in the bay on fire; which order he executed, by setting one of them on fire, which burnt the other two. But returning, and passing by a breast-work, they received a volley of small shot, by which two men, close to one of which Thomas sat, were killed, and a third was shot in his back, but Thomas received no harm. And going out of the bay, they came within about four ships length of the castle, which had forty guns; and when they came directly over against the castle, the guns were fired, and a shot cut the bolt-rope a little above Thomas' head, without hurting him. In more dangers he was eminently preserved, but that I may not be too prolix, I will now relate, how from a fighting sailor he became a harmless Christian.

About the year 1654, it happened that among the soldiers which were in the ship he was in, there was one that had been at a meeting of those called Quakers in Scotland, and there were two young men in the ship who had some converse with him; but he was soon taken away from the ship. Yet these two young men seemed to be under some conviction; for about six months after, they scrupled to go and hear the priest, and to put off their hats to the captain; by which they came to be called Quakers. These two met often together in silence, which being seen by others of the ship, their number increased; but this troubled the captain exceedingly, and the priest grew not a little angry, and said to our boatswain, 'O Thomas, an honest man and a good Christian; here is a dangerous people on board, viz. the Quakers, a blasphemous people, denying the ordinances and word of God.' This made Thomas so furious, that in a bigoted zeal he fell to beating and abusing these men, when religiously met together. But this was not the way to have a quiet and sedate mind; for the remembrance of his former deliverances stuck so close upon him, that he could no more beat any of the said people; and then he came to a further sight, insomuch that he clearly saw what a fellow the priest was: for when Thomas could no longer abuse the said people, then he was not accounted by him either

an honest man or a good Christian. Now being under condemnation because of his outgoings, he made many promises to the Lord ; but these being made in his own will, were of little effect. Yet by the grace of God it was shown him, that since he did not perform these promises, he could not be benefitted thereby, which caused him much trouble.

Among those in the ship called Quakers, was one Roger Dennis, whom he entirely loved, and therefore never struck him ; so. this man had a check on Thomas, to that degree, that looking only upon him, he durst not touch any of those whom he intended to have abused. In this state, feeling no peace in his mind, after some time he much desired to be alone, the more freely to pour out his heart before the Lord ; and though he then felt himself inwardly condemned, yet judgments became pleasant to him, because thereby his heart was tendered and broken : in which state he could not forbear sometimes to cry out, O Lord ! But this, being observed by the ship's crew, made some say, he was mad, and others, he was distracted ; and of this some wrote home to England. Now it fell to his share to be mocked and ridiculed ; but he endeavored to be fully given up, if he might but have peace in his conscience with God.

And being one evening alone, he was very earnest with the Lord, to know what people he should join himself to ; and then it was plainly shown him, the Quakers. But this so startled him at that time, that he desired of the Lord, rather to die than to live : for to join with a people whom he so often had been beating and abusing, seemed to be harder to him than death itself ; and by the subtilty of Satan he was often assaulted by various thoughts, to keep him off from the said people. But when the Lord made him mindful of his manifold preservations and deliverances, it mollified his heart, so that at length he came to this resolution, whether Quaker or no Quaker, I am for peace with God. Yet it cost him many a bitter sigh, and many a sorrowful tear, before he could come to a full resignation. But the inward reproofs of the Lord, attended with judgments, followed him so close, that he could no longer forbear, but gave up. And then he took opportunity to discover his heart to his friend Roger Dennis, who spoke so to the purpose, that he had great satisfaction. But not long after temptations assaulted him again in this manner, 'What, to join thyself to such a foolish people !' And the very thoughts of this were so grievous to him, that he grew even weary of his life ; for thus to expose himself to scorn, seemed to him an intolerable cross ; but this struggling was not the way to get peace with God. The First-day of the week being come, he resolved to go to the small meeting, which was now of six in number ; but it being reported that he was among the Quakers, many of the company left their worship to see him ; and they made a great noise. When the worship was over, the captain asked the reason of that noise ; and it was told him, that Thomas was amongst the Quakers ; on which he sent for him, there being several

officers also present; but the first that spoke was the priest, saying, 'Thomas, I took you for a very honest man, and a good Christian, but am sorry you should be so deluded.' And the captain endeavored to prove from the bible, the Quakers were no Christians. Thomas in the meanwhile was still and quiet; and the others seeing they could not prevail upon him that way, took another course, and said, that the Quakers sometimes came to him saying, 'Do such and such a thing.' But because he knew this to be altogether false, and saw how they would bear him down with lies, he was the more strengthened; so that going to his friends, he said to them, 'When I went to the captain, I was scarce half a Quaker; but by their lies and false reports they have made me almost a whole Quaker; or at least I hope to be one.'

He continuing to meet with his friends for the performing of worship, some more came to be joined to them, so that in less than six months after, they were twelve men and two boys, one of which was the priest's. Now, there were none aboard that would abuse the Quakers, though much tried by the captain; for he got some men out of other ships on purpose to vex them: but how fiercely soever these behaved themselves, a higher power limited them. At length there was a sickness on board the ship, which swept away above forty in a short time; and most of those called Quakers, had the distemper also, but none died of it, though some were brought very low. They took great care of one another when sick, and whatever one had was free for all; which care being seen by others, made some of them cry upon their death-bed, 'O carry me to the Quakers, for they take great care of one another, and they will take some care of me also.' This visitation in the ship, changed the captain so much, that he was very kind to Thomas, and often sent him part of what he had. Thomas seeing him in such a good humor, desired of him to have the cabin he lay in before his change, which request was granted; for none were willing to lie therein, because they told one another it was troubled with an evil spirit; since three or four had died therein within a short space of time. This cabin he made use of also for a meeting-place; and the captain was now so well pleased with him, that when something was to be done, he would often say, 'Thomas, take thy friends, and do such or such a thing;' for as yet they were not against fighting, and therefore no complete Quakers. And thus when Thomas and his friends were sent out on some expedition, they did their work beyond his expectation. But though they were not brought off from fighting, yet when, with others, they annoyed their enemies, they would take none of the plunder; and in all desperate attempts they received no hurt, though several others were killed and wounded; and they behaved themselves so valiantly, that their captain would say to other captains, that he cared not if all his men were Quakers, for they were the hardest men in his ship. But though this was a time of liberty, yet Thomas looked upon it as a forerunner of further exercise; for he saw what was done in pretended friendship, was but to serve their own ends; and therefore he expected a time of trial would come, and so it did.

For being come to Leghorn, they were ordered to go to Barcelona, to take or burn a Spanish man of war. Their station was to lie against a castle, and batter it ; which they did ; and one corner of the castle playing some shot into their ship, Thomas was for beating down that part : and those called Quakers fought with as much courage as any. He himself being stripped to his waistcoat, and going into the fore-castle, he levelled the guns, but said, ' Fire not, till I go out to see where the shot lights, that we may level higher or lower ;' he being yet as great a fighter as any ; but as he was coming out of the fore-castle door to see where the shot fell, suddenly it run through him, ' What if now thou killest a man ?' This struck him as a thunderbolt, and he that can turn all men's hearts, at his pleasure, changed his in a minute's time to that degree, that whereas, just before, he bent all his strength to kill men, he now found in himself no will thereto, though it were to gain the world ; for he presently perceived it was from the Lord ; and then putting on his clothes, he walked on the deck, as if he had not seen a gun fired ; and being under great exercise of mind, some asked him, if he was hurt. He answered, ' No ; but under some scruples of conscience on the account of fighting,' though then he knew not that the Quakers refused to fight.

When night came they went out of the reach of the castle shot, and he took occasion to speak with two of his friends in the ship, and inquired their judgment concerning fighting ; but they gave little answer to it, but said however, ' If the Lord sent them well home, they would never go to it again.' To which he returned, that if he stood honest to that of God in his own conscience, and they came to it to-morrow, with the Lord's assistance, he would bear his testimony against it ; for he clearly saw, that forasmuch as they had been such great actors in fighting, they now must bear their testimony against it, and wait what would be the issue ; saying with themselves, ' The will of the Lord be done.' The next day they heard that several were killed on shore, which grieved Thomas not a little. Some time after, one of Thomas' friends went to the captain to be cleared ; and he asking why ? His answer was, that he could fight no longer. To which the captain said, ' He that denies to fight in time of engagement, I will put my sword in his guts.' ' Then,' said the other, ' thou wilt be a man-slayer, and guilty of shedding blood :' for which the captain, (who was a Baptist preacher,) beat him sorely with his fist and cane ; and he that had been their friend, was now become their open enemy.

Some time after, (about the year 1655,) being at Leghorn, they were ordered to go a cruising ; and one morning spied a great ship bearing down upon them, which they supposed to be a Spanish man-of-war. Presently orders were given to clear the ship for fight. Thomas then being upon the deck, saw plainly that a time of trial was now come, and he prayed to the Lord very earnestly for strength : and that which seemed most expedient to him, was to meet with his friends, which, after notice given, was done accordingly. Being all met, he told them how it

was with him, and that things seemed very dark and cloudy, yet his hopes were, that the Lord would deliver him, and all such as were of his faith; to which he added, 'I lay not this as an injunction upon any one, but leave you all to the Lord:' moreover he said, 'I must tell you, that the captain puts great confidence in you; therefore let us be careful that we give no just occasion; and all that are of my mind, let us meet in the most public place upon the deck, in the full view of the captain, that he may not say we deceived him, in not telling him that we would not fight, so that he might have put others in our room.'

Then Thomas went upon the deck, and set his back against the geer capstan, and a little after turning his head, he saw his friends behind him; at which though he rejoiced, yet his bowels rolled within him for them, who stood there as sheep ready for the slaughter. Within a little time came the lieutenant, and said to one of them, 'Go down to thy quarters;' to which he returned, 'I can fight no more.' The lieutenant then going to the captain, made the worst of it, saying, 'Yonder the Quakers are all together; and I do not know but they will mutiny; and one says he cannot fight.' The captain having asked his name, came down to him, flung his hat overboard, and taking hold of his collar, beat him with a great cane, and dragged him down to his quarters. Then he went upon the half deck again, and called for his sword, which his man having brought him, he drew with great fury. No sooner was this done, but the word of the Lord, (as Thomas took it,) run through him, saying, 'The sword of the Lord is over him; and if he will have a sacrifice, proffer it him.' And this word was so powerful in him, that he quivered and shook, though he endeavored to stop it, fearing they should think he was afraid, which he was not; for turning his head over his shoulder, he said to his friend Roger, 'I must go to the captain.' To which he returned, 'Be well satisfied in what thou doest.' And Thomas replied, there was a necessity upon him. Then seeing the captain coming on with his drawn sword, he fixed his eye with great seriousness upon him, and stepped towards him, keeping his eyes upon him, (in much dread of the Lord,) being carried above his furious looks. At which the captain's countenance changed pale, and he, turning himself about, called to his man to take away his sword, and so he went off. Not long after, the ship they expected to fight withal, proved to be a Genoese, their friend; and before night, the captain sent the priest to Thomas, to excuse his anger, it having been in his passion. To which Thomas' answer was, that he had nothing but good will to him; and he bade the priest tell the captain, that he must have a care of such passions; for if he killed a man in his passion, he might seek for repentance, and perhaps not find it. Thus Thomas overcame this storm, and at length got safely home.

Now leaving men-of-war, he afterwards went to sea in a merchantman, or trading ship: but then it fell to be his lot several times to be pressed into the king's service, and being carried into a man-of-war, he suffered very much. Once he fasted five days, taking only at times a draught of

water ; for he could easily guess, that if he had eaten of their victuals, it would have gone the harder with him ; since he scrupled to do any ship-work, though it did not belong to fighting ; for he judged all this to be assistance to those whose business it was to fight ; and that therefore in such a ship he could do nothing, whatever it was, but it was being helpful and assisting.

In this condition he met with several rude occurrences for some years together. Being once at Harwich, hard at work in a ship, heaving out corn in a lighter, he was pressed ; but one of the men saying, that he was a Quaker, the captain, who with his boat was come aboard, said in a scoffing manner to him, 'Thou art no Quaker, for if thou wast a Quaker, thou shouldst be waiting upon the Lord, and let his ravens feed thee, and not be toiling thy body.' For Thomas being stripped to his shirt and drawers, his shirt was wet with sweat ; and being a little time silent, said at length to the captain, 'I perceive thou hast read some part of the Scriptures. Didst thou never read, that he is worse than an infidel that will not provide for his family ? I have often heard the Quakers blamed for not working, but thou art the first that ever I heard blame them for working.' At this the captain said, 'Turn him away, he is a Quaker.' But a little after he cried, 'Pull him again, he is no Quaker ;' and said to Thomas, 'Thou art no Quaker ; for here thou bringest corn, and of it is made bread, and by the strength of that bread we kill the Dutch ; and therefore no Quaker. Or art not thou as accessory to their deaths as we ? Answer me.' Thomas not presently answering, was much scoffed and jeered by the seamen ; but at length he said to the captain, 'I am a man that can feed my enemies, and well may I you, who pretend to be my friends.' To which the captain replied, 'Turn him away, he is a Quaker :' and thus that storm ceased.

But a few days after he was pressed again out of the same vessel, and carried on board a man-of-war ; there he was ordered to go into the cabin, where the captain and several officers were ; and being entered, the captain began to curse the Quakers, and swore, that if he did not hang Thomas, he would carry him to the duke of York, and he would. But Thomas said very little, and felt himself kept by the Lord from fear. And when the captain had tired himself with scolding and railing, he said more mildly, 'What, dost thou say nothing for thyself ?' To which Thomas answered, 'Thou sayest enough for thee and me too :' and he found it most safe to say little. This was indeed the best way ; for generally no reasons, how good soever, avail with passionate men ; who often think it a disparagement to them, when they hearken to what is said by one they look upon to be their inferior. But such sometimes find they reckon amiss ; as this captain did, who, notwithstanding his haughtiness, was soon struck by a superior power ; for the next night a sudden cry was heard, 'Where is the Quaker ? Where is the Quaker ?' Thomas hearing this, said, 'Here I am : what lack you at this time of the night ?' To which it was told him, 'You must come to the captain presently.'

He then coming to the cabin door, the captain said, 'Is the Quaker there?' To which Thomas having answered, 'Yes,' the captain said, 'I cannot sleep, thou must go on shore.' Thomas replied, 'I am in thy hand, and thou mayest do with me as thou pleasest.' So with the boat he was put on shore at Harwich, by order of the captain, who in his fury had said, that hanging was too good for him. But now, because his mind was disquieted, he could not sleep, though Thomas, who lay on the hard boards, slept very well.

Having said thus much of this seaman : let us now take a view, and behold how, and in what an industrious manner, he, without passing the bounds of a peaceable disposition, re-took a ship that was taken by a pirate ; which happened in the year 1663, after this manner :

A master of a ship, whose name was George Pattison, one of the society of those called Quakers, about the month of October, being with his ship in the Mediterranean, coming from Venice, near the island of Majorca, was chased by a pirate of Algiers, and their vessel sailing well, they endeavored to escape ; but, by carrying over-much sail, some of their materials gave way, by which means the Turks came up with them, and commanded the master on board, who accordingly, with four men more, went in his boat, leaving only his mate, (the before-mentioned Thomas Lurting,) with three men and a boy on board his vessel : as soon as those came on board the pirate, the Turks put thirteen or fourteen of their men into the boat, to go towards the English ship. In the meanwhile the mate was under great exercise of mind, the rather because the master, with four of his men, were then with the Turks, and those that were left, were somewhat unruly. In this concern, however, he believed it was told him inwardly by the Lord, 'Be not afraid, for thou shalt not go to Algiers : ' for having had formerly great experience of the Lord's deliverances, as hath been said above, he had already learned to trust in God, almost against hope. On the consideration of this, all fear was removed from him ; and going to the ship's side to see the Turks come in, he received them as if they were his friends, and they also behaved themselves civilly : then he showed them all the parts of the vessel, and what she was laden with. Afterwards he said to the men that were with him, 'Be not afraid, for all this we shall not go to Algiers : but let me desire you, as ye have been willing to obey me, to be as willing now to obey the Turks.' This they promised him, and by so doing, he soon perceived they gained upon the Turks ; for they seeing the seamen's diligence, grew the more careless and favorable to them. And having taken some small matter of the lading, some went again to their own ship, and eight Turks staid with the English.

Then the mate began to think of the master, and the other four that were in the Turks' ship ; as for himself, and the others with him, he had no fear at all ; nay, he was so far from it, that he said to one of his men, 'Were but the master on board, and the rest of our men, if there were twice as many Turks, I should not fear them.' By this he encouraged

the seamen, who not being of his persuasion, thought much otherwise than he, and would have been ready enough to have killed the Turks, if they had seen opportunity. In the meanwhile the mate's earnest desire to the Lord was, that he would put it into the hearts of the Turks, to send the master and the four others back. And his desire was answered; for soon after the master and those men were sent on board.

Then all manner of fear concerning going to Algiers was taken away from him; which made some say to him, he was a strange man, since he was afraid before he was taken, but now he was not. For before they were taken, he having heard there were many Turks at sea, endeavored to persuade the master to have gone to Leghorn, and there to stay for a convoy, and so long they would have no wages. But to this the master would not agree. Now the mate, to answer the seamen, who blamed his behavior, said to them, 'I now believe I shall not go to Algiers: and if ye will be ruled by me, I will act for your delivery, as well as my own.' However, though he spoke thus boldly, yet he saw no way for it; for the Turks were all armed, and the English without arms. Now these being altogether, except the master, he said to them, 'What if we should overcome the Turks, and go to Majorca.' At which they were very much rejoiced, and one said, 'I will kill one or two;' 'And I,' said another, 'will cut as many of their throats as you will have me.' But at these sayings the mate was much troubled, for he intended not to hurt any, and therefore told the men, 'If I knew that any of you would touch a Turk at that rate, I would tell it the Turks myself. But,' said he, 'if ye will be ruled, I will act for you; if not, I will be still.' They seeing that he would not suffer them to take their own course, agreed to do what he would have them.' 'Well,' said he, 'if the Turks bid you do any thing, do it without grumbling, and with as much diligence and quickness as ye can, for that pleases them, and will cause them to let us be together.' To this, the men all agreed; and then he went to the master, and told him their intention. But his answer was, 'If we offer to rise, and they overcome us, we had as good be burnt alive.' The mate knew very well the master was in the right, viz. that if they failed in the attempt, they were like to meet with the most cruel treatment from the Turks that could be thought of. Now the reason why the master, though a very bold spirited man, did not readily consent to the proposal, was, because he feared they would shed blood, but his mate told him, they were resolved, and he questioned not but to do it, without shedding one drop of blood; and besides, he would rather have gone to Algiers, than to kill one Turk. Speaking thus, he so swayed the master, that at last he agreed to let him do what he would, provided they killed none.

Now since two Turks lay in the cabin with the master, it was agreed that he should continue to lie there, lest they should mistrust any thing. In the meanwhile it began to be bad weather, so that they lost the company of the Turkish man-of-war, which was the thing the mate

much desired ; and the Turks seeing the diligence of the English sailors, grew careless concerning them, which was what the mate aimed at. The second night after, the captain of the Turks, and one of his company, being gone to sleep in the cabin with the master, the mate persuaded one to lie in his cabin, and about an hour after another in another cabin ; and at last it raining very much, he persuaded them all to lie down and sleep : and when they were all asleep, he coming to them, fairly got their arms into his possession. This being done, he told his men, ' Now we have the Turks at our command, no man shall hurt any of them ; for if ye do, I will be against you ; but this we will do, now they are under deck, we will keep them so, and go for Majorca. And having ordered some to keep the doors, they steered their course to Majorca, and they had such a strong gale, that in the morning they were near it. Then he ordered his men, if any offered to come out, not to let above one or two at a time ; and when one came out, expecting to have seen his own country, he was not a little astonished instead thereof to see Majorca. Then the mate said to his men, ' Be careful of the door, for when he goes in we shall see what they will do. But have a care not to spill blood.' The Turk being gone down, and telling his comrades what he had seen, and how they were going to Majorca, they, instead of rising, all fell a crying, for their courage was quite sunk ; and they begged that they might not be sold. This the mate promised, and said, they should not. And when he had appeased them, he went into the cabin to the master, who knew nothing of what was done, and gave him an account of the sudden change, and how they had overcome the Turks. Which when he understood, he told their captain, that the vessel was now no more in their possession, but in his again ; and that they were going for Majorca. At this unexpected news the captain wept, and desired the master not to sell him ; which he promised he would not. Then they told him also, they would make a place to hide them in, that the Spaniards coming aboard should not find them. And so they did accordingly, at which the Turks were very glad.

Being come into the port of Majorca, the master, with four men, went ashore, and left the mate on board with ten Turks. The master having done his business, returned on board, not taking license, lest the Spaniards should come and see the Turks : but another English master, being an acquaintance, lying there also with his ship, came at night on board ; and after some discourse, they told him what they had done, under promise of silence, lest the Spaniards should come and take away the Turks. But he broke his promise, and would have had two or three of the Turks, to have brought them to England. His design then being seen, his demand was denied ; and seeing he could not prevail, he said to Pattison and his mate, that they were fools, because they would not sell the Turks, which were each worth two or three hundred pieces of eight. But they told him, that if they would give many thousands, they should not have one, for they hoped to send them home again ; and to

sell them, the mate said, he would not have done for the whole island. The other master then coming ashore, told the Spaniards what he knew of this, who then threatened to take away the Turks. But Pattison and his mate having heard this, called out the Turks, and said to them, 'Ye must help us, or the Spaniards will take you from us.' To this the Turks, as one may easily guess, were very ready, and so they quickly got out to sea: and the English, to save the Turks, put themselves to the hazard of being overcome again; for they continued hovering several days, because they would not put into any port of Spain, for fear of losing the Turks: to whom they gave liberty for four or five days, until they made an attempt to rise; which the mate perceiving, he prevented, without hurting any of them, though he once laid hold of one; yet generally he was so kind to them, that some of his men grumbled, and said he had more care for the Turks than for them. To which his answer was, they were strangers, and therefore he must treat them well. At length, after several occurrences, the mate told the master, that he thought it best to go to the coasts of Barbary, because they were then like to miss their men-of-war. To this the master consented. However, to deceive the Turks, they sailed to and fro for several days; for in the day-time they were for going to Algiers, but when night came they steered the contrary way, and went back again, by which means they kept the Turks in ignorance, so as to be quiet.

But on the ninth day, being all upon deck, when none of the English were there but the master, his mate, and the man at the helm, they began to be so untoward and haughty, that it rose in the mate's mind, what if they should lay hold on the master, and cast him overboard: for they were ten lusty men, and he but a little man. This thought struck him with terror: but reflecting himself and taking heart, he stamped with his axe and the men coming up rose asked for the crow, and answer for the axe, to fall on the Turks: but the mate bade them not to hurt the Turks, and said, 'I will lay hold on their captain: which he did, for having heard them threaten the master, he stepped forward, and laying hold of the captain said he must go down, which he did very quietly, and the rest lay by him. Two days after being come on the coast of Barbary, they were wondering at what the Turks said, about 100 miles from Algiers, and six from land: and in the afternoon at 4 o'clock. But how to see the Turks or where was yet not resolved upon. The mate saw one amongst them, being the man who had begun this business, & would be his or else to bring it to an end. He then acquainted the master that he was willing to carry the Turks on shore, but that it was his share, he was not sure but certainly: for to give them the ship was the advantage, or that they might get men and arms, and so come and take the ship with us next day, and to carry them to shore with us, & then in the ship's men, was also a great matter, because the Turks were an enemy, and to put our hand on ship was a great advantage, & that they might take the country,

and so surprise the English when they came with the other half. In this great strait the mate said to the master, if he would let him have the boat and three men to go with him, he would venture to put the Turks on shore. The master, relying perhaps on his mate's conduct, consented to the proposal, though not without some tears dropped on both sides. Yet the mate taking courage, said to the master, 'I believe the Lord will preserve me, for I have nothing but good-will in venturing my life, and I have not the least fear upon me; but trust that all will do well.'

The master having consented, the mate called up the Turks, and going with two men and a boy in the boat, took in these ten Turks, all loose and unbound. Perhaps somebody will think this to be a very inconsiderate act of the mate, and that it would have been more prudent to have tied the Turks' hands, the rather because he had made the men promise, that they should do nothing to the Turks, until he said, he could do no more; for then he gave them liberty to act for their lives so as they judged convenient. Now since he knew not how near he should bring the Turks ashore, and whether they should not have been necessitated to swim a little, it seemed not prudent, to do any thing which might have exasperated them; for if it had fallen out so that they must have swam, then of necessity they must have been untied; which would have been dangerous. Yet the mate did not omit to be as careful as possibly he could. For calling in the captain of the Turks, he placed him first in the boat's stern; then calling for another, he placed him in his lap, and one on each side, and two more in their laps, until he had placed them all which he did to prevent a sudden rising. He himself sat with a boat-hook in his hand on the bow of the boat, having next to him one of the shipmen, and two that rowed, having one a carpenter's adze, and the other a cooper's heading-knife. These were all their arms, besides what belonged to the Turks, which they had at their command. Thus the boat went off, and stood for the shore. But as they came near it, the men growing afraid, one of them cried out of a sudden, 'Lord have mercy on us, there are Turks in the bushes on shore.' The Turks in the boat perceiving the English to be afraid, all rose at once. But the mate, who in this great strait continued to be hearty, showed himself now to be a man of courage, and bid the men to take up such arms as they had; but do nothing with them until he gave them leave. And then seeing that there were no men in the bushes, and that it was only an imagination, all fear was taken away from him, and his courage increasing, he thought with himself, 'It is better to strike a man, than to cleave a man's head;' and turning the boat-hook in his hand, he struck the captain a smart blow, and bid him sit down: which he did instantly, and so did all the rest. After the boat was come so near the shore, that they could easily wade, the mate bid the Turks jump out, and so they did; and because they said they were about four miles from a town, he gave them some loaves, and other necessities.

They would fain have persuaded the English to go with them ashore to a town, promising to treat them with wine, and other good things ; but though the mate trusted in Divine Providence, yet he was not so careless as freely to enter into an apparent danger, without being necessitated thereto : for though he had some thoughts that the Turks would not have done him any evil, yet it was too hazardous thus to have yielded to the mercy of those that lived there ; and therefore he very prudently rejected their invitation, well knowing, that the Scripture saith, " Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." The Turks seeing they could not persuade him, took their leave with signs of great kindness, and so went on shore. The English then putting the boat closer in, threw them all their arms on shore, being unwilling to keep any thing of theirs. And when the Turks got up the hill, they waved their caps at the English, and so joyfully took their last farewell. And as soon as the boat came again on board, they had a fair wind, which they had not all the while the Turks were on board. Thus Thomas Lurting saved the ship and its men ; which being thus wonderfully preserved, returned to England with a prosperous wind.

Now before the vessel arrived at London, the news of this extraordinary case was come thither ; and when she was coming up the Thames, the king, with the duke of York, and several lords, being at Greenwich, it was told him, there was a Quaker's ketch coming up the river, that had been taken by the Turks, and redeemed themselves without fighting. The king hearing this, came with his barge to the ship's side, and holding the entering rope in his hand, he understood from the mate's own mouth, how the thing had happened. But when he heard him say, how they had let the Turks go free, he said to the master, ' You have done like a fool, for you might have had good gain for them : ' and to the mate he said, ' You should have brought the Turks to me.' But the mate answered, ' I thought it better for them to be in their own country.' At which the king and others smiled, and so went away, thinking that the master had done foolishly ; but he and his mate were of another opinion, and they made it appear that they did approve the lesson of our Savior, " Love your enemies, and do good to those that hate you," not only with their mouths, but that they had also put it into practice.

Though I have described this fact from a printed relation, yet I have added some circumstances from the mouth of the said mate, with whom I had some acquaintance.

Several years afterwards, when some seamen of the people called Quakers, were in slavery at Algiers, G. Fox wrote a book to the grand sultan, and the king at Algiers, wherein he laid before them their indecent behavior, and unreasonable dealings, showing them from their Alcoran that this displeased God, and that Mahomet had given them other directions. To this he added a succinct narrative of what hath been related here of G. Pattison's ship being taken and retaken, and how the Turks were set at liberty, without being made slaves : by which the

Mahometans might see what kind of Christians the Quakers were, viz. such as showed effectually that they loved their enemies, according to the doctrine of their supreme law-giver, Christ. Now concerning those Quakers at Algiers, of whom mention hath been made that they were slaves there, it was a pretty long time before opportunity was found to redeem them; but in the meanwhile they so faithfully served their masters, that they were suffered to go loose through the town, without being chained or fettered; and liberty was also allowed them to meet at set times for religious worship: and their patrons themselves would sometimes come and see what they did there; and finding no images or prints, as Papist slaves in the exercise of their worship made use of, but hearing from their slaves that they reverently adored and worshipped the living God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, they commended them for it and said it was very good, and that they might freely do so. And since one of them was raised to speak by way of edification to his friends, some other English slaves frequenting that meeting, came to be united with them. In the meanwhile the name of Quakers came to be known at Algiers, as a people that might be trusted beyond others.

It was in this year that William Caton went to England with his wife from Holland, (where he was married,) and two friends more, one of whom was Judith Zinspenning, my mother, who was moved to speak at the meeting at Kingston, where W. Caton interpreted for her. At another time being in a meeting at London, and he not present, and feeling herself stirred up to declare of the loving-kindness of the Lord to those that feared him, she desired one Peter Sybrands to be her interpreter; but he, though an honest man, yet not very fit for that service, one or more friends told her, they were so sensible of the power by which she spoke, that though they did not understand her words, yet they were edified by the life and power that accompanied her speech; and therefore they little mattered the want of interpretation; and so she went on without any interpreter. She had indeed a very good talent, and left such reputation behind her, that I coming several years after into England, kindness was showed me in several places on her account. After a stay of some weeks at London, and thereabouts, she went to Colchester, in order to return with W. Caton's wife to Holland; but making some stay in that town, she there wrote a book of proverbs, which, W. Caton having translated into English, was printed at London. After her departure, he staying behind, travelled through Essex, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire; and coming into Lancashire, he repaired to Swarthmore, and found there not only his ancient mistress, Margaret Fell, who received him very kindly, but also G. Fox, not long before he was taken prisoner.

Thence Caton went to Sunderland, and so to Scarborough, where meeting with a vessel bound for Holland, he embarked, and went off with a fair wind: but it was not long before the wind changed; and being about ten leagues from the land, the sky began to look tempestuous;

which made Caton advise the master to return ; but he thinking the weather would soon change, was unwilling to do so ; yet it fell out otherwise, for a violent storm arose, by which the ship was so exceedingly tossed, that she grew leaky, and took so much water, that the pumps continually must be kept going. But this so wearied the seamen, that Caton also fell to pumping ; for though he found himself prepared to meet death, if it had been the will of the Lord, yet he knew it to be the duty of a man to preserve his life by lawful means as long as possible ; besides, he pitied the poor seamen, and so was made willing to help them as much as lay in his power. But at length they lost the use of the rudder, and were near the sands and shallows, by which the danger was greatly increased, and death seemed to approach.

Now Caton, though given up in the will of the Lord, and prepared to have found his grave in the deep, yet did not omit to call upon the Lord, and to pray to the Most High for deliverance, if it were consistent with his holy will ; and when the storm was at the highest, his supplication was heard, and the tempest on a sudden began to cease, and the wind to abate ; which gave him occasion to praise the Almighty for the great mercy showed to him and the mariners. Yet the wind being contrary, the master resolved to enter Yarmouth, where Caton met with another storm : for on the First-day of the week, being at a meeting of his friends, he with seven more were apprehended, and carried to the main guard. The next day they were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered them the oath of allegiance ; which they refusing to take, were sent to prison, where he was kept above six months, so that it was not till the next year that he returned into Holland.

Whilst he was in jail, Stephen Crisp came the first time into Holland, to visit his friends there, and to edify them with his gift. It will not be amiss here to say a little of his qualifications. He was a man of notable natural abilities, and had been zealous for religion before ever he entered into fellowship with those called Quakers. But when the report of this people spread itself in the place where he lived, he made inquiry after them and their doctrine, and though he heard nothing but evil spoken of them, it nevertheless made some impression upon his mind, when he considered how they were derided, hated, slandered, and persecuted ; because this generally had been the lot of those that truly feared God. But having heard that one of their tenets was, that sin might be overcome in this life, this seemed to him a great error. And therefore, when James Parnel came to Colchester, he armed himself with arguments, to oppose him earnestly : for looking upon him as one that was but a youth, he thought he should be able to prevail upon him. He himself was then about seven and twenty years of age, being not only well versed in sacred writ, but also in the writings of many of the ancient philosophers. After he had heard Parnel preach very powerfully, and found his words more piercing than he had imagined, he ventured to oppose him with some queries ; but he soon found that this young man was endued with sound

judgment; and with all his wisdom and knowledge he was not able to resist him, but was forced to submit to the truth he held forth. Now he thought himself so enriched, that for a month or two he made it his business, by the strength of his reason, to defend the Truth he had embraced. But he soon found that this was not sufficient; for self was not subdued under the cross, and he was not yet come to an experimental knowledge of what he asserted and defended with words. In this condition he saw that he must truly become poor in spirit, if God ever should enrich him with heavenly wisdom. This brought him to mourning and sorrow, by which he came more and more to be weaned from his natural knowledge, wherein he used to delight. And continuing faithful in this way of self-denial, he at length began to enjoy peace in his mind, and so advanced in virtue and real knowledge, that in time he became an eminent minister of the gospel, and travelling to and fro, many were converted by his ministry.

About this time appeared in England, one Lodowick Muggleton, who pretended that he and one John Reeves were the two witnesses which are spoken of, Rev. xi. 3. And though it was not long before Reeves died, yet Muggleton continued in his wild imaginations, which grew to that degree, that he gave forth a paper, in which he said, That he was the chief judge in the world, and in passing the sentence of eternal death and damnation upon the souls and bodies of men. That in obedience to his commission, he had already cursed and damned many hundreds of people both body and soul, from the presence of God, elect men, and angels, to eternity. That he went by as certain a rule in so doing, as the judges of the land do, when they give judgment according to law. And that no infinite Spirit of Christ, nor any god, could, or should be able to deliver from his sentence and curse, &c. These abominable blasphemies he gave forth in public.

Richard Farnsworth, a zealous and intelligent minister, among those called Quakers, answered this blasphemer in writing, and discovered the horribleness of his profane and cursed doctrine and positions; and he said, among the rest, in a book he published in print, 'Consider the nature of thy offence, how far it extends itself; and that is, to pass the sentence of eternal death and damnation, both upon the bodies and souls of men and women, and that to eternity. Consider that thy injustice, done by color of office, deserves to have a punishment proportionable to the offence; and can the offence in the eye of the Lord be any less than sin against the Holy Ghost, because thou hast pretended to do it in the name of the Holy Ghost, and so wouldst make the Holy Ghost the author of thy offence, which it is not? And seeing thou art guilty of sin against the Holy Ghost, there is a punishment already proportioned for such an offence; and also thou art punishable by the law of the land, for presuming, under pretence of a commission, and as a judge, to pass the sentence of death upon the bodies of men and women, and pretending to go by a certain rule in so doing, as the judges of the land do,' &c.

Thus continued Farnsworth to answer Muggleton at large, and showed him how his judgment was not only contrary to truth, but also against the law of the land. But he was daring enough to give a reply to this serious answer, and said in it, that he should commend Farnsworth, first, for setting his name to it; and, secondly, for setting down his words so truly and punctually, that it made his commission and authority to shine the more brightly and clearly. And that he was as true an ambassador of God, and judge of all men's spiritual estate, as any ever was since the creation of the world, 'And if you Quakers, and others, (thus continued he,) can satisfy yourselves, that there never was any man commissioned of God to bless and curse, then you shall all escape that curse I have pronounced upon so many hundreds: and I only shall suffer for cursing others, without a commission from God. But my commission is no pretended thing, but as true as Moses', the prophets', and the apostles' commissions were.'

A multitude more of abominations this blasphemer belched out, and among the rest, that no man could come to the assurance of the favor of God, but in believing that God gave this power unto John Reeves and himself. That he had power given him over all other gods, and infinite spirits whatsoever: that he, (Muggleton,) had the keys of heaven and of hell; and that none could get into heaven, except he opened the gates. That he had power to remit their sins who received his doctrine, and to retain and bind their sins more close upon their consciences, for their despising, or not receiving his doctrine. That he was single in doctrine, knowledge, judgment and power, above all men, either prophets or apostles, since the beginning of the world, or that should be hereafter whilst the world doth endure. That there was no true minister, messenger, nor ambassador of God in the world, but himself; neither should there be sent any of God after him to the world's end. That a god without him, spoke to him by voice of words, to the hearing of the ear. That no person condemned by him, could make his appeal unto God, neither by himself, nor by any other; because God was not in the world at all. 'This power to condemn, (saith he,) hath God given unto me, and in this regard I am the only and alone judge, what shall become of men and women after death; neither shall those that are damned by me, see any other god or judge but me.' I am loth to transcribe more of those most horrible blasphemies; and we have cause to wonder at the long forbearance of God, that he thus bore the disdainful affront offered by this inhuman monster, in defiance of his Almightyness.

This Muggleton said also to Farnsworth, that because he was not under the sentence of his commission by verbal words, or writing, he should give answer to his letter. 'For, (said he,) I never give answer in writing to any one that is under the sentence of my commission.' This shuffle, not to be bound to answer, when he had shut up any one under his pretended damnation, seemed comical and facetious. Yet Farnsworth did not omit to answer his blasphemous positions publicly,

and to show the absurdity of Muggleton, and John Reeves being the two witnesses.

Hereafter I shall have occasion again to make mention of this Muggleton, for he lived yet several years: and do not find that any punishment was inflicted on him by the magistrates, other than the pillory, and half a year's imprisonment; though many think, (not without good reason,) that such blasphemers ought to be secluded from conversation with men.

Francis Howgill, in the latter part of this year, being in the market at Kendal, in Westmoreland, about his business, was summoned by the high constable to appear before the justices of the peace at a tavern, for being a zealous preacher among those called Quakers, occasion was watched to imprison him under some color of justice, how unjust soever. Being come to the place appointed, the oath of allegiance was tendered him; and because for conscience-sake he refused to swear, they committed him to prison till the assizes at Appleby. Then appearing at Appleby, the same oath was tendered him in court by the judges; for not taking of which he was indicted, only he had liberty to answer to the indictment at the next assizes. In the meantime there being a jail delivery at Appleby, he was required to enter into bond for his good behavior: but well knowing this was only a snare to bring him into further bonds, he refused, and so was re-committed to prison. And not being tried till next year, we shall leave him there.

About this time happened a singular case, which I cannot well pass by unmentioned. One Oliver Atherton, a man of a weak constitution, having refused to pay tithes to the countess of Derby, who laid claim to the ecclesiastical revenues of the parish of Ormskirk, where he lived, was by her prosecution imprisoned at Derby, in a moist and unwholesome hole, which so weakened him, that after having lain there two years and a half, he grew sick; and a letter was written in his name to the countess, in which was laid before her not only the cause why he had refused the payment of tithes, viz. for conscience-sake, but also that his life was in danger, if he staid longer in that unwholesome prison: and that therefore she ought to show compassion, lest she drew the guilt of innocent blood upon her.

Now though Oliver's son, who brought this letter, met with rough treatment for not uncovering his head, yet the letter was delivered into her own hands: but the countess continued hard-hearted. Godfrey, the son, returned to his father in prison, and told him, (who was now on his death bed,) that the countess would not allow him any liberty. To which he said, 'She has been the cause of much bloodshed; but this will be the heaviest blood to her that ever she spilt.' And not long after he died. His friends having got his corpse, carried it to Ormskirk, but at Garstang, Preston, and other towns they passed, they fastened to the market cross the following inscription, which also had been put on his coffin.

‘This is Oliver Atherton from the parish of Ormskirk, who by the countess of Derby had been persecuted to death, for keeping a good conscience towards God and Christ, in not paying of tithes to her.’

Now though three more, who with him were imprisoned for the same cause, gave notice of this to the countess, that they might not likewise die in prison, as their fellow-prisoner had, yet she would show no pity; and threatened to accuse those at Garstang, to the king and his council, for having suffered the putting up of the said inscription. But by this she opened people’s mouths the more, and an omnipotent hand prevented the executing of her threatening; for exactly three weeks after the day Atherton was buried, she died.

This year also in October, Humphrey Smith, a preacher among those called Quakers, having been prisoner a year at Winchester, for his religion, was by death delivered from his bonds. He had a vision in the year 1660, in the month called July, concerning the fire of London, which happened six years after: a relation of which he gave forth in print.

In the year 1662, being about London, he said to some of his friends, that he had a narrow path to pass through; and more than once signified, he saw he should be imprisoned, and that it might cost him his life. And coming not long after to Alton in Hampshire, he was taken from a meeting of his friends, and committed to a stinking close prison at Winchester, where after a whole year’s imprisonment, he fell sick; and in the time of his sickness spoke many excellent words to those about him, signifying, that he was given up to the will of the Lord either in life or death. And lying in great weakness, he said, ‘My heart is filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at such a time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend.’ At another time he was heard to say, ‘Lord, thou hast sent me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful unto thee in my small measure, which thou hast committed unto me; but if thou wilt yet try me further, thy will be done.’ Also he said, ‘I am the Lord’s, let him do what he will.’ Not long before his departure he prayed very earnestly, saying, ‘O Lord, hear the inward sighs and groans of thine oppressed, and deliver my soul from the oppressor. Hear me, O Lord, uphold and preserve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth. Thou art strong and mighty, O Lord.’ He also prayed to God, that he would deliver his people from their cruel oppressors. And for those that had been convinced by his ministry, that the Lord would be their teacher. He continued quiet and sensible to the last period of his life, dying a prisoner for bearing witness to truth; and thus he stepped from this troublesome and transitory life, into one that is everlasting.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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THE EIGHTH BOOK.  
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In the foregoing year we left G. Fox in Lancaster prison, where at the sessions, the oath of allegiance being tendered to, and refused by him, he was brought to his trial in the month called March, which begins the year 1664. Being brought to the bar before judge Twisden, he said, 'Peace be amongst you all.' At which the judge looking upon him, said, 'What! do you come into the court with your hat on?' Whereupon the jailer taking it off, G. Fox said, 'The hat is not the honor that comes from God.' Then said the judge, 'Will you take the oath of allegiance?' G. Fox answered, 'I never took any oath in my life.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'will you swear or no?' G. Fox replied, 'I am a Christian, and Christ commands me not to swear; and so doth the apostle James likewise; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge.' 'I ask you again,' said the judge, 'whether you will swear or no?' To which he made answer, 'I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Christian, and should show forth Christianity. Dost thou not know, (thus he went on,) that Christians in the primitive times, under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it? Ye have experience enough, how many men have sworn first to the king, and then against him. But as for me, I have never taken an oath in all my life; and my allegiance doth not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness: for I honor all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the great Prophet, who is the King of kings, the Savior of the world, and the great Judge of the whole world, he saith, I must not swear. Now the point is, whether I must obey Christ, or thee. For it is in tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear. And we have the word of a king for tender consciences.' G. Fox having spoken thus much, asked the judge, if he did own the king? To which he said, 'Yes, I do own the king.' 'Why then,' said he, 'dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters

of religion, so long as they lived peaceably? Now if thou ownest the king, why dost thou call me into question, and put me upon taking an oath, seeing thou, nor none, can charge me with unpeaceable living? The judge looking angry, said, 'Sirrah, will you swear?' To which G. Fox told him, 'I am none of thy sirrahs; I am a Christian; and for thee, who art an old man and a judge, to sit there and give nicknames to the prisoners, does not become either thy grey hairs or thy office.' The judge being a little more cool, after some words to and fro, said, 'G. Fox, say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay?' To which he replied, 'If I could take any oath at all, I should take this: for I do not deny some oaths only, or on some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who said, "Swear not at all." Now if thou, or any of you, or any of your ministers or priests here, will prove that ever Christ or his apostle, after they had forbidden all swearing, commanded Christians to swear, then I will swear.' None of the priests offering to speak, the judge said, 'I am a servant to the king, and the king sent me not to dispute with you, but to put the laws in execution; and therefore I tender the oath of allegiance.' G. Fox continuing to refuse swearing, was sent again to prison. Two days after, being brought again before the judge, it was asked him, whether he would traverse or submit? To which G. Fox said, he desired he might have liberty to traverse the indictment, and try it. Then order was given to take him away, and he was kept in prison till the next assizes.

Being prisoner in Lancaster castle, there was much talk of the Turks great progress in Hungary, there being at that time a war between the Emperor and the Turks; and many being afraid, he said to some, that walking once in his chamber, he saw the Lord's power turn against the Turk, and that he was turning back again. And within a month after news came that he was defeated. Another time, as he was walking in the room, with his mind upon the Lord, he saw an extraordinary great light, and looking up, he beheld an angel of the Lord, with a glittering sword stretched southward, which shone so bright, as if the court had been all on fire. Of which I have for proof what he mentions of it in his journal, and also another small book he gave out with the title of 'A Warning to England.' Not long after a war broke out between England and Holland, and some time after the pestilence appeared at London, (which lies southwardly from Lancaster,) and after two years that city by the fire was turned into rubbish.

But I return to the Lancaster assizes. Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, was also under confinement for refusing the oath of allegiance. And G. Fox being in prison, wrote several papers to the magistrates, in which he manifested the evil of persecution, and exhorted to virtue and piety.

In the month called August, the assizes were held again at Lancaster. G. Fox being brought thither, (judge Turner then sitting on the crown-bench,) and being called to the bar, the judge asked the justices, whether

they had tendered him the oath at the foregoing sessions? They saying they had, and having sworn it, the jury were sworn too. Then the judge asked him, whether he had not refused the oath at the last assizes? To which he answered, 'I never took an oath in my life; and Christ the Savior and Judge of the world said, "Swear not at all." The judge, seeming not to take notice of this answer, asked him whether or no he had not refused to take the oath at the last assizes? G. Fox maintaining the unlawfulness of swearing, the judge said, he was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to inquire whether he had refused to take the oath, or no. G. Fox then signifying that he did not disapprove the things mentioned in the oath, said, 'Plotting against the king, and owning the Pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'you say well in that: but did you deny to take the oath; what say you?' 'What wouldst thou have me to say?' replied he, 'I have told thee before what I did say.' After some more words from both sides, the indictment was read. G. Fox having informed himself of the errors that were in it, said, he had something to speak to it, for there were many gross errors in it. The judge signified that he would not hear him, but when he was at the point of giving judgment, the jury going out, soon returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon he told them, that both the justices and they too had forsworn themselves; which caused such confusion in the court, that the pronouncing of judgment was delayed. Margaret Fell being next brought to the bar, was also declared guilty.

The next day she and G. Fox were brought up again to receive sentence. Her council pleading many errors in her indictment, she was set by; and G. Fox then being called, showed himself unwilling to let any man plead for him; which seemed to make some stop; yet he was asked by the judge, what he had to say, why he should not pass sentence upon him. At which he told him, 'I am no lawyer, but yet I have much to say, if thou wilt but have patience to hear.' Thereupon those on the bench laughed, and said, 'Come what have you to say?' Then he asked the judge whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes. To which the judge said, 'To the subjects of this realm.' 'Then,' said George, 'look on the indictment, and ye may see that ye have left out the word subject: and not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath.' They then looking at the statute, and the indictment, saw that it was as he said, and the judge confessed that it was an error. Next G. F. told him, he had something else to stop judgment; and he desired them to look what day the indictment said the oath was tendered to him at the sessions there? They looking, said it was the eleventh of January. Then he asked, 'What day of the week was that sessions held on?' 'On a Tuesday,' said they. To which G. F. said, 'Look in your almanac, and see whether there was any session held at Lancaster on the eleventh of January.' They looking,

found that the eleventh day was the day called Monday, and that the sessions were on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of the said month: 'Look ye now,' said he, 'ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter-sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day, and the jury upon their oath have found me guilty thereupon; and yet ye see there was no sessions held at Lancaster that day.' The judge, to cover the matter, asked, whether the sessions did not begin on the eleventh day? To which some in the court answered, 'No; the sessions held but one day, and that was the twelfth.' Then the judge said, this was a great mistake, and an error. Some of the justices grew so angry at this, that they seeming ready to have gone off the bench, stamped, and said, 'Who hath done this? Somebody hath done this on purpose.' Then said G. F. 'Are not the justices here that have sworn to this indictment, forsworn men? But this is not all; I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me; in what year of the king was it, that the last assizes, which was in the month called March, was holden here?' To this the judge said it was in the sixteenth year of the king. 'But,' said G. Fox, 'the indictment says it was in the fifteenth year.' This was also acknowledged to be an error: but both judge and justices were in such a fret, that they knew not what to say; for it had been sworn also, that the oath was tendered to G. Fox at the assize mentioned in the indictment, viz. in the fifteenth year of the king, whereas it was in the sixteenth; which made G. Fox say, 'Is not the court here forsworn also, they having sworn a whole year falsely?' Some other remarkable errors he showed, which I, having no mind to be tedious, pass by with silence.

G. Fox then desiring justice, and saying, that he did not look for mercy, the judge said, 'You must have justice, and you shall have law': which made him ask, 'Am I now free from all that hath been done against me in this matter?' 'Yes,' said the judge; but then starting up in a rage he said, 'I can put the oath to any man here; and I will tender you the oath again.' G. Fox then telling him, that he had examples enough of yesterday's swearing and false swearing; 'For I saw before my eyes,' said he, 'that both justices and jury forswore themselves;' yet the judge asked him if he would take the oath? But he replied, 'Do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while;' for he had been locked up, as was well known, in a wet and cold room, and therefore he said, 'I ought to be set at liberty.' At which the judge said, 'You are at liberty, but I will put the oath to you again.' G. Fox then turning himself about, said to the people, 'Take notice, this is a snare; but I ought to be set free from the jailer and from this court.' But the judge instead of hearkening to that, cried, 'Give him the book.' G. Fox then taking the book, and looking in it, said, 'I see it is a bible, and I am glad of it.' In the meanwhile the jury being called by order of the judge, they stood by; for though they had desired, after they had brought in

their former verdict, to be dismissed, yet he told them, he could not dismiss them yet, because he should have business for them; and therefore they must attend, and be ready. G. Fox, perceiving his intent, looked him in the face, which made him blush: nevertheless he caused the oath to be read, and then asked G. Fox whether he would take the oath or no; to which he said, 'Ye have given me a book here to kiss, and to swear on; and this book says, kiss the Son; and the Son saith in this book, "Swear not at all," and so says also the apostle James: now I say, as the book says, and yet ye imprison me, for doing as the book bids me. How chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you, which bids me swear not? Why do not ye imprison the book also?' Whilst he was speaking thus, he held up the bible open, to show the place where Christ forbids swearing. But the book was taken from him, and the judge said, 'No, but we will imprison George Fox.'

This case was so singular, that it was spread over all the country, as a by-word, that they gave G. Fox a book to swear on, that commanded him not to swear at all, and that this book, viz. the Bible, was at liberty, and he in prison, for doing as the Bible said. But the judge urged him still to swear; to which G. Fox said, 'I am a man of a tender conscience; consider therefore, that it is in obedience to Christ's command that I cannot swear: but if any of you can convince me, that after Christ and the apostle had commanded not to swear, they did alter that command, and commanded Christians to swear, then ye shall see I will swear.' And he seeing there several priests, said, 'If ye cannot do it, let your priests do it.' But none of the priests said any thing; and the judge said, 'All the world cannot convince you.' To which he replied, 'How is it like the world should convince me? For the whole world lies in wickedness: but bring out your spiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me.' Then the sheriff and the judge said, that the angel swore in the Revelations. To which G. Fox replied, 'When God bringeth in his first-begotten Son into the world, he saith, "Let all the angels of God worship him;" and he said, "Swear not at all." 'Nay,' said the judge, 'I will not dispute.' Then he told the jury, it was for Christ's sake that he could not swear; and therefore he warned them not to act contrary to that of God in their consciences, because they must all appear before his judgment seat. After some more words spoken, the jailer took him away.

In the afternoon he was brought up again: and the jury having brought him in guilty of what he was charged with in the indictment, viz. his not taking the oath, the judge asked him, what he had to say for himself. He then desired the indictment to be read; since he could not answer to that which he had not heard. The clerk reading it, the judge said, 'Take heed it be not false again.' But the clerk read it in such a manner, that G. Fox could hardly understand what he read. And when he had done, the judge asked G. Fox what he had to say to the indict-



ment. To which he said at once, 'Hearing so large a writing read, and that at such a distance, that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it; I cannot well tell what to say to it: but if you will let me have a copy of it, and give me time to consider, I shall answer it.' This put the court to a little stand; but at length the judge asked him, what time he would have? And he answered, 'Till the next assize.' 'But,' said the judge, 'What plea will you make now; are you guilty, or not guilty?' To which he replied, 'I am not guilty at all of denying swearing obstinately and wilfully: and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as jesuitical plots, and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart: and if I could take any oath, I should take this; but I never took any oath in all my life.' To this the judge returned, 'You say well; but the king is sworn, the parliament is sworn, I am sworn, the justices are sworn, and the law is preserved by oaths.' On which G. Fox told him, they had had sufficient experience of men's swearing, and had seen how the justices and jury swore wrong the other day: and continued he, 'If thou hast read in the Book of Martyrs, how many of them did refuse to swear, both within the time of the ten persecutions, and in bishop Bonner's day, thou mayest see that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command, is no new thing.' To this the judge said, he wished the laws were otherwise. G. Fox said then, 'Our yea is yea, and our nay is nay: and if we transgress our yea and our nay, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely. This I have offered to the king, and the king said it was reasonable.'

After some further discourse, G. Fox was committed to prison again, and colonel Kirby ordered the jailer to keep him close, and to suffer nobody to come to him, as one that was not fit to be discoursed with. The jailer did not scruple to follow this order, for he locked him up in a smoky tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, that sometimes one could hardly see a burning candle; so that there seemed to have been an intent to choke him; for the turnkey could hardly be persuaded to unlock one of the upper doors a little to let out the smoke. Besides this hardship, in wet weather it rained in upon his bed to that degree, that his shirt grew wet. In this pitiful condition he laid during a long cold winter, which so afflicted him, that his body swelled, and his limbs were much benumbed. Here we will leave him till he was brought again to his trial, which was not before the next year.

But before I part with him, I must mention, that some time before he had written several papers to the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, and also to the pope. These writings were by somebody else turned into Latin, and so given out in print. In these he levelled chiefly against persecution for religion's sake. He reproved the king of Spain more especially, because of the inquisition, and the burning of people: and he did not spare the pope, as being the spring of these evils, saying, 'Innocent blood hath long cried for vengeance to the Lord: the earth almost swims with innocent blood; and the cry of it is heard. Your

frozen profession, and your cold winter images being set up in your streets, the Lord God of power and dread, and of heaven and earth, will be avenged on thee, and you all; his day is approaching. Ye great and rich cardinals and pope, ye have been fed like fat hogs; and seeing that you would not receive the Lord's messengers, but threw them in prison, and in your inquisition, it may be the Lord may give you a visit another way, for his dread is gone out, and his zeal is kindled against you. The fields are sprinkled with the blood of the innocent, and ye are the aceldama, or the field of blood. But the Lord is coming to take vengeance upon you; his hand is stretched over your heads, and his power is gone over you; with that he will rule you, and smite you down, and bring you that are lofty from your seats, and abase your pride, and take the glory to himself. How much blood, which is unmeasurable, and cannot be measured here, have ye drank since the days of the apostles, and made yourselves drunk with it! But now is the indignation and wrath of the Almighty come and coming upon you; and thou pope must feel it. Tremble therefore, thou pope, tremble, fear and quake thou pope, tremble ye cardinals, tremble ye Jesuits, tremble ye priors, tremble ye monks and friars, of what rank soever, for the army of the Lord God is coming over you, by whom ye shall be shaken, and dashed to pieces.' These are but small sparkles of that flame which G. Fox blew against the pope, intermixing his writings with many demonstrations, that the Romish church was the whore of Babel, and that she it was that had defiled herself with idolatry and superstition, and had bathed herself in the blood of the saints, having furiously attacked them with sword and fire. This he concluded with these words: 'The plagues of God will be thy portion, O pope, who hath deceived the nations: and all ye Jesuits and cardinals, howl, for your misery is coming, the mighty day of the Lord God upon you all; the Lord God, who will be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and with none of your inventions.' Thus G. Fox wrote in that day to the pope and his counsellors; and no wonder that he paid dear for this sharp language against the head of the church of Rome; for it may be believed, that a great many of the court party, in those days, were either concealed Papists, or favorers of them; and yet among the national clergy, and even those of other persuasions, many branded the Quakers with the odious name of secret Papists, thereby to make them incur the hatred of the people.

Now I return to Francis Howgill, whom in the foregoing year we left in prison at Appleby. It was in the forepart of this year that he was brought to his trial. Being come into court before the judges sat, he spoke to the clerk of the assizes, and told him, he did not know whether they expected his appearance then or not: the clerk said, 'You have done well,' and that he would acquaint the judge, and he should only engage to him to appear the next assizes, to answer the indictment against him, and that he should not appear in court; Francis bid him do what

he would. In the meantime Sir Philip Musgrave, (so called,) a great adversary to the Truth, and the great and chief prosecutor of Francis, had informed the judges against him, that he was a dangerous person, a ringleader, and a keeper up of meetings of dangerous consequence, and destructive to the peace of the nation ; so then they concluded he should appear in court ; and so the clerk informed him, and told him about what time he should be called. So the court began ; judge Twisden gave the charge to the grand jury, in which he said, there was a sort of people, who under pretence of conscience and religion, seemed to build upon the king's declaration from Breda, and under color of this, hatched treasons and rebellions, and gave the jury charge to inquire and present such, that the peace of the nation might be preserved ; so they impanneled the jury, and Francis was called to the bar, and the judge spake as followeth :

Judge, speaking calmly to him, said, the face of things was much altered since the last assizes, and made a large speech to him and the country, telling him, that all sects under pretence of conscience did violate the laws, and hatched rebellions, ' Not, (saith he,) that I have any thing to charge you with ; but seeing the oath of allegiance was tendered to you the last assizes, and you refused to take it, it was looked upon that such persons were enemies to the king and government ;' and said, ' I will not trouble you now to answer to your indictment, but I must do that the next assizes ; in the meantime you must enter into recognizance for your good behavior.'

To which F. H. answered, I desire liberty to speak, which he had without interruption, and said as followeth :

F. H. Judge Twisden, thou very well knowest upon how slender an account, or none, I was brought before thee the last assizes, where thou wert pleased to tender me the oath of allegiance, though I believe both thou and the rest of the court, did know it was a received principle among us not to swear at all ; many reasons I gave thee then, many more I have to add, if I may have audience ; for it may appear to you an absurd thing, and obstinacy in me to refuse it, if I should not tender a reason ; I am, (said he,) none of those that make religion a cloak of maliciousness, nor conscience a cloak to carry on plots or conspiracies ; the Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of such things, and seeing I am engaged to appear at the next assizes, I desire no further thing may be required of me.

Judge. You must enter into bond this dangerous time, and therefore consider of it, and tell me now, or before the assizes end.

The second day of the assizes he was called again.

F. H. Seeing thou art pleased to let me answer to the indictment, which I am willing to do, I have been of good behavior, and shall so continue ; but it seems a hard thing to me, and full of severity, that seeing I am obliged to appear to answer an indictment of so high a nature, (if prosecuted against me,) which tends to the loss of my liberty for life, and my estate forever I hope the court will not envy my liberty for five months.

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Judge Turner said, We do not desire your imprisonment, if you will be of good behavior,

F. H. pressed that they would not put him upon giving bond to be of good behavior, knowing himself to be bound by the truth, that he could not misbehave himself.

One Daniel Flemming, another persecuting justice, had framed another indictment against him for meeting, and stood up, (fearing the snare of giving bond would not hold,) and said as followeth :

D. Flemming. My lord, he is a great speaker, it may be the Quakers cannot want him.

Judge. Let him be what he will, if he will enter into bond.

F. H. said he had nothing to accuse himself of, for his conscience bore him witness that he loved peace, and sought it with all men.

Judges both spake. What do you tell of conscience? We meddle not with it ; but you condemn the laws, and keep up great meetings, and go not to church.

F. H. We are fallen in a sad age ; if meeting together peaceably, without arms, or force, or intention of hurt to any man, only to worship God in Spirit, and exhort one another to righteousness, and to pray together in the Holy Ghost, as the primitive Christians of old, that this should be reckoned breach of peace and misbehavior.

Judge Twisden. Do you compare these times with those ? They were heathens that persecuted, but we are Christian magistrates.

F. H. It is a doctrine always held by us, and a received principle which we believe, that Christ's kingdom could not be set up with carnal weapons ; nor the gospel propagated by force of arms, nor the church of God built with violence ; but the Prince of Peace was manifested amongst us, and we could learn war no more, but could love enemies, and forgive them that did evil to us.

Philip Musgrave stood up, and said, ' My Lord, we have been remiss towards this people, and have striven with them, and put them in prison again and again, and fined them, and as soon as they are out they meet again.'

Then stood up John Lowther, called a justice, and said, ' My Lord, they grow insolent, notwithstanding all laws, and the execution of them, yet they grow upon us, and their meetings are dangerous.'

Philip Musgrave stood up, and produced a paper, (and justice Flemming, so called, seconded him,) in great capital letters, and gave it the judge ; he told the judge, that it happened some Quakers were sent to prison, and one of them died at Lancaster, and they carried his corpse through the country, and set that paper upon his coffin, ' This is the body of such an one, who was persecuted by Daniel Flemming till death.'

Judge. We have spent much time with you ; I will discourse no more.

F. H. I acknowledge your moderation towards me, allowing me liberty to speak ; I shall not trouble you much longer ; I shall be willing to appear to answer to the indictment at the assizes, and in the meantime to live peaceably and quietly, as I have done, if that will satisfy.

Judge. You must enter into bond to go to no more meetings.

F. H. I cannot do that ; if I should, I were treacherous to God and my own conscience, and the people and you would but judge me a hypocrite.

They were loth to commit him, yet at last they did.

This was in the latter part of the month called March, and he was kept about five months as before in a bad room, and none suffered to speak with him, but who got secretly to him without the jailer's knowledge.

It was about this time that John Audland departed this life. He and his bosom friend, John Camm, (whose decease was some years before,) had travelled much together in the ministry of the gospel : therefore I will give an uninterrupted relation of their latter end ; but first that of John Camm.

He was of very good parentage, born at Camsgil, in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, which seat had been possessed by his ancestors long before him. From his childhood he was inclined to be religious, and seeking after the best things, he joined with those that were the most strict in performing religious duties. And having afterwards heard G. Fox, he embraced as truth the doctrine he preached, and growing up in it, he himself became an eminent minister of the gospel among those called Quakers. He and his bosom friend John Audland, were the first of that society who preached at Bristol, where having been in the meetings of the Baptists and Independents, they also had meetings in several places without the city, where there was a great concourse of people, and many received their doctrine. Since that time these two ministers travelled much together, and many were convinced by their ministry. But at length John Camm, who did not spare himself, began to fall under a kind of consumption, insomuch that through weakness he was fain to stay at home ; and then he often called his children and family together, exhorting them to godliness, and praying to the Lord for them. Some weeks before his death, he once expressed himself thus : ' How great a benefit do I enjoy above many, having such a large time of preparation for death, being daily dying, that I may live for ever with my God, in that kingdom that is unspeakably full of glory. My outward man daily wastes and moulders down, and draws towards its place and centre ; but my inward man revives, and mounts upwards towards its place and habitation in the heavens.' The morning that he departed this life, he called his wife, children, and family, to him, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, to love his truth, to walk in it, and to be loving and kind to one another, telling them that his glass was run, the time of his departure was come ; and he was to enter into everlasting ease, joy, and rest : charging them all to be patient and content with their parting with him. And so fainting, he passed into a sweet sleep ; but by the weeping and crying of those about him, he awakened, and desired to be helped up a little in his bed, and then he spoke to this effect : ' My dear

hearts, ye have wronged me and disturbed me, for I was at sweet rest ; ye should not so passionately sorrow for my departure ; this house of earth and clay must go to its place ; and this soul and spirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to live with him for ever, where we shall meet with everlasting joy.' Then taking leave of his family, he charged them to be content with his departure ; and lying down, within a little time deceased.

His beloved friend John Audland, (who often bemoaned the loss of so dear a companion,) died also of a kind of consumption : for his ardent zeal made him strain his voice beyond what his body was well able to bear. In a meeting, which he once had with J. Camm, in a field without Bristol, where Charles Marshall was one of his auditors, after J. Camm had left off speaking, he stood up, with an awful and shining countenance ; and lifting up his voice as a trumpet, he said, 'I proclaim a spiritual war with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and separation from God, and I prophecy to the four winds of heaven.' Thus he went on with mighty power, exhorting to repentance ; and spoke with such a piercing authority, that some of the auditory fell on the ground, and cried out under the sense of their transgression. And when at Bristol he many times preached in an orchard to a great multitude, he would lift up his voice exceedingly, in order to be heard by all. Thus he spent his natural strength, though he was but a young man. About the twentieth year of his age, he married with one Anne Newby, of Kendal, a virtuous maid, not only of good family, but also excelling in piety, and therefore she freely gave him up to travel in the service of the gospel, notwithstanding his company was very dear to her ; which made her say, that she believed few ever enjoyed a greater blessing in a husband so kind and affectionate. And how heartily and tenderly she loved him, may be seen by the following letter she wrote to him.

*' Dear Husband,*

*'Thou art dearer to me than ever. my love flows out to thee, even the same love that I am loved withal of my Father. In that love salute me to all my friends, for dear you are all unto me ; my life is much refreshed in hearing from you. I received thy letters, and all my soul desireth is to hear from thee in the life ; dear heart, in life dwell, there I am with thee out of all time, out of all words, in the pure power of the Lord, there is my joy and strength. O ! how am I refreshed to hear from thee, to hear of thy faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord. O ! dear heart, I cannot utter the joy I have concerning thee ; thy presence I have continually in spirit, therewith am I filled with joy ; all glory and honor be to our God for ever. O ! blessed be the day in which thou wast born, that thou art found worthy to labor in the work of the Lord. Surely the Lord hath found thee faithful in a little, therefore he hath committed much unto thee ; go on in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, from whence all strength cometh, to whom*

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be all glory and honor for ever. O! dear heart, go on, conquering and to conquer, knowing this, that thy crown is sure. So, dear heart, now is the time of the Lord's work, and few are willing to go forth into it. All the world lieth in wickedness, doing their own work; but blessed be the Lord for ever, who hath called us from doing our own work, into his great work. O! marvellous are his works, and his ways past finding out. O! dear heart, thou knowest my heart, thou mayest read daily how that I rejoice in nothing more than in thy prosperity in the work of the Lord: Oh! it is past my utterance to express the joy I have for thee. I am full, I am full of love towards thee, never such love as this; the mighty power of the Lord go along with thee, and keep thee faithful and valiant, and bold in his pure counsel, to stand single out of all the world. O! dear heart, all my love to thee is purer than gold seven times purified in the fire: O! pure is he that hath loved us, therefore let purity and holiness cover us for ever. A joyful word it was to me, to hear that thou wast moved to go for Bristol: O my own heart, my own life! in that which now stands, act and obey, that thou mayest stand upon thy alone guard; so, dear heart, let thy prayers be for me, that I may be kept pure out of all temptations, singly to dwell in the life: so farewell.

ANNE AUDLAND.'

By this letter it appears, that there was an endeared mutual love between this virtuous couple. He was a man of great knowledge, but when his understanding came to be opened by the preaching of G. Fox, he would say, sometimes, 'Ah, what have we been doing! Or what availeth our great profession? All our building tumbles down; our profession is high as the wind; the day of the Lord is upon it, and his word, as a fire, consumes it as dry stubble; and puts an end to all empty professions and high notions, without life or substance; to all the wisdom of fallen man. We must forsake the world, and all its glory; it is all but vanity and vexation of spirit: it is a Savior that I long for; it is him that my soul pants after. O that I may be gathered into his life, and overshadowed with his glory, sanctified throughout by his word, and raised up by his eternal power!' He continuing in this state of daily supplication and inward travail of soul, it pleased the Lord at length to furnish him with an extraordinary qualification to proclaim his word, which he did some years faithfully and with great zeal. And though his wife loved him dearly, and preferred his company above what the world could give; yet in regard of his gospel service, she gave him up freely to be much from home; whereby during a great part of the time of their marriage, she had not his desirable company.

In the meanwhile he labored diligently in the Lord's harvest, till his bodily strength failing, and meeting with hard imprisonments, he was seized with a most violent cough, which was followed by a fever, so that his sleep was taken from him, which made him grow very weak: but he

bore his sickness with great patience, and said once, that in those great meetings in the orchard at Bristol, he often forgot himself, not considering the inability of his body, from a desire to be heard by all : but that his reward was with him, and he content to be with the Lord, which his soul valued above all things. Not long before his departure, being visited by some of his friends, he spoke so comfortably, and with such power, as one that was beyond the feeling of his weakness. To his wife, who was big with child, and nigh her delivery, and well knowing how tenderly she loved him, he said, ' My will is in true subjection, submitting to the will of the Lord, whether life or death ; and therefore give me up freely to his disposing.' And she, how dear soever he was to her, did so ; which gave him some ease, seeing her sincere resignedness ; and being sometimes overcome with joy, he praised God in his sickness ; nay so ardent was his zeal, that once, though very weak, he desired to be helped up in bed upon his knees ; and thus he fervently supplicated the Lord in the behalf of his churches, that they might be preserved in the truth, out of the evil of the world, and that his gospel might spread, and be published to the gathering of all that pertain to Israel. His strength now diminishing daily, he sweetly departed at the age of thirty-four years, about three weeks after the fever first seized him. And his widow, who ten days after his decease was delivered of a son, behaved herself discreetly, and said afterwards in a paper concerning him : ' The eternal God, who by his providence, joined us together in marriage, in our young days, in his blessed counsel also caused his day to spring from on high upon us : in the marvellous light, and bright shining whereof, he revealed his Son Christ in us, and gave us faith to believe in him, the eternal word of life, by which our souls came to be quickened, and made alive in him : and also in and by the quickening of his holy power, we were made one in a spiritual and heavenly relation, our hearts being knit together in the unspeakable love of truth, which was our life, joy, and delight, and made our days together exceeding comfortable : as being that whereby all our temporal enjoyments were sanctified, and made a blessing to us. How hard it was, and how great a loss, to part with so dear and tender a husband as he was to me, is far beyond what I can express : the dolor of my heart, my tongue or pen is not able to declare. Yet in this I contented myself, that it was the will of the Lord that he was taken from the evil ; and that my loss, though great, was not to be compared to his eternal gain. This widow, in process of time, was married to Thomas Camm, son of John Camm, her former husband's bosom friend. She was indeed a woman of great virtue, but now I part with her, with intention to say more of her when I shall come to the time of her decease.

I return to Francis Howgill, whom we left in prison, and who now appeared again at the assizes, which were holden at Appleby, in the month called August. And he having got liberty to speak with the clerk of the assizes, who told him, that he must prepare himself to come to a trial ; answered, he was prepared, but thought that all he could



say, would little avail, believing they purposed to prosecute him with all severity: which proved so, as will appear by what follows: for the county justices had incensed the judges against him before hand. Yet Howgill endeavored all he could to convince them of his innocency; and to that end drew up the substance of the oath into several heads which he could subscribe to; to this he joined another paper to judge Turner, showing the cause of his first commitment and the former proceedings against him: and how unequal it was to prosecute him upon a statute made against popish recusants. He also signified in that paper, that he was a man of a tender spirit, and feared the Lord from a child, and had never taken any oath but once in his life, which was twenty years ago; and that his refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was not in any evil intent to the king's person or government, but merely upon a conscientious account, and that he could not swear, being otherwise persuaded of the Lord, seeing it was against the command of Christ, and the apostle James' doctrine. Besides, that he was able to make it evident to be against the example of the primitive Christians for divers hundred years, and so no new opinion. That he did neither in wilfulness nor obstinacy refuse it, being sensible of the damage that would come thereby, if they did prosecute him upon that statute, he having a wife and children, and some small estate, which he knew lay at stake in the matter; but that though it were his life also, he could not revolt from, or deny that which he had most certainly believed in; but if any could convince him either by scripture or reason, he had an ear to hear. And therefore all those things considered, he desired he might be dismissed from his bonds, and from their persecution of him upon that account. These papers were delivered to the judges and justices before he appeared in court, and were read by them. He then being called to the bar at the assizes holden at Appleby, judge Turner said to him 'Here is an indictment against you for refusing to take the oath of allegiance; so you must plead to it, either guilty or not guilty.'

F. H. with a heart girded up with strength and courage, said, 'Judge Turner, may I have liberty to speak, and make my defence, for I have none to plead my cause but the Lord?'

Judge. You may.

F. H. I will lay the true state of my case before thee, and of the proceedings against me from the first, seeing judge Twisden is not here, who had knowledge of all the proceedings hitherto. I am a countryman, born and brought up in this country; my carriage and conversation is known, how I have walked peaceably towards all men, as I hope my countrymen can testify. About a year ago being at my neighboring market-town about my reasonable and lawful occasions, I was sent for by a high constable out of the market to the justices of peace, before whom I went; and when I came there, they had nothing to lay to my charge, but fell to ask me questions to ensnare me about our meetings; and when they could find no occasion, they seemed to tender the oath of

• allegiance to me, though they never read it to me, neither did I positively deny it, yet they committed me to prison ; and so I was brought hither to this assize, and then the mittimus by which I was committed, was called for, and the judge read it, and said to the justices it was insufficient : nevertheless judge Twisden tendered the oath of allegiance to me ; many things I did allege then, and many more I have to say now, if time will permit : from that time I was under an engagement to appear at the next assizes, and so was called, and did appear at the last jail-delivery, and a further obligation was required of me for good behavior, which I could not give, lest I should be brought into a further snare ; and since that time I have been committed prisoner these five months, some of which time I have been kept under great restraint, my friends not permitted to speak to me ; and thus briefly I have given thee an account hitherto. As to the oath, the substance thereof, with the representation of my case, is presented to the court already, unto which I have set my hand, and also shall in those words testify the same in open court, if required ; and seeing it is the very substance the law doth require I desire it may be accepted, and I, cleared from my imprisonment.

Judge. I am come to execute the law, and the law requires an oath, and I cannot alter it ; do you think the law must be changed for you, or only for a few ; if this be suffered, the administration of justice is hindered, no action can be tried, nor evidence given for the king, nor other particular cases tried ; and your principles are altogether inconsistent with the law and government ; I pray you show me which way we shall proceed ; show me some reason, and give me some ground.

F. H. I shall ; in the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth is confirmed ; and we never denied to give, and still are ready to give evidence for the king wherein we are concerned, and in any other matter for the ending of strife between man and man in truth and righteousness, and this answers the substance of the law.

Judge. Is this a good answer, think you ? whether to be given with or without oath : the law requires an oath.

F. H. Still evidence is and may be given in truth, according to the substance of the law, so that no detriment cometh unto any party, seeing that true testimony may be borne without an oath ; and I did not speak of changing the law : yet seeing we never refused giving testimony, which answereth the intent and substance of the law, I judged it was reasonable to receive our testimony, and not to expose us to such sufferings, seeing we scrupled an oath only upon a conscientious account, in tenderness of conscience, for fear of breaking the command of Christ, the Savior of the world, which if we do, there is none of you able to plead our cause for us with him.

Judge. But why do you not go to church, but meet in houses and private conventicles, which the law forbids.

F. H. We meet together only for the worship of the true God in Spirit and Truth, having the primitive Christians for our example, and to no

other end, but that we may be edified, and God glorified ; and when two or three are met together in the name of Christ, and he in the midst of them, there is a church.

Judge. That is true : but how long is it since you have been at church ? Or will you go to the church the law doth allow of ? Give me some reasons who you do not go.

F. H. I have many to give thee, if thou hast patience to hear me : first, God dwells not in temples made with men's hands. Secondly, the parish house hath been a temple for idols, to wit, for the mass and the rood ; and I dare have no fellowship with idols, nor worship in idols' temples ; for what have we to do with idols, their temples and worship ?

Judge. Were there not houses called the houses of God, and temples ?

F. H. Yes, under the law ; but the Christians, who believed in Christ, separated from these, (and the temple was made and left desolate,) and from the Gentiles' temples too, and met together in houses, and broke bread from house to house ; and the church was not confined then to one particular place, neither is it now ; many more things I have to say : (the judge interrupted.)

Judge. Will you answer to your indictment ?

F. H. I know not what it is ; I never heard it, though I have often desired a copy.

Judge. Clerk, read it.

So he read it : how that F. H. had wilfully, obstinately, and contemptuously denied to swear when the oath was tendered.

F. H. I deny it.

Judge. What do you deny ?

F. H. The indictment.

Judge. Did you not deny to swear ? And the indictment convicts you that you did not swear.

F. H. I gave unto the court the substance of the oath, as you all know. Secondly, I told you I did not deny it out of obstinacy or wilfulness, neither in contempt of the king's law or government ; for my will would rather choose my liberty, than bonds ; and I am sensible it is like to be a great damage to me ; I have a wife and children, and some estate, which we might subsist upon, and do good to others, and I know all this lies at stake ; but if it were my life also, I durst not but do as I do, lest I should incur the displeasure of God ; and do you judge I would lose my liberty wilfully, and suffer the spoiling of my estate, and the ruining of my wife and children in obstinacy and wilfulness ? Surely nay.

Judge. Jury, you see he denies the oath, and he will not plead to the indictment, only excepts against it because of the form of words, but you see he will not swear, and yet he says he denies the indictment, and you see

ground.

the jailer to witness and swear that at the last  
sc., which he did ; and the jury, without going

from the bar, gave in their verdict, guilty, and then the court broke up that night.

The next day towards evening, when they had tried all the prisoners, Francis was brought to the bar to receive his sentence.

Judge stood up and said, 'Come, the indictment is proved against you, what have you to say why sentence shall not be given?'

F. H. I have many things to say, if you will hear them. First, as I have said, I denied not out of obstinacy or wilfulness, but was willing to testify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I was concerned. Secondly, because swearing was directly against the command of Christ. Thirdly, against the doctrine of the apostle. Fourthly, even some of your principal pillars of the church of England; as bishop Usher, some time primate of Ireland, he said in his works, the Waldenses did deny all swearing in their age, from that command of Christ and the apostle James, and it was a sufficient ground; and Dr. Gauden, late bishop of Exeter, in a book of his I lately read, he cited very many ancient fathers, to show, that the first three hundred years Christians did not swear, so that it is no new doctrine.

To which the court seemed to give a little ear, and said nothing, but talked one to another, and Francis stood silent, and then the judge said, Judge. Surely you mistake.

F. H. I have not the books here.

Judge. Will you say upon your honest word they denied all swearing?

F. H. What I have said is true.

Judge. Why do you not come to church, and hear service, and be subject to the law, and to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake?

F. H. We are subject, and for that cause we do pay taxes, tribute and custom, and give unto Cæsar the things that are his, and unto God the things that are his, to wit, worship, honor and obedience; and if thou mean the parish assembly, I tell thee faithfully, I am persuaded, and upon good ground, their teachers are not the ministers of Christ, neither their worship the worship of God.

Judge. Why; it may be for some small things in the service, you reject it all.

F. H. First, it is manifest they are time-servers, one while preaching up that, for divine service to people, that another while they cry down, as popish, superstitious and idolatrous; and that, which they have preached up twenty years together, make shipwreck of all in a day; and now again call it divine, and would have all compelled to that, themselves once made void.

Judge. Why; never since the king came in?

F. H. Yes; the same men that preached it down once, now cry it up; for they are so unstable and wavering, that we cannot believe they are the ministers of Christ. Secondly, they teach for hire, and live by forced maintenance, and would force a faith upon men, contrary to Christ and the apostle's rule, who would have every one persuaded in their own

minds, and said, whatsoever is not of faith is sin ; and yet they say, faith is the gift of God ; and we have no such faith given ; but yet they would force theirs upon us, and because we cannot receive it, they cry, you are not subject to authority and the laws, and nothing but confiscations, imprisonment and banishment is threatened, and this is their greatest plea ; I could mention more particulars ; (then the judge interrupted.)

Judge. Well, I see you will not swear, nor conform, nor be subject, and you think we deal severely with you, but if you would be subject, we should not need.

F. H. I do so judge indeed, that you deal severely with us for obedience to the commands of Christ ; I pray thee, canst thou show me how any of those people, for whom the act was made, have been proceeded against by this statute, though I envy no man's liberty.

Judge. Oh yes, I can instance you many up and down the country that are premunured ; I have done it myself, pronounced sentence against divers.

F. H. What, against Papists ?

Judge. No.

F. H. What, against the Quakers ? So I have heard indeed ; though then that statute was made against Papists, thou lettest them alone, and executest it against the Quakers.

Judge. Well, you will meet in great numbers, and do increase, but there is a new statute will make you fewer.

F. H. Well, if we must suffer, it is for Christ's sake, and for well doing.

Francis then being silent, the judge pronounced the sentence, but spake so low, that the prisoner, though near to him, could scarce hear it.

The sentence was, ' You are put out of the king's protection, and the benefit of the law, your lands are confiscated to the king during your life ; and your goods and chattels for ever, and you to be prisoner during your life.'

F. H. A hard sentence for my obedience to the commands of Christ ; the Lord forgive you all.

So he turned from the bar : but the judge speaking, he turned again, and many more words passed to the same purpose, as before : at last, the judge rose up and said.

Judge. Well, if you will yet be subject to the laws, the king will show you mercy.

F. H. The Lord hath shown mercy unto me, and I have done nothing against the king, nor government, nor any man, and blessed be the Lord, and therein stands my peace ; for it is for Christ's sake I suffer, and not for evil doing. And so the court broke up. The people were generally moderate, and many were sorry to see what was done against him ; but Francis signified how contented and glad he was, that he had any thing to lose for the Lord's precious Truth, of which he had publicly borne testimony, and that he was now counted worthy to suffer for it.

This he did cheerfully, and died in bonds, after above four years' imprisonment, as may be related in its due time. He was a man of learning, and a great writer among his fellow-believers; insomuch, that during his confinement he wrote not only several edifying epistles to exhort them to constancy and steadfastness, in the doctrine of Truth, but also some books to refute the opposers of it.

We have here seen how the judge said, there is a new statute which will make you fewer. This statute bore the title of 'An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles.' And though the act made two years before did extend to banishment, yet that punishment was renewed, and expressed more at large in this, which was as followeth :

Whereas an act made in the five and thirtieth year of the reign of our late sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, entitled 'An Act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience,' hath not been put in due execution by reason of some doubt of late made, whether the said act be still in force; although it be very clear and evident, and it is hereby declared, that the said act is still in force, and ought to be put in due execution :

II. For providing therefore of further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, do at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience hath showed ;

III. Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any person of the age of sixteen years or upwards, being a subject of this realm, at any time after the 1st day of July, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred sixty and four, shall be present at any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; at which conventicle, meeting, or assembly, there shall be five persons or more assembled together, over and above those of the same household; then it shall and may be lawful to and for any two justices of the peace of the county, limit, division, or liberty wherein the offence aforesaid shall be committed, or for the chief magistrate of the place where such offence aforesaid shall be committed, (if it be within a corporation where there are not two justices of the peace,) (2) and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to them or him respectively made of such offence, either by confession of the party, or oath of witness, or notorious evidence of the fact, (which oath the said justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively, are hereby empowered and required to administer,) to make a record of every such offence and offences under their hands and seals respectively; (3) which record so made, as aforesaid, shall to all intents

and purposes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every such offender for such offence : and thereupon the said justices and chief magistrate respectively shall commit every such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, to the jail or house of correction, there to remain without bail or main-prize, for any time not exceeding the space of three months, unless such offender shall pay down to the said justices or chief magistrate such sum of money not exceeding five pounds, as the said justices or chief magistrate, (who are hereby thereunto authorized and required,) shall fine the said offender at, for his or her said offence ; which money shall be paid to the church wardens for the relief of the poor of the parish where such offender did last inhabit.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, shall at any time again commit the like offence contrary to this act, and be thereof in manner aforesaid convicted, then such offender so convicted of such second offence, shall incur the penalty of imprisonment in the jail or house of correction, for any time not exceeding six months, without bail or main-prize, unless such offender shall pay down to the said justices or chief magistrate, such sum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the said justices or chief magistrate, (who are thereunto authorized and required, as aforesaid,) shall fine the said offender at, for his or her said second offence, the said fine to be disposed in manner aforesaid.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any such offender so convicted of a second offence contrary to this act in manner aforesaid, shall at any time again commit the like offence, contrary to this act, then any two justices of the peace, and chief magistrate, as aforesaid, respectively, shall commit every such offender to the jail, or house of correction, there to remain without bail or main-prize until the next general quarter-sessions, assizes, jail-delivery, great sessions, or sitting of any commission of Oyer and Terminer in the respective county, limit, division or liberty which shall first happen ; (2) when and where every such offender shall be proceeded against by indictment for such offence, and shall forthwith be arraigned upon such indictment, and shall then plead the general issue of not guilty, and give any special matter in evidence, or confess the indictment ; (3) and if such offender proceeded against, shall be lawfully convicted of such offence, either by confession or verdict, or if such offender shall refuse to plead the general issue, or to confess the indictment, then the respective justices of peace at their general quarter-sessions, judges of assize and jail-delivery, at the assize and jail-delivery, justices of the great sessions at the great sessions, and commissioners of Oyer and Terminer at their sitting, are hereby enabled and required to cause judgment to be entered against such offender, that such offender shall be transported beyond the seas to any of his majesty's foreign plantations, (Virginia and New England only excepted,) there to remain seven years : (4) and shall forthwith under their hands and seals make out warrants to the sheriff or sheriffs of the same county where such

conviction or refusal to plead or to confess, as aforesaid, shall be, safely to convey such offender to some port or haven nearest or most commodious to be appointed by them respectively ; and from thence to embark such offender to be safely transported to any of his majesty's plantations beyond the seas, as shall be also by them respectively appointed, (Virginia and New England only excepted :) (5) whereupon the said sheriff shall safely convey and embark, or cause to be embarked such offender, to be transported, as aforesaid, under pain of forfeiting for default of so transporting every such offender, the sum of forty pounds of lawful money, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him or them that shall sue for the same in any of the king's courts of record, by bill, plaint, action of debt, or information ; in any of which no wager of law, essoin or protection shall be admitted : (6) and the said respective court shall then also make out warrants to the several constables, head-boroughs, or tything-men of the respective places where the estate real or personal of such offender so to be transported shall happen to be, commanding them thereby to sequester into their hands the profits of the lands, and to distrain and sell the goods of the offender so to be transported, for the reimbursing of the said sheriff all such reasonable charges as he shall be at, and shall be allowed him by the said respective court for such conveying, or embarking of such offender, so to be transported, rendering to the party, or his or her assigns, the overplus of the same, if any be, unless such offender, or some other on the behalf of such offender so to be transported, shall give the sheriff such security as he shall approve of, for the paying all the said charges unto him.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in default of defraying such charges by the parties to be transported, or some other in their behalf ; or in default of security given to the sheriff, as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for every such sheriff to contract with any master of a ship, merchant, or other person, for the transporting of such offender at the best rate he can : (2) and that in every such case it shall and may be lawful for such persons so contracting with any sheriff for transporting such offender, as aforesaid, to detain and employ every such offender so by them transported, as a laborer to them or their assigns, for the space of five years, to all intents and purposes, as if he or she were bound by indentures to such person for that purpose : (3) and that the respective sheriffs shall be allowed or paid from the king, upon their respective account in the exchequer, all such charges by them expended, for conveying, embarking, and transporting of such persons, which shall be allowed by the said respective courts from whence they received their respective warrants, and which shall not have been by any of the ways afore-mentioned, paid, secured, or reimbursed unto them, as aforesaid.

VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that in case the offender so indicted and convicted for the said third offence, shall pay into the hands of the register or clerk of the court or sessions where he shall be convicted, (before the said court or sessions shall be ended ) the



sum of one hundred pounds, that then the said offender shall be discharged from imprisonment and transportation, and the judgment for the same.

VIII. And be it further enacted, that the like imprisonment, indictment, arraignment and proceedings shall be against every such offender, as often as he shall again offend after such third offence; nevertheless is dischargeable and discharged, by the payment of the like sum as was paid by such offender for his or her said offence next before committed, together with the additional and increased sum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offence committed; (2) the said respective sums to be paid as aforesaid, and to be disposed as followeth, viz. the one moiety for the repair of the parish church or churches, chapel or chapels of such parish within which such conventicle, assembly, or meeting shall be held; and the other moiety to the repair of the highways of the said parish or parishes, (if need require,) or otherwise for the amendment of such highways as the justices of peace at their respective quarter-sessions shall direct and appoint. (3) And if any constable, head-borough or tything-man, shall neglect to execute any the said warrants made unto them for sequestering, distraining, and selling any of the goods and chattels of any offender against this act, for the levying such sums of money as shall be imposed for the first or second offence, he shall forfeit for every such neglect, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him that shall sue for the same in any of the king's courts of record, as is aforesaid. (4) And if any person be at any time sued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, such person shall and may plead the general issue, and give the special matter in evidence; (5) And if the plaintiff be nonsuited, or a verdict pass for the defendant thereupon, or if the plaintiff discontinue his action, or if upon demurrer, judgment be given for the defendant, every such defendant shall have his or their treble costs.

IX. And be it further enacted, that if any person against whom judgment of transportation shall be given in manner aforesaid, shall make escape before transportation, or being transported as aforesaid, shall return unto this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, without the special license of his majesty, his heirs and successors, in that behalf first had and obtained, that the party so escaping or returning, shall be adjudged a felon, and shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy, (2) and shall forfeit and lose to his majesty all his or her goods and chattels for ever; and shall further lose to his majesty all his or her lands, tenements and hereditaments for and during the life only of such offender, and no longer: and that the wife of any such offender by force of this act, shall not lose her dower, nor shall any corruption of blood grow, or be by reason of any such offence mentioned in this act; but that the heir of every such offender by force of this act, shall and may after the death of such offender, have and enjoy the lands, tenements and hereditaments of such offenders, as if this act had not been made.

X. And for better preventing of the mischiefs which may grow by such seditious and tumultuous meetings, under pretence of religious worship, (2) Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lieutenants or deputy-lieutenants, or any commissioned officers of the militia, or any other of his majesty's forces, with such troops or companies of horse or foot; and also the sheriffs and justices of peace, and other magistrates and ministers of justice, or any of them jointly or severally, within any the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, with such other assistance as they shall think meet, or can get in readiness with, the soonest, on certificate made to them respectively under the hand and seal of any one justice of the peace, or chief magistrate, as aforesaid, of his particular information or knowledge of such unlawful meetings, or conventicles held or to be held in their respective counties or places, and that he, (with such assistance as he can get together, is not able to suppress or dissolve the same,) shall and may, and are hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are so held, or to be held, and by the best means they can to dissolve and dissipate, or prevent all such unlawful meetings, and take into their custody such of those persons so unlawfully assembled as they shall judge to be the leaders and seducers of the rest, and such others as they shall think fit to be proceeded against according to law for such their offences.

XI. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person who shall wittingly and willingly suffer any such conventicle, unlawful assembly, or meeting aforesaid, to be held in his or her house, out-house, barn or room, yard or back-side, woods or grounds, shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures as any other offender against this act ought to incur, and be proceeded against in all points, in such manner as any other offender against this act ought to be proceeded against.

XII. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any keeper of any jail or house of correction, shall suffer any person committed to his custody for any offence against this act, to go at large, contrary to the warrant of his commitment according to this act, or shall permit any person who is at large, to join with any person committed to his custody by virtue of this act, in the exercise of religion, differing from the rites of the church of England, then every such keeper of a jail or house of correction, shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of ten pounds, to be levied, raised, and disposed by such persons and in such manner as the penalties for the first and second offences against this act are to be levied, raised, and disposed.

XIII. Provided always, that no person shall be punished for any offence against this act, unless such offender be prosecuted for the same within three months after the offence committed: (2) and that no person who shall be punished for any offence by virtue of this act, shall be punished for the same offence by virtue of any other act or law whatsoever.

XIV. Provided also, and be it enacted, that judgment of transportation shall not be given against any femme covert, unless her husband be at the same time under the like judgment, and not discharged by the payment of money as aforesaid ; but that instead thereof, she shall by the respective court be committed to the jail or house of correction, there to remain without bail or main-prize, for any time not exceeding twelve months, unless her husband shall pay down such sum, not exceeding forty pounds, to redeem her from imprisonment, as shall be imposed by the said court, the said sum to be disposed by such persons, and in such manner, as the penalties for the first and second offence against this act are to be disposed.

XV. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively empowered as aforesaid to put this act in execution, shall and may, with what aid, force, and assistance they shall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refusal or denial, enter into any house, or other place, where they shall be informed any such conventicle as aforesaid, is or shall be held.

XVI. Provided, that no dwelling-house of any peer of this realm, whilst he or his wife shall be there resident, shall be searched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant from his majesty under his sign-manual, or in the presence of the lieutenant, or one of the deputy-lieutenants, or two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum of the same county or riding : (2) nor shall any other dwelling-house of any peer or other person whatsoever, be entered into with force by virtue of this act, but in the presence of one justice of the peace, or chief magistrate respectively, except within the city of London, where it shall be lawful for any such other dwelling-house to be entered into as aforesaid, in presence of one justice of the peace, alderman, deputy-alderman, or any one commissioner for the lieutenancy for the city of London.

XVII. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall by virtue of this act be committed to the house of correction, that shall satisfy the said justices of the peace, or chief magistrate respectively, that he or she, (and in case of a femme covert, that her husband,) hath an estate of freehold, or copy hold, to the value of five pounds per annum, or personal estate to the value of fifty pounds ; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

XVIII. And in regard, a certain sect called Quakers, and other sectaries, are found not only to offend in the matters provided against by this act, but also obstruct the proceedings of justice by their obstinate refusal to take oaths lawfully tendered unto them in the ordinary course of law ; (2) Therefore be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons being duly and legally served with process, or other summons, to appear in any court of record, except courtleets, as a witness, or returned to serve of any jury, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, or being present in court, shall refuse to take legally tendered to him by the judge or judges of

the same court, having no legal plea to justify or excuse the refusal of the same oath ; (3) Or if any person or persons being duly served with process, to answer any bill exhibited against him or them in any court of equity, or any suit in any court ecclesiastical, shall refuse to answer such bill or suit upon his or their corporal oath, in cases where the law requires such answer to be put in upon oath ; or being summoned to be a witness in any such court, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, shall for any cause or reason, not allowed by law, refuse to take such oath, as in such cases is required by law ; (4) that then, and in such case, the several and respective courts wherein such refusal shall be made, shall be, and are hereby enabled to record, enter, or register such refusal, which record or entry shall be, and is hereby made a conviction of such offence ; (5) and all and every person and persons so as aforesaid offending, shall for every such offence incur the judgment and punishment of transportation in such manner as is appointed by this act for other offences.

XIX. Provided always, that if any the person or persons aforesaid shall come into such court, and take his or their oath in these words :

I do swear that I do not hold the taking of an oath to be unlawful, nor refuse to take an oath on that account.

XX. Which oath the respective court or courts aforesaid, are hereby authorized and required forthwith to tender, administer, and register before the entry of the conviction aforesaid, (2) or shall take such oath before some justice of the peace, who is hereby authorized and required to administer the same, to be returned into such court, (3) such oath so made shall acquit him or them from such punishment ; any thing herein to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXI. Provided always, that every person convicted as aforesaid in any courts aforesaid, (other than his majesty's court of king's bench, or before the justices of assize, or general jail-delivery,) shall by warrant containing a certificate of such conviction under the hand and seal of the respective judge or judges before whom such conviction shall be had, be sent to some one of his majesty's jails in the same county where such conviction was had, there to remain without bail or main-prize until the next assizes, or general jail-delivery, (2) where, if such person so convicted shall refuse to take the oath aforesaid, being tendered unto him by the justice or justices of assize or jail-delivery, then such justice or justices shall cause judgment of transportation to be executed in such manner as judgment of transportation by this act is to be executed : but in case such person shall take the said oath, then he shall thereupon be discharged.

XXII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any peer of this realm shall offend against this act, he shall pay ten pounds for the first offence, and twenty pounds for the second offence, to be levied upon his goods and chattels by warrant from any two justices

of the peace, or chief magistrate of the place or division where such peer shall dwell : (2) and that every peer for the third, and every further offence against the tenor of this act, shall be tried by his peers, and not otherwise.

XXIII. Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall continue in force for three years after the end of this present session of parliament ; and from thence forward to the end of the next session of parliament after the said three years, and no longer.

A learned man at London, of what persuasion I know not, published a little book in relation to this act, wherein he showed from the laws of England, the absurdity of it : since all religious acts, exercised by six persons, not according to the formality of the church of England, were forbidden ; and that at this rate it might be reckoned a transgression, if a woman being in travail, and in danger of life, one of the company said a prayer ; or if any one spoke something to comfort the near relations of a deceased person ; or prayed for the health or happiness of a young married couple, &c., by which it might happen, that some by the malice of their enemies, might not only incur imprisonment for three months, but also by virtue of the act of banishment, might be condemned to transportation. That this was not without danger, did appear sufficiently by what judge Orlando Bridgman said at Hertford to the jury, viz. ‘ You are not to expect a plain punctual evidence against them for any thing they said or did at their meeting ; for they may speak to one another, though not with or by auricular sound, but by a cast of the eye, or a motion of the head or foot, or gesture of the body. So that if you find or believe in your hearts that they were in the meeting under color of religion in their way, though they sat still only and looked upon each other, it was an unlawful meeting.’ At this rate the jurymen, who ought to be impartial judges, or mediators, were swayed, so that without fear they might find the Quakers that were met together guilty of transgressing the law.

Now, since at that time they were resolved to banish the Quakers, so called, George Whitehead published a little book, in which he showed the unreasonableness of the persecutors, and also strengthened his friends with solid arguments against the charge of stiff-neckedness, answering some specious objections ; amongst the rest, that the Quakers might keep small meetings, and so not fall under the lash of the law ; for if they did not meet above five in number, they kept without the reach of the law ; and by keeping private meetings they might also acquit their consciences before God. But to this G. Whitehead answered, that it might have been objected to the prophet Daniel, that he might have prayed secretly, and not with open windows and thrice a day, after king Darius had signed the decree, that whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of the king, he should be cast into

the den of lions; but that Daniel, notwithstanding this decree, had continued to pray to God as before. 'Since then,' said G. Whitehead, 'Our meetings are kept in obedience to the Lord God, and according to the freedom he hath given us, we may not leave off our testimony for God in that case; but we must be faithful to him, whatever we suffer on that account. For neither the threatenings of men, nor their severity or cruelty acted against us, how far soever it may be extended, can make us to forsake the Lord in not keeping our assemblies, or to be ashamed of Christ before men, lest hereafter he be ashamed of us before his Father which is in heaven.' Besides, he showed how unreasonable it was to incite the jury on an ill-grounded suspicion, without leaving them the liberty of their own judgment: and the judges he showed their duty from the law, and Magna Charta. He also showed how unequal it was, that soldiers, who abused his friends in their meetings, should be called as witnesses against them; and that they should be locked up with thieves and felons, since this was contrary to the right of a free-born Englishman. But this representation of G. Whitehead was slighted, since they were resolved to go on with banishing of the Quakers, and to transport them to the West Indies; which however, according to the ancient laws, might not be done to a free-born Englishman against his mind. Josiah Coale about this time also gave forth a paper, being a warning to the king and both houses of parliament, to dissuade them from persecution. But this did not avail, for persecution went on.

In the month called August, eight of those called Quakers, viz. Francis Prior, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshal, Jeremiah Hern, Thomas Wood, John Blendale, and Samuel Trahern, were tried at Hertford before judge Orlando Bridgman, already mentioned. The indictment contained, that they had been at an unlawful meeting under color and pretence of religion; and the witnesses declared, that they had met together above the number of five, and were taken at such times, and such places; for they must have transgressed thrice before they could be condemned to banishment: but the witnesses declared also, that they neither heard them speak any words, nor saw them do any thing at their meeting, but sit still. The indictment having been delivered to the grand jury, they could not agree in their verdict; for there were some amongst them whose consciences would not give them leave to be accessory to this work of persecution; and therefore they brought in their verdict *ignoramus*. Now, though such a verdict as this ought not to be rejected, yet judge Bridgman standing up, and seeming to be angry, spoke to the jury after this manner: 'My masters, what do you mean to do? Will you make a nose-of-wax of the law, and suffer the law to be baffled? Those that think to deceive the law, the law will deceive them. Why do not ye find the bill?' To which one of the jury said, that it concerned them to be wary, and well satisfied in what they did, for they were upon men's lives for aught they knew. 'No,' said the judge, 'I desire not their lives, but their reformation:' and

then he gave the jury some directions, and he so colored the matter, that they going out again soon returned, and found the bill.

Then four of the prisoners were called to the bar, their indictment read, and they asked, guilty or not guilty ; to which they answered, ' Not guilty,' and that they had transgressed no just law. ' But,' said the judge, ' ye have transgressed this law, (having the act in his hand,) and ye have been twice convicted already upon record, and if ye are found guilty by the jury this time, I must pass the sentence of transportation upon you. Now, therefore ye shall see that we do not desire to strain the law to the highest severity ; neither do I believe that it was the aim of the law-makers to be severe, but for conforming. If ye will promise that ye will not go, or be at any more such meetings, I will show you this favor, as to acquit you for what is past ; this favor ye may receive before the jury is charged with you ; but afterwards I cannot do it. And know also, if the jury for want of punctual evidence, should not find you guilty, yet if ye are taken again, ye will be in the same case ye now are in. What say you ? Will ye promise to meet no more ?' To this the prisoners answered, they could promise no such thing. Then a jury was called, and the indictment read a second time, containing, that the prisoners had been at an unlawful meeting at such a time and place, the first, second, and third time. The witnesses being called, gave the same evidence as before ; and then the judge said thus to the jury : ' My masters, the jury, ye hear what evidence the witnesses give ; how they took them at such times, at such places, which are places they use to meet in ; and that they were above the number of five, besides the persons of the family where they met ; and that they are twice convicted already upon record : and this is the third offence, which incurs the sentence of transportation, if ye find them guilty.' Then he spoke those words which have been mentioned already, viz. ' Ye are not to expect a plain punctual evidence against them for any thing they said or did at their meeting, &c. for dumb men may speak to one another, so as they may understand each other by signs : and they themselves say, that the worship of God is inward, in the spirit, and that they can discern spirits, and know one another in spirit. So that if ye find or believe in your hearts that they were in the meeting, under color of religion in their way, though they sat still only, it was an unlawful meeting ; and their use and practice not according to the liturgy of the church of England ; for it allows and commands when people meet together in the church that divine service shall be read, &c. And ye must find the bill ; for ye must have respect to the meaning and intent of the law, which the king and parliament have in wisdom and policy made, not only against conventicles, but the words assembly and meeting were added ; for we have had late experience of the danger of such meetings under color of religion : and it is an easy matter at such meetings to conspire and consult mischief. Therefore the wisdom and policy of the king and parliament, lest they should be undermined, have made this law, which is not a law against conscience, for it doth not

touch conscience at all, as I confess some other laws do, which enjoin coming to church, and some other things.' This and more judge Bridgman spoke to the jury, to persuade them to bring the prisoners in guilty. And the jury being gone out, within the space of an hour returned, and their foreman said, that Nicholas Lucas, and the other three, were guilty.

What the judge had said, that they had had late experience of the danger of such meetings under color of religion, was of no force at all; for it never had appeared that the Quakers in religious meetings did any thing else than the performing of their worship, though there were other evidences concerning the Fifth Monarchy-men; but it was universally known that the Quakers had no part therein, nor joined with them in the least degree. It was also a very absurd saying of the judge, that this law did not touch conscience: for it was merely for conscience-sake that the Quakers frequented not the public service and liturgy of the church of England, and kept religious meetings by themselves. But the jury seemed well satisfied with what the judge had told them; and he having thus obtained his aim, read the prisoners' names, and said to them, 'What can ye say for yourselves, that judgment of transportation should not pass, or be given against you?' To which they said, 'We are innocent, and have transgressed no just law; if we must have that sentence, we give up our bodies freely into the hands of the Lord; the will of the Lord be done.' 'Have ye nothing more to say?' said the judge. 'Nothing, but that we are innocent,' replied the prisoners, 'we have wronged no man.' 'Then hearken to your sentence,' said the judge. 'Ye shall be transported beyond the seas, to the island of Barbadoes, there to remain seven years.'

Then Jeremiah Hern and Thomas Wood were called to the bar, and their indictment read, to which they pleaded 'Not guilty but innocent;' and Jeremiah said, he was no such person as the act mentioned, for plotting and contriving insurrections. Then the judge interrupting him, said, 'You are a forward man, you have an estate;' and so he caused him to be set by: and to Thomas Wood he said, 'I hear a good report of you; consider what you do; I am sorry, seeing you have a good report among your neighbors, that you should be found guilty, which I fear you will if you put yourself upon trial: I am willing to show you favor: and it may be one man may fare the better for another.' This reflected on Jeremiah, who, by the malice of one John King, had been falsely represented to the judge. Yet Jeremiah having shown how he had been wronged, the judge said, they should both partake of his favor, if they would but desire it, and this favor consisted in this, as he himself said, that he would waive the proceedings of the court, and give them till the next assizes, to consider better with themselves. 'What say you, (thus he continued,) will ye have it deferred till the next assizes? for if the jury find the bill, you will be sent to Jamaica; ye must not all go to one place.' To this the prisoners returned, 'We have transgressed no law of God, nor wronged any man: we leave it to the court; we desire it not.' 'If you will not desire it,' replied the judge, 'I cannot, nor will I do it.'



Then three other prisoners were brought to the bar, among whom was one John Reynolds, who, according to the deposition of the witnesses, had been within a yard of the door of the meeting-place, with his face from it. The judge then said, 'God forbid that I should do any thing that is not right and just against any conscience; there is that which is written upon the wall before me, which puts me in mind, that I should not judge for man, but for God.' Then turning to the jury, he spoke to them almost after the same manner as he did concerning the other four prisoners: and to induce them to declare Reynolds, (who was taken, but not in the meeting,) guilty, he spoke thus: 'Suppose a man be killed in a house, and nobody saw him killed; but a man is met coming out of the house with a bloody knife in his hand, it is a very probable evidence that he is guilty of the murder. So though the witnesses do not say that they saw and took him in the meeting, yet they swore he was within a yard of the door, with his face from the place where they usually met; and he hath been taken twice already, and convicted upon record. My masters, I leave it to you, go forth.' Then a bailiff was called, and charged to provide the jury a room; and to let none speak with them, nor to let them have either bread, drink, or candle, till they brought in their verdict. The jury being gone out, soon agreed, and after they were returned said, that four of the five prisoners were guilty, and that the other who stood without the door was not guilty.' So he was acquitted; but the other four being brought to the bar, the judge asked them, what they could say why judgment of transportation should not be given against them. Their answer was, 'We are innocent, and have not offended any just law of God or man, to deserve that sentence; we leave it to the witness of God in thy or your consciences.' Then the judge said, 'Ye have offended against this law, (having the act before him,) which is made by the king and parliament, and executed by us their subordinate ministers; if it be not righteous and just, we must answer for that.' One of the prisoners had said before, 'If I have transgressed any just law, let me suffer; and if not, he that judgeth for God will not condemn me.' To which the judge returned, 'You do well to put me in mind of my duty; pray think of your own.' And now he asked the prisoners, 'Have you any more to say?' To which they answered, 'Nothing, but that we are innocent.' Then he said, 'Hear your sentence: you shall be transported beyond the seas, to the island of Jamaica, being one of his majesty's foreign plantations, there to remain seven years. Now I have this one thing to acquaint you with, that if you, and either of you, will pay down here into the court, a hundred pounds before the court riseth, you and every one of you shall be discharged, and clearly acquitted for what is past. And I will show you this favor, not to discharge the court at this present, but shall adjourn it till afternoon.' This was done; and the court being met again, the judge sent to the condemned prisoners to know if they would pay down the hundred pounds; but they answering, 'No,' the court was then soon discharged.

Seven of these prisoners not long after were carried on ship-board to be transported to the West Indies; but (which was remarkable,) the ship by contrary winds and stormy weather was hindered from going to sea. Not only the master, whose name was Thomas May, but also his men, grew very uneasy at this: for they believed that Heaven was against them: nay, the sailors threatened to leave the ship, if the master would not set those prisoners ashore. And he himself, considering how after having lain long in the Downs, and more than once set sail, they were hindered to go on by contrary winds, resolved at length, after having lingered about two months, to set the banished ashore; and so he did, giving them a certificate, of which I have a copy in my custody, that they were not run away, but freely put ashore by him, for which, among others, he gave these reasons—that seeing the great adversities they had met with, he concluded thence, that the hand of God was against him, and that therefore he durst not go off with these prisoners, because he found them to be honest men, who had not deserved banishment. And also that there was a law extant, that no Englishman might be transported against his mind. And that his men refused to proceed on the voyage if he would carry away these people. This certificate he gave under his hand, and so let them go away free; and not long after the ship set sail with a fair wind. I do not find that the banished, who returned home again were prosecuted on this account: for the sentence against them was executed as far as it could at that time, and they had made no opposition, but had been sufferers.

Persecution in the meanwhile did not cease: but this did not discourage those called Quakers; they continued valiant, as I have seen in many letters sent about that time to some of my acquaintance. One said in the court of justice, ‘We are in the service of the Lord, and may not leave it;’ another who was offered to be freed of banishment, if he would pay down a hundred pounds, said, ‘Though I had a hundred lives to lose, and could redeem them all for a hundred pence, yet I would not do it.’ But this could not stop the violence of the persecutors; till a heavier hand reached them, as may be related hereafter.

In the months of October and December many were condemned to transportation, and among these several women, whose trials I shall but cursorily speak of: for if I should relate all particulars, the description would far exceed my limits; and therefore I will but touch upon some few things.

On the 13th of October, sixteen of those called Quakers were tried at Hicks’ Hall, in Middlesex, for the third offence, as they called it. The grand jury consulting together about finding the bill of indictment, could not well agree. And the justices giving them a check, one of the jurymen desired to know, by what law they ought to find a bill against any persons, without witnesses to testify the fact committed. To which answer was made by the court, that their records testified the crime or fact, and that such their record was a sufficient witness without the testimony of any man. And for a proof of this it was further said, ‘The records in

Chancery serve as a sufficient testimony ; and if it be so in Chancery, why not here ? The jury having been twice upon this business, was sent up a third time ; and Edward Shelton, the clerk, said he would go up also to help them, and so he did ; it having been threatened, that if the jurymen did not find a bill, they should be fined. Nevertheless, at their return they answered, ' No verdict.' Whereupon the justices finding the jurymen not to answer their ends, took them apart, and examined them one by one, telling them that the only thing they were to look upon was, that they did assemble together above the number of five in company ; which, according to what they said, their records showed. This made some of the jury comply ; but others stood it out, and signified that in conscience they could not consent to what was required of them. But the major part complying with the justices, upon their threatening them, and the others being strongly pressed, the bill was, by a kind of force, accepted at length. But how hard a case this was to some, appeared by the mournful confession of one of the jury, Thomas Leader, who to ease his conscience published in print a small book, with the title of ' The Wounded Heart, or the Jurymen's Offences,' &c., in which he openly disapproved the fact, to which he had been induced by human fear. The pains had been so great to persuade the jury to bring in a verdict according to the mind of the court, that the clerk, as was reported, said, he had rather have given twenty pounds, than have been so troubled.

The next day the prisoners were brought to the bar, and William Proctor, of Gray's Inn, sat as judge in the court. The questions and answers I pass by for brevity's sake. One Hannah Trigg pleading she was innocent, was asked how old she was ; to which she saying she was not sixteen years old ; one of the justices did not stick to say, she told a lie ; and that he thought the Quakers would not lie. In the meanwhile it appeared, that he only said so by guess to baffle her ; for by a certificate of some that were present at her birth, (which was divulged in print,) it was proved that she, being the daughter of Timothy Trigg, was born at London on the 20th of the month called August, 1649 ; and so was but fifteen years of age, and dealt with against the law ; which was the harder, because this maid falling sick, died in prison, after the sentence of banishment had been past upon her : which sentence was now pronounced against twelve persons, among whom were four maids ; and four married women were condemned to a confinement of eleven months in Bridewell. The judge in the pronouncing the sentences was so disturbed in his mind, that ordering some to be transported to Virginia, and others to Barbadoes, he condemned some also to be sent to Hispaniola ; at which the people were not a little surprised, for he made it plainly appear, that he did not consider what he said ; since Hispaniola was no place in the dominions of the king of England : but he was so confounded, that he also accused the prisoners of having transgressed the laws of the commonwealth, forgetting that England was no more a commonwealth, as it was before the restoration of king Charles II.

On the 15th of October above forty of the prisoners called Quakers, were tried before the judges Hyde and Keeling. To mention all the exorbitances of this trial, which were not few, I count needless ; for as to the questions and answers, and the passing of sentence, the reader may form to himself an idea of it from what hath been said already of the trial at Hertford, &c. A maid being asked, guilty or not guilty, answered, 'I never was taken at any seditious meeting or conventicle in my life.' To which the judge said, 'But, woman, were not you taken at the Bull and Mouth the 21st of August?' She answered, 'I am innocent in the sight of God and all good people.' That this was true the judge did not deny, but said, 'I believe that, woman, but you have transgressed a law.' She replied, 'As for the Bull and Mouth, I believe I have been there a hundred times, and if the Lord permit me life and liberty, I do not know but I may go there a hundred times more.' The judge then saying, 'Woman, will you plead or no, guilty or not guilty, or else I must pass sentence upon you.' She answered, 'The will of the Lord be done, I am innocent.' Yet this could not avail her, though judge Hyde had said a little before concerning the prisoners, 'If they are innocent, then they are not guilty.' But she was set by as mute, or *pro confesso*, as to the fact charged against her in the indictment. Others who complained of the unreasonableness of the proceedings, were hectorred as impudent : and the jury showing themselves dissatisfied concerning the witnesses, judge Hyde said to them, it was no untruth if a man did mistake in the time, and that his evidence was good, though he did not see one in the house : 'For,' said he, 'if forty men be in a room, and one is brought out of the room to me, standing at the door, cannot I swear that he was in that room, if I see him come out? You must not make such scruples.'

In the meanwhile there were some among the witnesses who did not know the prisoners by face ; so that there was reason enough to disprove their testimony. But whatever was objected, the business must go on : for though one of the witnesses declared that the meeting, from which the prisoners had been taken was peaceable ; and though one of the prisoners said, that the law was made against seditious meetings, and that nothing of sedition had been proved against them : yet judge Keeling said, the act was made to prevent such meetings, because under color and pretence of religion, plots and conspiracies might be carried on. And when a prisoner said, that he was at a peaceable godly meeting, and received much comfort there ; the judge returned, 'That is as much as we desire. You confess you were there ; and though it was a peaceable meeting, yet it was an unlawful one.' Another of the prisoners who pleaded that the law the court acted by was contrary to Magna Charta, and the ancient fundamental laws of the land, was answered by judge Hyde, 'If the king and parliament should make a law that two justices without a jury should adjudge a man to death for the third offence as a felon, without benefit of clergy, it would be a good law, and according to Magna Charta, and the law of the land ; and we should be bound to

execute it.' It seems this judge, (who not long after was suddenly summoned hence to appear before the Divine assizes,) was of opinion, that since the legislative power resided in the king and parliament, all that they resolved and enacted, must pass for good law. But if I should mention all the absurdities I meet with in these proceedings, when should I come to an end? True it is, that sometimes a show was made of pity: for judge Keeling said to two maids, 'We are sorry that such young maids should be thus deluded.' But because they would not promise to go to the public church, though they declared themselves ready to assist at divine service, they were deemed as guilty. Another prisoner being asked by judge Hyde, whether he would go to church, answered, 'If I have my liberty, I shall go to church.' But when it appeared that he did not mean the established or public church, this promise could not save him. One Richard Poulton, a lad of fifteen years of age, who by a certificate showed, that he was not yet sixteen years old, and therefore no transgressor of the law, was asked, if he would swear he was not sixteen, just as if he could have remembered the time of his birth; to which he answered, that he was not brought up to swearing: and being asked, whether he would promise to go to church, he answered, he should promise no such thing. Then he was returned to the rest that were to be sentenced.

This was on the 17th of the aforesaid month; when nineteen persons, among which were some women, were condemned to banishment, and four married women to twelve months' imprisonment in Bridewell. None of the judges it seems had a mind to pronounce sentence, and therefore they left this business to the city recorder. He then bidding the prisoners to hearken to the judgment of the court, spoke so softly, that he could not well be heard, which made one of the prisoners say, that he ought to speak louder, for they could not hear him. But he continuing to speak softly as before, two or three others of the prisoners told him, they could not tell what he said. To which he answered, he cared not whether they did or no; and then said, 'Hearken to your sentence, You and every one of you, shall be transported beyond the seas, the men to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica, being two of his majesty's plantations, there to remain seven years.' Thus the persecutors endeavored to be rid of the Quakers: but though persecution now was very hot, yet they fainted not, neither were they in want of such vigilant assistants, as both by example and words continually encouraged them to faithfulness: who yet, (which was remarkable,) were not condemned to banishment, as many others.

Among these was Josiah Coale also, who about this time, as I have been told, was in prison at London; and both by writing, and by word of mouth, did exhort his fellow-believers to constancy: for, when under confinement, he betook himself to his pen, and recommended to his friends, that they would not forsake their meetings, though they were to undergo great sufferings, since it was God's good pleasure to let their

patience be tried. 'And,' said he, 'that these afflictions come upon us is by God's permission : who then shall gainsay him, or endeavor to reason with him about matters of so great a concern, since his way is hidden from man.' He also signified to them that this was done to try their faith, and that therefore they ought to continue bold, and persevere valiantly. 'And though,' said he, 'great sufferings and afflictions attend us, yet my heart, praised be the Lord, is not troubled, neither hath fear seized me, because I see the intent of the Lord in it. And in one letter he spoke thus : 'Friends, this know : that for the sake of the residue of the seed which is yet ungathered, is my life freely sacrificed up into the hand of the Lord ; and ready and willing am I to lay it down for the testimony of God's blessed truth, which he hath given me to bear, if thereunto I am called : for bonds and afflictions attend me daily, and I may say, we are in jeopardy of our lives daily ; so let your prayer to God be for me, that I may be kept unto the end, to finish my testimony with joy, and in all things to bring glory and honor to the name of the Lord, who is over all, blessed for ever.' This his Christian desire he obtained, as will be said in due place. It was a time of suffering ; and those to whose share it fell, continued valiant : whilst others did not neglect to exhort the king and parliament to leave off persecution. Among these was William Bayly, who gave forth a very serious exhortation and warning against persecution to the king and parliament, &c. beginning thus :

FOR THE KING AND PARLIAMENT, &c.

*'Friends,*

'The God of heaven hath put it into my heart to write a few words unto you, in the fear and dread of his name, and in the counsel of his own will, concerning the work which ye have taken in hand against him and his people ; this is not the end and work for which the Lord God hath permitted you into the places of government and rule, in this nation, (nor the way for you to prosper, nor to prolong your days in the earth,) thus to persecute and afflict an innocent and harmless people, who are peaceable, and walk uprightly towards God and man ; therein endeavoring, in all things, to keep their consciences void of offence, and who have no helper in the earth but the Lord alone ; neither is their kingdom of this world, but they are verily the children and servants of the most high God, whom he hath gathered from amongst men, and from the kindreds of the earth, to be the first fruits unto him, and to the Lamb in this age ; and we are his, and not our own : he hath brought us, and redeemed us unto himself, and to him alone have we committed our innocent cause, and he hath undertaken to plead it for us, with all our adversaries ; and no weapon formed against us shall ever prosper, but be broken to pieces.

'Therefore friends, be awakened and open your eyes, and see what a stir and ado here is in this nation ; to haul and drag up and down a



company of tender, innocent, and harmless people, men and women, and children, from their peaceable meetings, who meet together in the fear and tender love of God, without any evil or bad intent toward any ; but have good-will and compassion toward all men, even to the worst of our enemies, as the Lord bears us witness ; and these are they that are driven as sheep to the slaughter, and thrown into your noisome jails, and prisons, and houses of correction, by rude and brutish people, your servants, whom you have set on work by your authority, till many of them have patiently suffered till death, whose innocent blood will assuredly be required at your hands, (though they shall not go free of the guilt, who have had the least hand in it, without speedy repentance.) And thus ye may see and read, how the disciples of Christ Jesus, are as sheep and Lambs in the midst of wolves in this age, and as lilies among thorns, and all this is only for obeying his commands, and for worshipping the everlasting invisible God, in the spirit, and in the truth, according to the Scriptures, the which, if ye knew and understood, you would tremble to think what you have done against them, to cause so many of the little ones, which believe in Christ, so grievously to suffer, who said, it were better a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he be drowned in the depth of the sea, that should offend one of these little ones, that believe in me ; and as true as Christ Jesus suffered, and rose again, and as God liveth, who raised him from the dead, we are some of those his little ones that believe in him, who, (in derision and scorn in this age,) are called Quakers, as ye might call Moses, the prophets and apostles, (in days past,) who did quake and tremble at the presence of the Lord, who is the same now as ever he was, though the ungodly know him not, nor his power : and we are of that poor and afflicted people, mentioned, Zeph. iii. 12. 19. " Whose trust is in the name of the Lord, who will undo all that afflict them."

' But what shall I say unto you ; if ye will not, or cannot believe our faithful testimony, (or the testimony of God through us,) and the innocency of our cause and sufferings, neither will ye believe, if one should rise from the dead and declare it unto you ; for many tender visitations and timely warnings, and gentle reprehensions have you had, from the pure spirit of the Lord God, both from his witness in your own consciences, and from his faithful servants and messengers, who have written and declared unto you in his name and power in this your day. And as for my part, who am one of the least of the thousands of Israel, I could willingly have been silent as toward you at this time, but the Lord, whom I serve in my spirit, hath laid it upon me to warn you once more, (for whose sakes I have borne a burden,) in the true sight and sense of your sad estate, and of the day of thick darkness, wrath and distress, which is hastening upon you from the Almighty.

' Wherefore be not proud nor rebellious, but hear, and obey the word of the Lord ; for thus saith the Lord God that made heaven and earth, let my innocent people alone, and touch them not any more, as ye have

done ; for they are mine, and I have called them, and chosen them, and redeemed them ; they are my jewels, which I am making up, they shall show forth my glory before men to the whole world ; I have anointed them, and I will preserve them and deliver them, and crown them with an everlasting salvation. I will rebuke kings and rulers for their sakes, and distress nations, and dethrone the mighty from their seats that rise up against them, as I have done ; and let my everlasting gospel have a free passage in these nations ; and do not reproach and afflict my servants and messengers so any more, whom I have chosen and sent to preach and declare the way of life and salvation to the ends of the earth, but bow your ear and your heart unto them and their testimony, that it may be well with you, and prolong your days ; for he that blesseth them shall be blessed, and he that curseth them shall be cursed, and every hand shall wither that opposeth them, as hath been, and shall be, henceforth for ever : I the Lord have spoken it.

‘ But and if you will not hear, but will still persist and go on, as ye have done, to oppress my heritage, and harmless people, and make war and opposition against my power and truth, and thus set yourselves and your power against me, the living God, I will bring you down suddenly, to the astonishment of nations, and I will cut your day short, and turn your pleasures into howling and lamentation, and shame and contempt shall cover your memorial as a garment. Thus will I work for the deliverance of my seed, and none shall let it ; for the year of my redeemed is come, and the day of vengeance is in my heart, to plead its cause with all flesh.

‘ Therefore, consider your ways, and see what ye are doing, and what the effect of this your work will be ; ye are but men, and the children of men, who are but as yesterday ; your breath also is in your nostrils, and your life is but a vapor, which will soon vanish away : you labor in the very fire, and bring forth wind, which blows up the flame of that which will consume you, and deprive you of all happiness for ever : O that ye had but hearts to consider it ! For the more you strive with the Lord, and oppress his people, the more will they multiply, and grow stronger and stronger : and you shall wax weaker and weaker, and your works shall be your heavy burden ; for life and immortality are risen, and the power of God is stirring in the hearts of thousands, and light and understanding, the excellent spirit which was in Daniel, are breaking forth like the lightning, which shines out of the east into the west, in the sight of many people, whereby they know, it is the day of the coming of the Son of Man, with power and great glory, that every eye may see him, and they that have pierced him shall mourn bitterly : so, your labor is in vain, and your works for the fire, and your striving with your Maker to no purpose, as to effect your end and aim. And of these things you have been often fore-warned, and the Lord hath been very long suffering towards you, in sparing you thus long, and suffering you thus far to act against him and his dear people ; and his mercy and forbear-



ance hath been evidently shown in a large measure unto you, in deferring his heavy judgments thus long, which must have been confessed to be just upon you. And will you thus requite the Lord, by increasing your tasks of oppression upon his tender innocent people? O unwise and ungrateful generation! Hath not God yet shown you, that you should do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly? But are these your fruits and practices, fruits of mercy or justice? Or if there be any tincture or spark of love, or humility in them, let God's witness, (the light) in all your consciences, and in people, answer. I tell you plainly, that such fruits and doings among you, that profess yourselves christians, have made the very name of Christ and Christianity, a proverb of reproach through nations, and have caused the God of heaven to be blasphemed; and how could it be otherwise, seeing you who profess the most knowledge of God, and have talked of converting the heathen, as some of your leaders have done, are found the least in the life and fruits thereof. But to what would they convert them? to pride and swearing, and drunkenness, and oppression, and all manner of excess, and to persecute people for their good conscience? They have no need of that; for, some of them have said, they did not use to swear and be drunk, &c. till they came among the Christians, and learned of them; they did not do so in their own country: ye are so far from converting them, being out of the life of what ye profess and talk of yourselves, that the very heathen or infidels, (as ye call them,) do judge and condemn you, (who are making inquiry,) concerning these your proceedings against this harmless people, among whom some of them have been kindly entreated, who visited them at the Lord's requiring, though contrary in opinion and religion; and this doth rise up in judgment against you.

‘But, friends, have not you yourselves been under suffering, and some of you been driven into strange countreies, or lands, for your cause, (as it was called?) Nay, did not the king himself once flee for refuge to a tree, to save himself from his enemies' hands? If not, why are there such representations made of it, in so many places in the nation? And was not this as great a mercy and deliverance from God, so to obscure and preserve him, from them who pursued him, and many of you also? And are these things forgotten? Can mercy be loved, except it be remembered? And do you remember and love his mercies, by doing justly, and walking humbly with him, as he doth require? Or do you boast in a vain glory, as if your own arm had done it, or your own strength or deserts had delivered you? If so, then God must needs be forgotten, and his mercies trodden under foot, and his visitations and counsels cast behind your back; and so all that forget God, shall be torn in pieces, and there shall be none to deliver them, as it is written.

‘And were these your sufferings, which you sustained by them ye opposed, unjust and unequal? And if you should say, they were: then I say, it is much more unjust and very unequal in the sight of God, and all sober people that fear him, for you, thus to inflict such cruel sufferings

as imprisoning, and stifling up to death in your noisome jails and holes among thieves and murderers, and to pronounce sentence of banishment upon an innocent, harmless, peaceable people, that do not oppose you in the least, with any outward force, neither do so much as the thoughts of it lodge within our breasts, as the Lord God knoweth, who hath called us to peace, but on the contrary have sought and do seek your welfare and happiness, both in this world, and in the world to come, which in time shall be manifest to the whole earth.

‘ And if you say, your sufferings were unjust and unequal, (though you did oppose them, and make war against them so long as you could,) because they deprived you of your rights and privileges, and just liberties, and natural birthrights, &c., which were your due to enjoy, as being free-born of the nation : then how much more is it unjust, and unequal, and unrighteous, thus to inflict sufferings upon your friends, and oppress your peaceable neighbors, who are free-born people of the same nation, and do not oppose you, but are tender towards you, as aforesaid, and subject to all wholesome, just laws, and tributary to you, for which causes we ought to have our just liberty, and enjoy the privilege of our birthright, which is our due so long as we live peaceably and harmlessly, but if it be not a privilege to be pleaded for, then are all your own grounds and reasons, and cause, without a foundation, and you and the whole nation may be swept away by any that are able to do it, without being charged with injustice or oppression, which is contrary to the just balance, (the light of Christ,) in all people’s consciences. And as we are the dearly beloved people of the most high God, who doth bless us with his presence, and manifest his everlasting love and good will towards us daily, and overshadows us with his power and tender mercies, whom he hath gathered out of the evil ways and spirit of this world, and all the vanities thereof, unto himself, to walk with him who is invisible, in the upright, blameless, undefiled life, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation ; I say, considering these things, how greatly and unrighteously do our sufferings appear to all sober people, whose eyes are open, and will be more open to discern and savor the bitterness of that proud, envious, wrathful spirit, which hath thus acted and deceived you : and its end is numbered by them that have wisdom from above.

‘ For friends, set aside the reproachful name of Quakers, and the other titles of derision and scorn, which the envious and blood-thirsty spirit hath invented to render the people of God odious in all ages, and tell me what ye have justly to charge against this people, whom you so furiously pursue to the dens and caves of the earth, to the loss of the lives of so many of them ; by which children are made fatherless, and tender-hearted women, mournful widows, and let it come forth to open view, and declare it abroad, as your articles against them, to the whole world, and speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as you use to tell one another, that all people may rightly know and understand the very ground and most secret cause, who do inquire of these your present proceedings against them ;

for notice is taken by many, and ere long it must be manifest to all men, as the folly and madness of Jannes and Jambres were, that withstood Moses ; for you withstand no less than him of whom Moses wrote ; who said, " I am the light of the world," against whom Saul was once exceedingly mad, and had thoughts to do very much against that way, which was then as well as now called Heresy, till the light of Jesus, (whom he persecuted,) met with him, with his letters, or warrants, to haul men and women to prison, as your servants do, and smote him to the ground, and made him tremble, who, from that time became such a Quaker, as you now persecute and imprison till death ; but the light of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, will meet with all persecutors and oppressors about religion, let them be never so mad, or think they ought to do much against that way they call Heresy, as some of you have said, who have made a mock at the light, even publicly, which many took notice of, and even marvelled at such blasphemy in an open court, against the Savior of the world : and there is no other name under heaven by which men shall be saved, but him who said, John, vii. 7, 12, and 16, " I am the light of the world, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

' And this is he, in whom we have believed, and of whom we have declared, and must declare and bear testimony, as long as we have a being ; and the world shall know that our testimony is true ; and for his name and truth only, do we thus patiently suffer the contradictions of sinners, as our brethren did by the zealous Jews in ages past ; but you are not so zealous for Christ's law and commandments, as they were of Moses and the prophets, which Christ ends and fulfils, who thought it was not lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day, as to heal the sick, for then would you " Do to all men as ye would they should do to you ;" for his law runs thus, " And be ye merciful," &c., and " Love you your enemies," and " Swear not at all," &c., as ye may read.

' But behold, how both Jews and Gentiles take notice, and are ashamed and grieved, to hear and see what a deal of bad works you do, even on your Sabbath-day, as some of you call it, and how you profane the day of your worship, with your cattle and servants, which are within your gates ; what riding and running, and toiling, in rage and fury, like madmen, sweating, and swearing, and cursing, and dragging, and hauling the innocent members of Christ's body out of their peaceable meetings, into your jails and holes, on your day of worship. But are your sacrifices, ye offer at that time, accepted ? Have ye peace whilst these things are acting in your name, and by your authority ? If you have peace and pleasure therein, let me tell you from the righteous God, you are hardened in your sins against him, and he will break your peace speedily, and turn your pleasure into bitterness and lamentation : and his innocent people's meetings shall stand, and be increased ; and their way shall prosper, and the truth shall spread and prevail, and have dominion over all nations ; and their enemies shall fall and be confounded, let them strive what they can against them ; for they are of God, and not of man, or the will of man,

and they seek his glory and not their own ; and such as abide faithful to him, shall triumph over all the principalities, and powers of the rulers of the darkness of this world, and make a show openly of the victory over all that do or may oppose them ; for their life is immortal, and the Lord of heaven and earth is their strength, who is with them as a mighty terrible one ; therefore shall their persecutors fall before them.

‘ And let me tell you again, that by these your unreasonable and unjust dealings, the understandings of thousands are the more opened ; and the tender, sober part, or principle in them, doth feel the weight and burden of this grievousness which you have prescribed, and do so eagerly pursue, to the imprisoning to death so many innocent persons and free-born people of this nation, besides hundreds are liable to the same, which yet remain in your prisons. And your unnatural, cruel sentence of banishment, to separate dear and tender husbands from their dear and tender wives, and tender children, and little innocent babes : oh ! how do you rend the bowels of the meek of the earth, whom God hath blessed ? What is become of all your promises of liberty for tender consciences ? God’s curse and vengeance will come upon you, and his plagues will pursue you to destruction if ye proceed in this work ; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless ; the Lord hath spoken it. If you had the hearts of men, or of flesh, ye would be afraid, and blush at the very thoughts hereof ; my heart and soul melt within me, and I am even bowed down, with cries to God, in my spirit, to think of the hardness of your hearts.

‘ God Almighty, cut short thy work in righteousness, and shorten the days of oppression and cruelty for thine elect’s sake ; which cry night and day unto thee, and make known thy name and power to the ends of the earth ; and let the heathen hear, and fear, and bow to thy righteous sceptre, and let the kings of the earth lay down their crowns at the feet of the Lamb, that through thy righteous judgments they may partake of thy tender mercies, which endure for ever ; that their eyes may be no longer withholden, nor blinded by the god of this world, the power and prince of darkness, but that they may come to see thee, who art invisible, and enjoy the same precious life of pure unfeigned love, which abounds in the hearts of thy hidden ones ; and receive thy peaceable wisdom, to be governed, and to govern therein ; then would they surely know, that we are thine, and confess to thy glorious truth, and speak good of thy name, and magnify thy power, and no longer count the blood of thy everlasting covenant, (wherewith we are sanctified,) as an unholy thing.

‘ But O, thou righteous, holy, pure, eternal God, art unknown unto all them that sit in darkness, and dwell in the spirit of enmity against thee and thy people ; though thou art come near to judgment, according to the promise, Mal. iii. 5. And thy way of life and salvation is hidden from them, therefore they hate us without a cause, and thus evilly entreat us in the darkness of their minds, and in the ignorance and hardness of their

hearts ; for which my soul doth pity them, and even entreat thee for them, that if possible, their eyes may be yet opened, and their hearts yet softened, and their spirit humbled, that they may see what they are doing in the dark, and consider the effect of their work, which will assuredly follow : and if thy warnings and gentle visitations will not humble them, then let thy judgments awaken them, and bring them down, and humble them, that they may perceive something of what thou art doing in these latter days, and art resolved to do to the ends of the earth, though the whole world should gather and band together to oppose thy work and people ; for thou hast begun, and thou wilt go through and perfect thy work ; thou wilt raise thy seed, and gather thine elect from the four winds, and bring them from the ends of the earth, and scatter the proud in the vain imaginations of their hearts ; and thou wilt break thy way through all that oppose thee in this the day of thy mighty power, in which thou art arisen, as a giant to run his race, to finish transgression, and make an end of sin, and bring in and establish everlasting righteousness ; that the kingdom of this world may become thy kingdom, and of thy Christ, as thou hast promised, and art now fulfilling ; glory and honor, and thanks, and everlasting praises be to thy glorious name, world without end. Amen.

‘ So friends, ye are and have been warned again and again by the faithful messengers and servants of the Lord, in love to your souls ; and you are left without excuse, if never words more should be mentioned unto you ; by which ye might perceive how the Lord doth strive with you, that ye might repent, and be saved from the wrath to come, though some of you feel little of it in your own consciences ; but his spirit will not always strive with you : for if you will not believe them, but slight and reject them, and neither make conscience of what hath proceeded out of your own mouth, nor regard to perform your own words and public engagements, in that which is just, which the Lord requireth of you, nor remember his by-past and present mercies, and long-suffering towards you, but trample all under foot ; I say, if it be thus with you, and you are resolved to go on, you will wholly be given up, and be exceedingly hardened, and grow desperate in cruelty and oppression against God, and his truth and people, till your whole earth is filled with violence ; and then, (as true as God liveth,) will the flood come upon you, and ye shall fall after the manner of Egypt ; and the weight of the dreadful judgments, due for all your abominations and cruelties, shall sink you down into the pit that is bottomless, and that suddenly, as the Lord hath spoken,

By his servant, who is a lover of the welfare of all  
your souls, and I am thus far clear of all your blood,

WILLIAM BAYLY.’

Written in the Tenth month,  
1664, at Hartford.

Again, in December, twelve of those called Quakers, were condemned to banishment; for it was resolved to go on, not regarding what George Bishop gave forth in print, and caused to be delivered to the king and the members of parliament, being as followeth:

*' To the King and both Houses of Parliament, thus saith the Lord.*

*' Meddle not with my people, because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation, because of their conscience; for if ye do, I will send my plagues upon you, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.*

Written in obedience to the Lord, by his servant,

GEORGE BISHOP.'

Bristol, the 26th of the  
Ninth month, 1664.

The fulfilling of this prediction we shall see; for within a short time a war ensued with the Dutch, and the pestilence appeared at London; but before it broke out, yet more of the imprisoned Quakers were condemned to banishment, viz. two and thirty persons, both men and women, who were sentenced by the court on the 6th, 14th, and 15th of December; for whatever they said in defence of themselves, proved ineffectual. One asked, 'If we meet really to worship God, must we suffer for that?' And judge Hyde answered, 'Yes, that you must.' But judge Keeling, to mend the matter a little, said, 'You shall not suffer for worshipping God, but for being at an unlawful assembly contrary to the law.' Another said, 'I meet to worship the eternal God in spirit, as he persuades my heart and conscience; and must I be condemned to banishment for that?' 'Yes, yes,' said judge Keeling, for the law is against it.' To which judge Twisden added, 'He hath confessed that he was there to worship God; and their worship is contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' Thus we see, if there was but evidence that the prisoners had been at a meeting, this was counted sufficient to condemn them. A woman being asked, what she had to say to the evidence given, answered, 'Be it known unto you all, if I had as many bodies as hairs on my head, I could lay them all down for the living eternal truth of the living God.' After all the prisoners had been called to the bar, they were at length sentenced to be transported to Jamaica, and to remain there seven years.

This year in September died my mother, Judith Zinspenning at Amsterdam in Holland, where she was born of religious parents among the Baptists, into whose society her father Conrad Zinspenning was entered in a singular manner; of which, though it may seem somewhat out of my road, yet because of the remarkable steps of Providence appearing therein, I will give a short account. He being of Cologne in Germany, was bred a Papist; and after he had passed the Latin schools, his father thrust him into a cloister; (for Papists used to think it merito-

rious to offer up one of their children to the clergy.) But he found the monastic life so much against his inclination, that his father dying before the probation year was expired, he begged his mother to assist him in his intention to leave the fraternity, since he was not yet bound by vow. She complied with his desire, and so he got out, and then he was put to a trade. After he had served his time, he resolved to travel, and first took a turn to Holland, thence to France, and then to Italy, and the metropolis Rome, and so back again. Having been a lay-friar, he got letters of recommendation to such monasteries as were of the order of those monks he had lived with ; that so he might freely find lodging there for sometime. And because in Holland there are no cloisters, he was recommended to some eminent Papists at Amsterdam : whither being come, he liked the place so well, that he resolved to stay there sometime ; which he did, after having found employment. And thus getting into acquaintance, he came in time to live with a Baptist, who employed him as a journeyman. He never till now met with the New Testament, in which he began to read so eagerly, that the Lord co-operating by his good Spirit, his understanding came to be opened, so that he got a clear sight of the superstition and errors of the popish religion, in which he was trained up ; and then entering into discourse with his master, was persuaded to renounce Popery, and to enter into the communion of the Baptists. This broke all his measures concerning his intended travels ; and then resolving to settle where he was, he took to wife one Catharine de Mol, a virtuous maid, whose father was one of the primitive Baptists that arose under the persecution in Flanders, whence he with many more came to settle in Holland.

From these parents my mother descended, who was religiously inclined even from her youth, and became so well versed in the Holy Scriptures ; and was so diligent in writing down so much of the sermons she heard, as she could retain by memory : that her father said sometimes, ' It is a pity that this girl is not a boy, who then in time might become an eminent instrument in the church. After she was come to age, though much inclined to lead a single life, yet at length she was married to my father, Jacob Williamson Sewel, a very religious young man ; whose father William Sewel, from Kidderminster in Worcestershire, having been one of those Brownists, that left England and settled in Holland, married a Dutch wife at Utrecht, where my father was born ; who being come to age, endeavored to walk in the narrow way, and conversed mostly with the strictest professors of those days. And both he and my mother came in time to grow dissatisfied with that worship to which they were joined ; yet in clearness of understanding my mother exceeded my father ; nevertheless she continued dissatisfied as well as he, with the common way of worship she belonged to ; so that often times, when she came from the meeting-house, she resolved not to go there any more, because she reaped no real and substantial benefit by it. But then the first day of the week being come again, she was in a strait, thinking that



however it was, yet by the apostle we were exhorted not to forsake the assemblies. In this irresolute condition she continued a long time ; and being encumbered with the cares of the family, she was not so much at liberty for performing religious duties, (viz: prayers, reading of, and meditating on the Holy Scriptures, visiting the sick, and such like pious exercises,) as she was before she was married ; which made her wish sometimes she had never entered into matrimony, and that she might live to enjoy again that peace and quiet which once she had. But she knew not yet that it was the love of the Lord thus working upon her, to draw her off from transitory things. In this state she was often seized with grief and sorrow, so that she counted herself the most miserable of women ; for neither husband, nor children nor any outward enjoyments, could afford her any pleasure ; but all her desire was to attain to an undefiled state, in which she might live an unblamable life, not only before men, but also before God ; for feeling there was yet something in her which was evil and polluting, she struggled to overcome it ; but all her labor proved in vain. This made her cry earnestly to the Lord as one in great danger ; and her doubts whether it was possible to attain to perfection increased. But in this forlorn state it pleased the Lord to manifest himself to her in some measure, though she knew not then it was him. And often she cried out, ' Lord what will it avail me to know that thou hast sent thy Son into the world, and that he was crucified and died for the sins of the world, if I am not saved by it. Lord forgive my sins, and have mercy upon me.' And once when she was alone, pouring out her heart before the Lord, he made himself known to her, and spoke to her soul, that if she would be perfect, she must follow the light in every respect. Having heard this, she desired to know what this light was ; and the Lord showed her, that the light was the life of men. This she understood in some degree, and so separated herself as much as ever she could conveniently from conversation, endeavoring to live retiredly. And having about this time heard Dr. Galenus Abrahams, an eminent Baptist teacher, preach upon the parable of the seeds-man ; that which he spoke concerning the good ground, and how the ground must be fitted by the Lord's working, so affected her, that she resolved to rest from all her own labor ; and so she left frequenting the Baptists' assemblies any more.

In this retired state she continued a good while, and at length came to hear William Ames preach ; and he declaring the light of Christ as the true teacher, this agreed with what had already been told her inwardly by the immediate manifestations of the Lord to her. And thus she came fully to be convinced that this was the truth she had so long desired to know. Now she saw that it was her duty to give up all, and to keep nothing back : for she had already seen, that if she would be Christ's disciple, she must forsake all, even her own self. But a fear of the cross was no small impediment to her ; yet now she gave up to obedience ; and saw that her former performances had been defective ; and



now all came into remembrance. This caused sorrow ; but she prayed to the Lord both night and day, and then he manifested his power by which she was led out of the darkness and bondage, wherein she had been held captive ; and her supplication was to the Lord, that it might not be with her as formerly, to wit, sometimes great zeal, and then coldness again ; but that she might continue in fervency of spirit. After a long time of mourning the Lord manifested his kindness to her, by which she came to be quickened and refreshed ; and by the judgments of the Lord all was narrowly searched out, so that nothing could be hid ; and a separation was made between the precious and the vile, and death passed over all. But thus to part with all her own wisdom, and forsake her great attainments, was no small cross : yet she became willing to bear it, although many violent tempests rose to draw her off, if possible, from closely adhering to the beloved of her soul ; yet she was not forward in imitation : for my father, who when he was convinced of the truth preached by W. Ames and W. Caton, soon left off the common way of salutation, would sometimes persuade her by arguments to do so too ; but she told him, if the leaving off of that custom was a thing the Lord required, she believed he would show it her in his own time, because she was given up to follow his requirings. And so the Lord did in due time ; and she continuing zealously faithful, he was pleased after my father's death to give her a public testimony, and she became eminently gifted : for her natural abilities surpassing the ordinary qualifications of her sex, and becoming sanctified by the Spirit of the Lord, could not but produce good effects ; and she came to be much visited and sought after by professors ; and the Fifth Monarchy-men applauded her because of her pathetical admonitions. But she was above flattery, and trampled upon it. Nay, she was so well esteemed, that I remember, having some movings to visit the collegians in their meeting, after one of them had left off speaking, she stood up, and said, that she had something upon her mind to speak to them by way of exhortation. But knowing that they suffered not women to speak amongst them, she was not willing bluntly to intrude herself ; but desired their leave, which they readily granted, and one of their chief speakers said to her, ' It is true, friend, we do not allow women to speak in the church ; yet we bear that respect to you, that we give you the liberty, of speaking.' And then she cleared herself, having formerly been a frequenter of that assembly. And when she had done speaking, I do not remember she was contradicted by any ; but one of their speakers concluded the meeting with a prayer.

Before that time she wrote and published a small book to those of her former society, which she called ' A Serious Reproof of the Flemish Baptists : ' in which she dealt very plainly with them ; and showed how they were apostatized. She wrote also some other treatises, extant in print ; and was much beloved and well esteemed by English friends, as appears by several letters written to her from England, and yet extant. Those of her ~~often~~ resorted to her for instruction, she being

so well exercised in the way of the Lord, that she was able to speak a word in season to various conditions. Many times she visited the meetings at Alkmaar, Haarlem and Rotterdam; and was often invited by her friends to come and edify them with her gift. She wrote also many letters for edification and admonition to particular persons, and some epistles also to the church. But it pleased the Lord to take her early to himself. When she fell sick, she soon had a sense that she was not like to recover, and therefore spoke much to me in private, and acquainted me with several things touching myself, and relating to her outward estate. And the night before she departed, she called me to her bed-side, and exhorted me very fervently to depart from evil, and to fear the Lord: which by the mercy of God in time, made very deep impressions on my mind; so that still I find reason to bless the name of the Lord for having been pleased that I was the son of such an excellent mother: who early in the morning when she felt death approaching, called me up out of my bed, and sent me to her brother, and to W. Caton, to come and see her; and I had hardly been returned a quarter of an hour before she departed this life, and slept in peace, to my great grief then; though afterwards, when I came to years of discerning, I saw reason to believe that it was not without a singular providence that the Lord had taken her away: for one had long continued to be an importunate suitor to her, who in time lost his integrity. To give a small instance of her true zeal for God, I will insert here the following epistle she wrote to her friends, to stir up the pure mind in them.

#### AN EPISTLE TO THE FRIENDS OF TRUTH.

‘Grace and peace be multiplied among you, my dearly and much beloved friends, you that have received a blessing from God the heavenly Father in Christ Jesus, the Lord of glory; who by his unspeakable love, and his unchangeable light, hath drawn you off from the imaginary worships, and brought you in measure to know him who was from the beginning. Dear friends, keep in the light by which ye are enlightened, and in the knowledge of God, which every one hath received for himself; watching against the seducings of Satan, that your eyes may be kept open, lest deceit should prevail in any of you, by which truth might lose its splendor, and the brightness of the Lord become darkened.

‘I write these things to you in true love, and though but young, yet as one that takes care for you; for the Lord knows how often ye are in my remembrance; desiring for you, that ye may not only know the truth, but that ye may be found to be living witnesses of it: for I, knowing the preciousness of it, cannot but desire that others may also participate of the same; labor therefore for it, my friends, that so, when the Lord comes and calls to an account, every one may be found faithful according to what he hath received: for this is the talent which the Lord hath given, viz. the knowledge of him who is true, and who

rewardeth every one according to his deeds : but the negligent and slothful servant said that his Lord was a hard man, and that he gathered where he had not strewn, and this was his condemnation : for the Lord said, " Thou knewest that I was an austere man ; wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury ? " Mind these things, my beloved friends, ye that have an ear to hear, and dig after this parable in yourselves ; for we all have received talents, some more, and others less. Let therefore every one be faithful to the Lord, according to what he hath received ; for truly some of you, I believe, have received five talents. Let it but be duly considered and seen in the light of the Lord, what knowledge ye have had of the eternal God beyond many, even when ye were yet in darkness ; how often hath the Lord appeared, and clearly made manifest himself ? And how abundantly hath he made it known in the heart, that he it was who was worthy to be feared and served ? Certainly this is a great and weighty talent, and therefore the Lord may say justly, what could I have done more to my vineyard ? O my friends, besides all this, he hath caused his eternal light to shine into our hearts, whereby we have seen the corrupted ways of the world, and the paths leading to death. This, I say, the Lord hath shown us by his eternal light : glory and praises be given to our God for ever.

' Dear friends, go on in that in which ye have begun ; for I can bear witness for the Lord, that his love hath been abundantly shed abroad upon us, without respect of persons : because those that fear him, and work righteousness, are acceptable to him ; and he makes his truth manifest among us, and causeth his peace and mercy to rest upon us. It is true, that Satan doth not rest to scatter this, and to sow doubts and unbelief in our hearts ; but we keeping close to the Lord, are preserved from his snares ; and happy is he who hath found a place where he is freed from tempests : but before this place be found, there are many hidden rocks that may be struck on, not unknown to me. And therefore I have true compassion on those who are not past them all yet ; for shipwreck may easily be suffered on any of these.

' Yet in all this danger there is something on which we may rely safely, and to which we may trust, being as a beacon, viz. the light shining into our hearts, though it be sometimes but as a spark, and so small, in regard of the manifold seducings, that it can hardly be discerned. Here then is no small grief and anguish ; here all the mercies of the Lord, which formerly we enjoyed abundantly, are called in question, or doubted of ; here is danger, and yet certainty ; for by not sinning, the beacon is minded, and by relying on a true hope to be saved, we are preserved in the tempest. I write these things for the information of those that are travelling towards a city that hath a foundation, and whose builder and maker is God ; for to such my love is extended, and my desire to the Lord for them is, that they may be kept by his power, to remain standing at his coming.

‘Dear friends, keep your meetings in the fear of the Lord, and have a care that your minds are not drawn out to hear words outwardly ; but stand in the cross to that which desireth refreshment from without : and when at any time ye feel but little refreshment, let it not enter into your hearts that the Lord is not mindful of you ; but centre down into yourselves, in the pure light, and stand still therein : then it may be ye will find the cause why the presence of the Lord is departed from you for some time ; and ye putting away the cause, shall enjoy the Lord again to your comfort.

‘May God Almighty preserve you all by his power, lest any strife or discord be found among you ; and may you grow up in love, and thereby be obliged to bear each other’s burdens ; and let no transitory things cumber your hearts, but be resigned to the Lord ; for that to which we are called, is not to be compared to that which is transitory, or perishing ; since it is a treasure that is everlasting, and to which the world, and all that is in it, is but as dung ; because the most glorious part of it is but vanity of vanities. O, my friends, let none be stopped by that which is an impediment to entering into the kingdom of heaven ; but strive all to enter the narrow gate ; and search every one of you your own hearts, with the light ye are enlightened with, which shall manifest your own states to you ; and keeping there, it shall multiply your peace, and every one shall find therein his own teacher, as those have experienced who sought the Lord with all their hearts. Now the God of all mercies, who alone is immortal, keep you and us altogether unto the end ; that so in these dangerous times we may remain standing, to the glory of his great name. O friends, keep out craftiness, and enter not readily into discourse with those that are out of the truth ; for they speak in their own wills, and are crafty, and, knowing no bridle to their mind, it produceth that by which the simple and innocent are caught ; but stand ye rather, and keep in that wherein ye see their subtlety ; for then, though ye may not have a word to apologize for yourselves, yet ye shall be above them.

‘This is written from me, a young plant, in love to you, according to the gift received from the Lord. My salutation is to you all in the light of truth.

JUDITH ZINSPENNING.’

In the year 1664 came forth a small book in print, to the king, and both houses of parliament, wherein were set forth, not only the violent persecution almost over all England, with the names of persons, places, and cases, which indeed were woeful, and some bloody ; but it was also represented, that there were at that time in prison above six hundred of those called Quakers, merely for religion’s sake.

In the month called January, in the year 1664-5, thirty-six of that persuasion, among which were eight women, were condemned to be transported to Jamaica. The jury not being so forward to declare the prisoners guilty as the court desired, were persuaded however by the

threatenings of judge Keeling, the recorder Wild, and the boisterous Richard Brown, to do what was demanded of them.

On the 18th and 22d of the next month, thirty-four of the said people were sentenced to be carried to Jamaica, and five to Bridewell. The manner of their trial I pass by with silence, to avoid prolixity. Those that were tried on the 18th were sentenced by judge Wharton; and those on the 22d by judge Windham, who said to Anne Blow, who declared, that the fear of the Lord being upon her heart, she durst not conform to any thing that was unrighteous, 'Anne Blow, I would show you as much favor as the court will allow you, if you will say that you will go no more to that seditious meeting,' meaning the Bull-and-Mouth. To which she answered, 'Wouldst thou have me sin against that of God in my own conscience? if I were set at liberty to-day, if the Lord required it of me, I should go to the Bull-and-Mouth to-morrow.'

Concerning one John Gibson, the said judge spoke to the jury in this manner: 'Gentlemen, although it is true, as this Gibson saith, that it cannot be proved that they were doing any evil at the Bull-and-Mouth; yet it was an offence for them to be met there, because in process of time there might be evil done in such meetings: therefore this law was made to prevent them.' By this we may see with what specious colors the persecutors cloaked their actions. I find among my papers, a letter of John Furly, and Walter Miers, (both of whom I knew well,) mentioning, that some of the jury, for refusing to give such a verdict as was required of them, were fined in great sums, and put into prison, there to remain till they should pay the fine.

Having now said thus much of sentencing, it grows time to speak of the execution thereof.

Some of the persons ordered for banishment, fell sick, and died in prison; some became apostates, and some were redeemed by their relations that were not Quakers; but yet a considerable number were, though with great pains, brought on ship-board, to be transported to the West Indies. We have seen already how those that were sentenced at Hertford, by judge Orlando Bridgman, having been put ashore by the master of the ship, returned. And it was not long after, that three of their friends, being on board the ship the *Many-Fortune* of Bristol, were also set on shore with a certificate from the master of the ship, signed by him and seven of his men, wherein they complained of their adversity, and said, that God had said as it were in their hearts. "Accursed be the man that separates husband and wife; and he who oppresseth the people of God, many plagues will come upon him."

But the first of those called Quakers, who really tasted banishment, were Edward Brush and James Harding, who were banished, not only out of London, where they as citizens had as much right to live as the chiefest magistrates, but also out of their native country, contrary to the rights of free-born Englishmen: these, with one Robert Hays, were on the 24th of the month called March, early in the morning fetched from

Newgate in London, and brought to Blackfriars' stairs, where they were put into a boat, and so carried down to Gravesend, and there had on board a ship. Hardly any warning had been given to these prisoners; and Robert Hays being sickly, had taken some physic, which had not done working; and since it was very cold that morning, and he had got nothing to eat before he came to Gravesend, he was seized in the ship with so severe sickness, that he died of it, and then his corpse was carried to London, and there buried. The other two were carried to Jamaica, where, by the providence of God, in time it fared well with them, and Edward Brush lived to return to England. It was remarkable, that not long after these persons were banished, the pestilence broke out at London, first of all in the house of a meal-man in Bearbinder-lane, next door to the house where the said Edward lived, which by some was thought worthy of being taken notice of; since that house was the first which was shut because of the sickness.

With the other prisoners, they had more trouble and pains, because no shipmasters could be found that would carry them: wherefore an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with order that none should go down the river without having a pass from the Admiral; and this they would give to no master going to the West Indies, unless he made promise to carry some Quakers along with him to the place to which they were banished. Whatever any masters spoke against this, intimating that there was a law, according to which no Englishman might be carried out of his native country against his mind, was in vain. At length by force they got one to serve their turn; and then seven persons that were sentenced to banishment, were, on the 18th of the month called April, carried from Newgate to Blackfriars' stairs, and so in a boat to Gravesend. But in the meantime the pestilence increased, and not long after judge Hyde, who had been very active in persecuting, was, with many others, suddenly taken away out of this life; for he having been seen in the morning at Westminster in health, as to outward appearance, it was told in the afternoon that he was found dead in his chamber; being thus summoned to appear and give account of his deeds before a higher court than ever he presided in.

Yet transportation was not come to a stand; first, as hath been said, three persons, next seven, and on the 16th of the month called May, eight were carried down the river to Gravesend, and put on ship-board; but as the number of those that were thus carried away was heightened, so also the number of those that died of the pestilence much more increased. But notwithstanding this scourge from Heaven, transportation continued; for a master of a ship was found at length, who had said, as was reported, that he would not stick to transport even his nearest relations. And so an agreement was made with him, that he should take between fifty and sixty Quakers into his ship, and carry them to the West Indies. Of these eight or ten at a time were brought to the waterside, and so with boats or barges carried to the ship, which lay at

anchor in the Thames, in Bugbey's-hole, a little beyond Greenwich. Many of these prisoners, among which several women, not showing themselves ready to climb into the ship, lest it should seem as if they were instrumental to their transportation, were hoisted up with the tackle; and the sailors being unwilling to do this work, and saying, that if they were merchants' goods, they should not be unwilling to hoist them in, the officers took hold of the tackle, and said, 'They are the king's goods.' This was on the 20th of the month called July, and on the 4th of the next month, when, according to the bill of mortality, three thousand and forty died in one week, the rest of the banished prisoners were carried with soldiers to the said ship, in which now were fifty-five of the banished Quakers, and among these eighteen women. But something adversely hindered this ship from going away, and the pestilence also entered into it, which took away many of the prisoners, and so freed them from banishment. But though the pestilence grew more hot at London, and that a war was risen between England and Holland, yet the fire of persecution continued hot, and great rejoicings were made when the Dutch were beaten at sea, and their admiral Obdam was blown up with his ship. Neither did the persecutors leave off to disturb the meetings of those called Quakers, and imprison many of them; nay, so hardened and unrelenting were some, that when at London more than four thousand people died in one week, they said, that the only means to stop the pestilence, was to send the Quakers out of the land. But these fainted not, but grew emboldened against violence. In September some meetings were still disturbed at London, though the number of the dead in one week was heightened to above seven thousand, being increased in that time nigh two thousand. Now such as intended to have met at the Bull-and-Mouth, were kept out from performing worship there; but yet meeting in the street, they were not disturbed; for there seemed to be some fear of the common people, who grew discontented because there was little to be earned by tradesmen; and the city came to be so emptied, that grass grew in those streets that used to be the most populous, few people being seen by the way. Thus the city became as a desert, and the misery was so great, that it was believed some died for want of attendance.

It was about this time that Samuel Fisher, who first had been a prisoner in Newgate at London, and afterwards in Southwark, since the beginning of the year 1663, till now, being about a year and a half, died piously.

It is reported that the king, in the time of this great mortality, once asked, whether any Quakers died of the plague? And having been told, yes, he seemed to slight that sickness, and to conclude, that then it could not be looked upon as a judgment or plague upon their persecutors. But certainly his chaplains might well have put him in mind of what Solomon saith, "There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked:" and of this saying of Job, "He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked:" as also

that of the prophet, "That the righteous is taken away from the evil to come."

Now travelling in the country was stopped, which made some people go with boats along the coast, and so went ashore where they had a mind. Thus did Stephen Crisp, who came about this time to York, where the duke of York was then, with many of the great ones. About this time Alexander Parker and George Whitehead came to London, where they had good service in preaching the truth.

Great fires were now kindled in the streets to purify the contagious air : but no relief was found by it ; for in the latter end of September there died at London above eight thousand people in one week, as I remember to have seen in one of the bills of mortality of that time. In the meanwhile the ship in which the banished prisoners were, could not go off, but continued to lie as a gazing-stock for those ships that passed by ; for the master was imprisoned for debt.

Now the prediction of George Bishop was fulfilled, and the plagues of the Lord fell so heavily on the persecutors, that the eagerness to banish the Quakers, and send them away, began to abate. The same G. Bishop about mid-summer, wrote from the prison at Bristol, (where he made account that he also should have been banished,) a letter to his friends to exhort them to steadfastness, foretelling them, that if they happened to be banished, God would give them grace in the eyes of those among whom they should be sent, if they continued to adhere to him ; and that when he should have tried them, he should bring them again into their native country ; and that none should root them out ; but they should be planted and built up there ; and that the Lord should visit their enemies with the sword and pestilence, and strike them with terror. This is but a short hint of what he wrote at large.

G. Fox, the younger, had also in the year 1661 given forth a little book, of which some small mention hath been made before, in which he lamented England, because of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedness and persecution ; saying among the rest, that the Lord had spoken in him concerning the inhabitants, ' The people are too many, the people are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them.' Besides that the spirit of the Lord had signified unto him, that an overflowing scourge, yea even an exceeding great and terrible judgment, was to come upon the land, and that many in it should fall, and be taken away. And that this decree of the Lord was so firm, that though some of the Lord's children and prophets should appear so as to stand in the gap, yet should not that alter his decree. This with much more he wrote very plainly ; and though he was deceased long ago, yet this paper was reprinted, to show the inhabitants how faithfully they had been warned.

What Isaac Pennington, being a prisoner, wrote about this time to the king and parliament, and published in print, was also very remarkable, being designed with Christian meekness to dissuade them if possible from going on with this mischievous work of persecution. In this paper,



containing some queries, among many weighty expressions, I find these also :

‘ After ye have done all ye can, even made laws as strong as ye can, and put them in the strictest course of execution ye can, one night from the Lord may end the controversy, and show whether we please the Lord in obeying him, or ye in making laws against us for our fidelity and obedience to him.

‘ And as the Lord is able to overturn you, so if ye mistake your work, misinterpreting the passages of his providence, and erring in heart concerning the ground of his former displeasure ; and so, through the error of judgment, set yourselves in opposition against him, replanting the plants which he will not have grow, and plucking up the plants of his planting ; do ye not in this case provoke the Lord, even to put forth the strength which is in him against you ? We are poor worms. Alas, if ye had only us to deal with, we should be nothing in your hands ! But if his strength stand behind us, we shall prove a very burdensome stone, and ye will hardly be able to remove us out of the place wherein God hath set us, and where he pleaseth to have us disposed of. And happy were it for you, if instead of persecuting us, ye yourselves were drawn to wait for the same begettings of God which we have felt, out of the earthly nature into his life and nature, and did learn of him to govern in that ; then might ye be established indeed, and be freed from the danger of those shakings and overturnings, which God is hastening upon the earth.

‘ Now, because ye may be apt to think, that I write these things for my own sake, and the sakes of my friends and companions in the truth of God, that we might escape the sufferings and severity which we are like to undergo from you, and not so mainly and chiefly for your sakes, lest ye should bring the wrath of God and misery upon your souls and bodies ; to prevent this mistake in you, I shall add what followeth. Indeed this is not the intent of my heart : for I have long expected, and do still expect this cup of outward affliction and persecution from you, and my heart is quieted and satisfied therein, knowing that the Lord will bring glory to his name, and good to us out of it : but I am sure it is not good for you to afflict us for that which the Lord requireth of us, and wherein he accepteth us ; and ye will find it the bitterest work that ever ye went about, and in the end will wish that the Lord had rather never given you this day of prosperity, than that he should suffer you thus to make use of it. Now that ye may more clearly see the temper of my spirit, and how my heart stands in this thing, I shall open a little unto you, my faith and hope about it, in these ensuing particulars :

‘ First, I am assured in my heart and soul, that this despised people, called Quakers, is of the Lord’s begetting in his own life and nature. Indeed, had I not seen the power of God in them, and received from the Lord an unquestionable testimony concerning them, I had never looked

towards them : for they were otherwise very despicable in my eyes. And this I cannot but testify concerning them, that I have found the life of God in me owning them, and that which God hath begotten in my heart, refreshed by the power of life in them : and none but the Lord knows the beauty and excellency of glory, which he hath hid under this appearance.

‘ Secondly, The Lord hath hitherto preserved them against great oppositions, and is still able to preserve them. Every power hitherto hath made nothing of over-running them ; yet they have hitherto stood, by the care and tender mercy of the Lord ; and the several powers which have persecuted them, have fallen one after another.

‘ Thirdly, I have had experience myself of the Lord’s goodness and preservation of me, in my suffering with them for the testimony of his truth, who made my bonds pleasant to me, and my noisome prison, (enough to have destroyed my weakly and tenderly educated nature,) a place of pleasure and delight ; where I was comforted by my God night and day, and filled with prayers for his people, as also with love to, and prayers for, those who had been the means of outwardly afflicting me, and others on the Lord’s account.

‘ Fourthly, I have no doubt in my heart that the Lord will deliver us. The strength of man, the resolution of man is nothing in my eye to compare with the Lord. Whom the Lord loveth, he can save at his pleasure. Hath he begun to break our bonds and deliver us, and shall we now distrust him ? Are we in a worse condition than Israel was, when the sea was before them, the mountains on each side, and the Egyptians behind pursuing them ? He indeed that looketh with man’s eye, can see no ground of hope, nor hardly a possibility of deliverance ; but to the eye of faith, it is now nearer than when God began first to deliver.

‘ Fifthly, It is the delight of the Lord, and his glory to deliver his people, when to the eye of sense it seemeth impossible. Then doth the Lord delight to stretch forth his arm, when none else can help : and then doth it please him to deal with the enemies of his truth and people, when they are lifted up above the fear of him, and are ready to say in their hearts concerning them, they are now in our hands, who can deliver them ?

‘ Well, were it not in love to you, and in pity, in relation to what will certainly befall you, if ye go on in this course, I could say in the joy of my heart, and in the sense of the good-will of my God to us, who suffereth these things to come to pass ; go on, try it out with the spirit of the Lord, come forth with your laws, and prison, and spoiling of our goods, and banishment, and death, if the Lord please, and see if ye can carry it : for we come not forth against you in our own wills, or in any enmity against your persons or government, or in any stubbornness or refractoriness of spirit ; but with the lamb-like nature which the Lord our God hath begotten in us, which is taught, and enabled by him, both to do his will, and to suffer for his name’s sake. And if we cannot thus overcome you,

even in patience of spirit, and in love to you, and if the Lord our God please not to appear for us, we are content to be overcome by you. So the will of the Lord be done saith my soul.'

This the author concludes with a postscript, containing a serious exhortation to forsake evil. Besides this he gave forth another paper, wherein he proposed this question to the king and both houses of parliament :

'Whether laws made by man, in equity, ought to extend any further than there is power in man to obey. And if it was not cruel to require obedience in such cases, wherein the party hath not a capacity in him of obeying.' And to explain this a little further, he said, 'In things concerning the worship of God, wherein a man is limited by God, both what worship he shall perform, and what worship he shall abstain from, here he is not left at liberty to obey what laws shall be made by man contrary hereunto.' Thus Pennington strove by writing to show the persecutors the evil of their doings : but a fierce party prevailed then : and the clergy continually blew the fire of persecution ; nay, many presumed the time was now come totally to destroy the Quakers ; and in December, twelve more were condemned to transportation.

Concerning those banished that were now in the ship which lay in the Thames, I will yet leave them there, and take again a view of George Fox, whom in the foregoing year we left in a hard prison at Lancaster. In the month called March of this year he was brought again to his trial before judge Twisden : and though judge Turner had given charge at the assize before, to see no such gross errors were in the indictment as before, yet in that respect this was not much better than the former, though the judge examined it himself. The jury then being called to be sworn, and three officers of the court having deposed, that the oath had been tendered to him at the last assizes, according to the indictment, the judge said, it was not done in a corner : and then asked him, what he had to say to it ; and whether he had taken the oath at the last assizes ? George Fox thereupon gave an account of what had been done then, and that he had said, that the book they gave him to swear on, saith, "Swear not at all." And repeating more of what he spoke then, the judge said, 'I will not dispute with you but in point of law.' George Fox offering to speak something to the jury concerning the indictment, he was stopped by the judge ; and then George Fox asked him, whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes ? The judge replied, 'To the subjects of this realm.' 'Well,' said he, 'look to the indictment, and thou mayest see that the word subject is left out of this indictment also.' Several other great errors as to time, &c., he had observed in the indictment, but no sooner had he spoken concerning the same, 'Take him away, jailer, take him away.'

Then he was hurried away ; yet the people thought he should have been called again ; but that was not done. After he was gone, the judge asked the jury whether they were agreed ? They said, ' Yes,' and found for the king against him. The reason why George Fox was led away so suddenly, seemed to be that they expected he would have proved the officers of the court to have sworn falsely, seeing the day on which the oath had been tendered to him at the assizes before, was wrong in the indictment ; and yet they had sworn, that on that day he had refused to take the oath. Before George Fox was brought before the judge, he had passed sentence of *premunire* against Margaret Fell, for having refused to take the oath. And though this sentence had not been passed against George Fox, yet he was recorded as a *premunired* person ; though it had not been asked him what he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced against him. And thus he continued prisoner in Lancaster castle.

Whilst he was there, though weak of body, he wrote several papers ; but the neighboring justices labored much to get him removed thence to some remote place ; for it was pretty well known among the people, how the court at the assizes had dealt with him. So about six weeks after, they got an order from the king and council to remove him from Lancaster ; and they received also a letter from the earl of Anglesey, wherein it was written, that if these things which he was charged with, were found true against him, he deserved no clemency or mercy : and yet the greatest matter they had against him, was his refusal of the oath. His persecutors now having prepared for his removal, the under sheriff, and the head sheriff's men, with some bailiffs, came and fetched him out of the castle, when he was so weak, by laying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that he could hardly go or stand. So they brought him down into the jailer's house where justice William Kirby, and several others were. They called for wine to give him, but he well knowing their malice against him, told them, he would have none of their wine. Then they cried, ' Bring out the horses.' G. Fox therefore desired, that if they intended to remove him, they would first show him their order, or a copy of it. But they would not show him any but their swords. He then told them, there was no sentence passed upon him, neither was he *premunired*, that he knew of ; and therefore he was not made the king's prisoner, but was the sheriff's : for they and all the country knew that he was not fully heard at the last assizes, nor suffered to show the errors that were in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it. And that they all knew there was no sentence of *premunire* passed upon him ; and therefore he not being the king's prisoner, but the sheriff's, desired to see their order. But instead of showing him their order, they hauled him out, and lifted him upon one of the sheriff's horses ; for he was so very weak, that he was hardly able to sit on horseback. Riding thus along the street, he was much gazed upon by the people, and had great reason to say, that he received neither christianity, civility, nor humanity,

for how ill and weak soever he was, yet they hurried him away about fourteen miles to Bentham in Yorkshire ; and so wicked was the jailer, (one Hunter, a young fellow,) that he lashed the horse on which G. Fox rode, with his whip, to make him skip and leap, insomuch that he had much ado to sit upon him ; and then would this wanton fellow come, and looking him in the face, say, ' How do you do Mr. Fox ? ' To which he answered, it was not civil in him to do so. Yet this malicious fellow seemed little to regard it ; but he had not long time to delight in this kind of insolence ; for soon after he was cut off by death.

G. Fox being come to Bentham, was met by a marshal and several troopers ; and many of the gentry, besides abundance of people, came thither to stare at him. Being entered the house, and very much tired, he desired they would let him lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted ; and the marshal, to whom he was delivered, set a guard upon him. After having staid there a while, they pressed horses, and sending for the bailiff and the constables, they had him to Giggleswick that night. And there they raised the constables, who sat drinking all night in the room by him, so that he could get but little rest. The next day coming to a market town, several of his friends came to see him, and at night he asked the soldiers, whither they intended to carry him ? To which some said, beyond sea, and others to Tinmouth Castle. And there was a fear amongst them, lest some should rescue him ; but there was not the least reason for it. The next night he was brought to York, where the marshal put him into a great chamber, where many of the troopers then came to him. He then speaking something by way of exhortation to the soldiers, many of them were very loving to him. A while after the lord Frecheville, who commanded those horse, came to him, and was civil and loving, and G. Fox gave him an account of his imprisonment.

After a stay of two days at York, the marshal and five soldiers were sent to convey him to Scarborough Castle : these behaved themselves civilly to him. On the way they baited at Malton, and permitted his friends to see him. Afterwards being come to Scarborough, they brought him to an inn, and gave notice of it to the governor, who sent six soldiers to guard him that night. The next day they had him into the castle, and there put him into a room, with a sentinel to watch him. Out of this room they soon brought him into another, which was so open, that the rain came in, and it smoked exceedingly ; which was very offensive to him. One day the governor, Sir Jordan Croslands came into the castle with one Sir Francis Cob. G. Fox desired the governor to come into his room, and see how it was, and so they did : and G. Fox having got a little fire made in the room, it was so filled with smoke, that they could hardly find the way out again. And he being a Papist, G. Fox told him, that was his purgatory which they had put him into. For it plainly appeared that there was an intent to vex and distress him : for after he had been at the charge of laying out about fifty shillings, to keep out the rain, and somewhat to ease the smoke, they put him into a

worse room, which had neither chimney nor fire-hearth ; and lying much open toward the sea-side, the wind so drove in the rain, that the water not only ran about the room, but also came upon his bed. And he having no fire to dry his clothes when they were wet, his body was so benumbed with cold, and his fingers swelled to that degree, that one grew as big as two. And so malicious were his persecutors, that they would hardly suffer any of his friends to come at him, nay, not so much as to bring him a little food ; so that he was forced to hire somebody to bring him necessaries. Thus he spent about a quarter of a year, and afterwards being put into a room where a fire could be made, he hired a soldier to fetch him what he wanted. He then ate almost nothing but bread, and of this so little, that a three-penny loaf commonly served him three weeks ; and most of his drink was water, that had wormwood steeped in it ; and once when the weather was very sharp, and he had taken a great cold, he got some elecampane beer.

Now, though he desired his friends and acquaintances might be suffered to come to him, yet this was refused ; but some others were admitted to come and gaze upon him, especially Papists, of whom a great company once being come, they affirmed, that the pope was infallible, and had been so ever since St. Peter's time. But G. Fox denied this, and alleged from history, that Marcellinus, one of the bishops of Rome, denied the faith, and sacrificed to idols ; and therefore was not infallible. And he said also, ' If the Papists were in the infallible spirit, they would not maintain their religion by jails, swords, gallows, fires, racks, and tortures, &c. nor want such means to hold it up by : for if they were in the infallible spirit, they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion.' He also told them how a certain woman that had been a Papist, but afterwards entered into the society of those called Quakers, having a tailor at work at her house, and speaking to him concerning the falseness of the popish religion, was threatened to have been stabbed by him, for which end he drew his knife at her : since it was as the woman said, the principle of the Papists, if any turn from their religion to kill them if they can. This story he told the Papists, and they did not deny this to be their principle, but asked, if he would declare this abroad. And he said, ' Yes, such things ought to be declared abroad, that it may be known how contrary your religion is to true Christianity.' Whereupon they went away in a rage. Some time after another Papist came to discourse with him, and said, that all the patriarchs were in hell, from the creation till Christ came ; and that when he suffered he went into hell, and the devil said to him, ' What comest thou hither for ; to break open our strong holds ?' And Christ said, ' To fetch them all out.' And so, he said, Christ was three days and three nights in hell, to bring them all out. On which G. Fox said to him that was false ; for Christ said to the thief, " This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." He also said, that Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven ; and that Abraham also was in heaven,

since the Scripture saith, that Lazarus was in his bosom. And Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the mount, before he suffered. With these instances he stopped his adversary's mouth, and put him to a non-plus.

Another time there came to him a great physician, called Dr. Witty, being accompanied with the lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth castle, and several knights. G. Fox being called to them, this doctor undertook to discourse with him, and asked, what he was in prison for? G. Fox told him, because he would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear. To which the doctor said, he ought to swear his allegiance to the king. Now G. Fox knowing him to be a great Presbyterian, asked him, whether he had not sworn against the king and the house of lords, and taken the Scotch covenant; and whether he had not since sworn to the king. The doctor having no ready answer to this, G. Fox asked him, what then was his swearing good for: telling him further, 'My allegiance doth not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness.' After some further discourse, G. Fox was led away to his prison again; and afterwards the doctor boasted, that he had conquered G. Fox; which he having heard, told the governor, it was a small boast in him to say he had conquered a bond-man.

A while after, this doctor came again, having many great persons with him, and he affirmed before them all, that Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; that the grace of God, which brought salvation, had not appeared unto all men; and that Christ had not died for all men. G. Fox asked him, what sort of men those were, which Christ had not enlightened; and whom his grace had not appeared unto. To which the doctor answered, 'Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolators, and wicked men.' Then G. Fox asked him, whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners; and he said, 'Yes.' Which made G. Fox say, 'And did not Christ die for sinners? Did he not come to call sinners to repentance?' 'Yes,' said the doctor. 'Then,' replied G. Fox, 'thou hast stopped thy own mouth.' And so he proved, that the grace of God had appeared to all men, though some turned it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of those that were present confessed it was true; but the doctor went away in a rage, and came no more to him.

Another time the governor came to him, with two or three parliament-men, and they asked him, whether he owned ministers and bishops; to which he said, 'Yes, such as Christ sent forth; such as had freely received, and would freely give; and such as were qualified, and were in the same power and spirit that they were in, in the apostles' days. But such bishops and teachers as yours are, that will go no further than they have a great benefice, I do not own; for they are not like the apostles: for Christ saith to his ministers, "Go ye into all nations and preach the gospel." But ye parliament-men, that keep your priests and

bishops in such great fat benefices, ye have spoiled them all : for do you think they will go into all nations to preach, or will go any further than they have great fat benefices ? Judge yourselves, whether they will or no.' To this they could say little, and whatever was objected to G. Fox, he always had an answer in readiness ; and because sometimes it was simple and plain, his enemies thence took occasion to say, that he was a fool. But whatever such said, it is certain that he had a good understanding, though he was not educated in human learning. This I know by my own experience, for I have had familiar conversation with him.

In this his prison, he was much visited, even by people of note. General Fairfax's widow came once to him with a great company, one of which was a priest, who began to quarrel with him, because speaking to one person, he said *thou* and *thee*, and not *you* ; and those that spoke so, the priest said, he counted but fools. Which made G. Fox ask him, whether they, that translated the Scriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools ; seeing they translated the Scriptures so, and made the grammar so, *thou* to one, and *you* to more than one. With these and other reasons he soon silenced the priest ; and several of the company acknowledged the truth he declared to them, and were loving to him ; and some of them would have given him money, but he would not receive it.

Whilst I leave him yet prisoner, I will go to other matters, and relate the remarkable case of one William Dundas, who being a man of some repute in Scotland, came over to the communion of those called Quakers, in a singular manner. He was a man of a strict life, and observed the ecclesiastical institutions there as diligently as any of the most precise ; but in time he saw, that bodily exercise profited little, and that it was true godliness which the Lord required from man. In this state, becoming more circumspect than he was accustomed to be he did not frequent the public assemblies so much as formerly. But this was soon taken notice of, and being asked the reason why, he said, that there was a thing beyond that, which he looked for. But it was told him, this was a dangerous principle. To which Dundas replied, that he was not to receive the law from the mouth of man. Then the minister, so called, said to him, that he tempted God. To which Dundas returned, that God could not be tempted to evil. Now that which made him more averse to the priests of that nation, was to see their domineering pride : and how they forced some that were not one with them, in their principles, to comply with their institutions, sprinkling the children of parents even without their consent. Add to this, their going from one benefice to another, being always ready to go over from a small church to a great one, under pretence of more service for the church ; whereas it plainly appeared, that selfish interest generally was the main cause. This behavior of the clergy, and their rigid persecution, if any deviated a little from the church ceremonies and the common form, turned



Dundas' affection from them. An instance of this rigidity was, that one Wood, who had some charge in the custom-house of Leith, and approved in some respect the doctrine of those called Quakers, had said, that Christ was the word, and that the letter was not the word. For this he was cited before the ecclesiastical assembly of Lothian, where Dundas was present; and Wood so well defended his saying, that none were able to overthrow his arguments; chiefly drawn from these words of John, "That the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Wood continuing to maintain his assertion, they began to threaten him with excommunication, and would not allow him so much time as to give his answer to the next assembly. Excommunication there, was such a penalty that people under it were very much deprived of conversation with men. The fear of this made Wood comply in a little time; and meeting Dundas about three months after in the street at Edinburgh, he told him, that he had been forced to bow to the assembly against his light: for if he had been excommunicated, he had lost his livelihood. Thus Wood bowed through human fear, but he hardly outlived this two years.

In the meanwhile the priests became more and more jealous of Dundas; for he not having them in such an esteem as they wished, they said that he would infect the whole nation. And they did not stick here, but to know with whom he corresponded in England, they opened, (so great was their power,) his letters at the post-house, and sometimes kept them: but if they found nothing in them, by which they could prejudice him, they caused them to be sealed up again, and delivered to him. By this base practice, they came to know that one Gawen Lawry, merchant of London, sent him a box, with about three pounds sterling worth of books. 'This box Dundas found afterwards that the priest, John Oswald, had taken away: and whatever he did, he could not get them again, till the English came into Scotland, but then many of them were wanting. Dundas in the meanwhile unwilling to comply with the kirk, was at length excommunicated; but he was generally so well esteemed, that none seemed to regard that sentence, so as to keep at a distance from him; which made this act the more contemptible. Now though Dundas favored the doctrine of the Quakers, yet they were such a despised people, that he, who was a man of some account in the world, could not as yet give up to join with them.

It happened once that he was riding from Edinburgh to his house, in a winter evening, and hearing a noise of some men as if fighting, he bade his man ride up in haste to see what it was, which he did, and calling out, said, that there were two men on horseback, beating another on foot. Dundas riding up to them, saw the two beating the other man, who said to them, 'What did I say to you, but bid you fear God?' By this Dundas presently perceived that the man thus beaten was a Quaker; and asking his name, which the other telling, he knew it, though he did not know the man by sight: and then he fell a beating the two with his rod, and ordered those that were with him, to carry them to the next

prison : but the said Quaker entreated him to let them go, which he did, after having asked their names and dwelling-places. About a week after, the said Quaker told a relation of Dundas what kindness he showed him, and how he had in some manner been saved by him ; ' yet,' said he, ' I found the same spirit in him that was in the other two men who beat me.' Such a saying as this would have offended some men, but with Dundas it had a contrary effect ; for these words so reached him, that some time after meeting the said Quaker again, he desired, that as he passed that way, he would make his house his lodging-place : which kind invitation he seemed not unwilling to accept of. Dundas had now attained to so much experience, that he could discern between the spirits of meekness and rashness ; and sufficiently perceive that the said Quaker, by that which he spoke concerning him, had not made himself guilty of the latter ; but yet he could not bow so low, as to join in society with the Quakers, though secretly he endeavored more and more to live up to their doctrine ; and therein he enjoyed more peace in his heart than formerly.

But his outward condition in the world not being very forward, he went into France, and settled at Dieppe. Whilst he dwelt there, a certain woman out of England, came thither with her maid, and spread in the town some books of George Fox and William Dewsbury, translated into French ; and she herself having written some papers, got them turned into French by Dundas, and so distributed them. But the message she chiefly came for, she hid from him, and that not without reason ; for what she acted there, was so singular, that if it had been known before, it is probable she would not have been able to perform it. Though I do not find what her intent was in the thing, yet it seems likely to me, that she, not knowing the language there spoken, would by a sign testify against their pride in apparel and dress, and that on this wise : on the First-day of the week she came to the meeting-house of the Protestants there, where some thousands of people were met : and, having seated herself in the most conspicuous place, just over against him that preached, before the service was finished, she stood up, with the maid that was with her, who taking off a mantle and hood she was covered with, she appeared clothed in sack-cloth, and her hair hanging down, sprinkled with ashes ; thus she turned herself round several times, that all the people might see her. This sight struck both preacher and auditory with no small consternation ; and the preacher's wife afterwards telling somebody how this sight had affected her, said, ' This is of deeper reach than I can comprehend.' The said women having stood thus awhile, fell both down upon their knees, and prayed, and then went out of the meeting, (many following them,) and distributed some books. Then they came to their lodging, which was in a Scotchman's house ; but he refusing them entrance, they came to Dundas' lodging, who knew nothing of all this. They therefore told him, that the work they came for in that nation, was now done ; and he asking what they had done, they told him, and

signified that they wanted lodging till they went away. Then he went abroad to see if he could find lodging for them, but in vain ; he then offered them his bed, being willing to shift for himself somewhere else, but they refused to accept of his offer ; and his land-lady not being willing to let them sit up that night in any of her rooms, they were fain to stay that night in an out-house.

Now this business had made such a stir in the town, that one of the king's officers coming the next day to Dundas, told him, that he had transgressed the laws of the nation, by receiving persons of another religion to his lodging : for the king tolerated only two religions, viz. Papists and Protestants. To this Dundas said, that he had not transgressed the law of hospitality, and he had been forced to do as he did, since he could not let them lie in the street, where they would have been in danger of their lives by the rude multitude. Then the women were taken away, and sent to prison ; and they not being provided with food, Dundas took care of that. Sometime after, an order being come from the parliament, at Rouen, it was read to them, viz. that they should be transported forthwith back to England, with the first passage-boat, and all their papers and books to be burnt in the market, and themselves also, if ever they should come to that nation again. In pursuance of this they were put into a passage-boat in the night time, and so sent to England. Afterwards the people at Dieppe intended to pursue Dundas as one of their judgment ; but he was unwilling to be looked upon as such, though the Protestants had informed against him, that he did not come to their meetings : but of this no crime could be made, and Dundas told them, if they persecuted him, being a merchant, and trafficking there, they might expect the like to be done to their merchants in England. And when the judge affirmed that Dundas was of the judgment of those women, he told them that they were better than he ; but that their way was too strait for him to walk in. There fell out two things which Dundas took singular notice of ; the one was, that the Scotchman who shut out the women, died within twelve months after ; and the other, that the house of his land-lady, who refused them a chamber to sit in, was burnt within the said time, without its being known whence the fire came, no houses being burnt besides, though it was in the middle of the town.

In the meanwhile Dundas continued in an unquiet condition ; for by reason of human fear, he found himself too weak to profess publicly before men, what he believed to be truth.

Then he went to Rouen, but could get no rest there, being somewhat indisposed in body ; and having from England got a great many books, treating of the doctrine of those called Quakers, he sent some of them to the judge criminal at Dieppe, and some to the Jesuits' college there, and at Paris. Afterwards he spread some books also at Caen, where many Protestants lived. But since those books spoke against the Papists, and the Calvinists were in fear that thereby they might be brought to

sufferings, they complained to the lieutenant-general of the town, of Dundas, as one that did not come to their meeting. By this he was forced to leave that place, and went to Alencon, where staying a while, the judge criminal sent for him; and after a long discourse, he and Dundas agreed so well, that he invited him to come and see him oftener, and that if he would, he might have an opportunity to discourse with some of the Jesuits. But Dundas told him, that he was not willing to dispute with any; yet he should not be afraid to maintain his principles, against all the Jesuits of the nation. This being told the Jesuits, it so exasperated them against him, that being once out of town, they caused his chamber-door to be broken up, to search his lodging. He complaining of this to the judge criminal, the judge told him, he knew nothing of it, and if there was any thing, it did proceed from the Jesuits, because of his confidence against them. This seemed not improbable, for he found his letters opened at the post-house several times, and when he challenged the post-master, he received for an answer, that they came so to him.

Some time after he returned to Caen, where he was not long; but his correspondent at Alencon sent him word, that the day after he went from thence, the governor of the town had been at his lodging to seek for him.

In the next year, when a war arose between England and France, he came again to Dieppe, in order to return to England; having got passage in company of the lord Hollis, ambassador from England; where being arrived, he frequented the meetings of those called Quakers, yet was not bold enough to own the name of Quaker, but continued in the common way of salutations, &c. Yet at length the truth they professed, had such power over him, that not being able to enjoy peace without yielding obedience to the inward convictions upon his mind, he at length gave up, and so entered into their society, and obtained a true peace with the Lord, which he had long reasoned himself out of. In process of time he published a book in print, from which I have drawn this relation, which he concluded with a poem, in which he thanked God for his singular dealings and mercies bestowed upon him, wishing that others might reap benefit by it.

Thus parting with William Dundas, I am now to say, that in this year, 1665, in December, William Caton died at Amsterdam. He was a man not only of literature, and zealous for religion, but of a courteous and affable temper and conversation, by which he was in good esteem among those he was acquainted with: and as to the respect he had there, this may serve as an instance. Holland at this time being in war with England, there were several English prisoners of war in the prison of the court of admiralty at Amsterdam, who now and then were visited by Caton, and supplied with some sustenance: but in this he was hindered by an officer of that court, who seemed offended because Caton did not give him that honor. This gave occasion to Caton to complain of it to a burgomaster of the city, I think the lord Cornelius Van Vlooswyh, who

at that time was one of the lords of the Admiralty ; he bid Caton come to his house at such a time as he was to go to the court ; which he did, and went with the said burgomaster towards the court, where being come, and entrance denied him by the said officer, the burgomaster charged him not to hinder Caton from visiting the prisoners. About this time a law was made in England, called,

**AN ACT FOR RESTRAINING NON-CONFORMISTS FROM INHABITING  
IN CORPORATIONS.**

Whereas divers persons, vicars, curates, lecturers, and other persons in holy orders, have not declared their unfeigned assent and consent in the use of all things contained and prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England, or have not subscribed to the declaration or acknowledgment contained in a certain act of parliament, made in the fourteenth year of his majesty's reign, and entitled, 'An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for the establishing the form of making, ordaining and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons in the church of England,' according to the said act, or any other subsequent act. And whereas they, or some of them, and divers other person and persons not ordained according to the form of the church of England, and as they have, since the act of oblivion, taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings under color or pretence of exercise of religion, contrary to the laws and statutes of this kingdom, and have settled themselves in divers corporations in England, sometimes three or more of them in a place, thereby taking an opportunity to distil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his majesty's subjects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom.

II. Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers, and other persons in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, and all stipendiaries, and other persons who have been possessed of any ecclesiastical or spiritual promotion, and every of them, who have not declared their unfeigned assent and consent, as aforesaid, and subscribed the declaration as aforesaid, and shall not take and subscribe the oath following :

(2) 'I, A. B., do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king ; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission ;

and that I will not at any time endeavor any alteration of government, either in church or state :’ shall not come within five miles of any city, &c. nor teach school, on pain to forfeit 40*l*.

And though this act was chiefly made against the Presbyterians and Independents, who formerly had been employed in the public church, yet they suffered but little by it ; but it was cunningly made use of to vex the Quakers, who, because for conscience-sake they could not swear, were on this law prosecuted and imprisoned, &c.

Now since the pestilence had been so fierce this year at London, that about a hundred thousand people were swept away by it and otherwise, and also many of those called Quakers, there must be consequently many poor widows and fatherless children among those of that society. And because the men, who at times kept meetings to take care for the poor, found that this burden grew too heavy for them, they offered part of this service and care to the most grave and solid women of their church, who for this service met once a week at London, and this in time gave rise to the WOMEN’S MONTHLY MEETINGS in other places in England.

I return now to the ship with the banished prisoners, which I left lying in the Thames ; but the owners having put in another master, whose name was Peter Love, the ship, after long lingering, left the river, and came into the Downs. In the month called January of the year ensuing, Luke Howard wrote from Dover, that of fifty-four banished persons, who almost half a year ago had been brought on ship-board, but twenty-seven remained, the rest being dead. By this long stay the ship several times wanted a fresh supply of provision, and the ship’s crew grew so uneasy, that two of them having gone ashore with the boat, ran away, leaving the boat floating, by which it was staved to pieces. At length the master, though he had but few, and those mostly raw sailors, and was ill provided with victuals, yet resolved to set sail. And so they weighed anchor, and went down the channel as far as Plymouth, where after some stay, they set sail again, which was on the 23d of the month called February, but the next day being advanced as far as the Land’s End, a Dutch privateer came and took the ship ; and to avoid being re-taken, went about the backside of Ireland and Scotland, and so after three weeks came with some of the banished to Horn, in North Holland, and some days after the prize, with the rest of them, entered also into that port. Here they were kept some time in prison, but the commissioners of the admiralty having understood, that there was no likelihood to get the banished Quakers exchanged for Dutch prisoners of war in England, resolved to set them at liberty, and gave them a letter of passport, and a certificate, that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them. They coming to Amsterdam, were by their friends there provided with lodging and clothes ; for their own had been taken from them by the privateer’s crew ; and in process of

time they all returned to England, except one, who not being an Englishman, staid in Holland. Thus the banished were delivered, and the design of their persecutors was brought to naught by an Almighty hand.

In the meanwhile G. Fox continued prisoner in Scarborough Castle, where the access of his friends was denied him, though people of other persuasions were admitted. Once came to him one doctor Cradock with three priests, accompanied with the governor and his wife, and many besides. Cradock asked him, what he was in prison for? He answered, for obeying the command of Christ and the apostle in not swearing: but, if he, being both a doctor and a justice of peace, could convince him, that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then he would swear. 'Here's a bible,' continued he, 'show me any such command if thou canst.' To this Cradock said, 'It is written, ye shall swear in truth and righteousness.' 'Aye,' said G. Fox, 'it was written so in Jeremiah's time, but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all: but where is it written so since Christ forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou, and it may be more too, but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the apostles forbade it? Besides, where it is written, "Ye shall swear," was this said to the Gentiles or to the Jews?' To this Cradock would not answer; but one of the priests said, it was to the Jews. 'Very well,' said G. Fox, 'but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature.' 'Indeed,' said Cradock, 'in the gospel-time every thing was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses, and there was to be no swearing then.'

Why then,' returned G. Fox, 'dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thine own knowledge in the gospel-times? And why dost thou excommunicate my friends?' Cradock answered, 'For not coming to church.' 'Why,' said G. Fox, 'ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them: now we being but young, knew little then of your principles. and those that knew them should not have fled from us, but ye should have sent us your epistles or homilies; for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison; but we might have turned Turks or Jews for aught we had from you for instruction. And now ye have excommunicated us, that is, ye have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you to put us out, before we were brought in? But what dost thou call the church?' continued he. 'That which you,' replied Cradock, 'call the steeple-house.' Then G. Fox asked him, whether Christ's blood was shed for the steeple-house, and whether he purified and sanctified it with his blood; 'And seeing,'

thus continued he, 'the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride; and that he is the head of that old house, or of his people?' 'No,' said Cradock, 'Christ is the head of the people, and they are the church.' 'But,' replied G. Fox, 'ye have given that title to an old house, which belongs to the people, and ye have taught people to believe so.' He asked him also why he persecuted his friends for not paying tithes; and whether God did ever give a command to the Gentiles, that they should pay tithes; and whether Christ had not ended tithes, when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes; and whether Christ when he had sent forth his disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely, as he had given them freely; and whether all the ministers of Christ were not bound to observe this command of Christ. Cradock said, he would not dispute that; and being unwilling to stay on this subject, he turned to another matter; but finding G. Fox never to be at a loss for answer, and that he could get no advantage on him, he at length went away with his company.

With such kind of people G. Fox was often troubled whilst he was prisoner there; for most that came to the castle would speak with him, and many disputes he had with them. But as to his friends, he was as a man buried alive, for very few of them were suffered to come to him. Josiah Coale once desiring admittance, the governor told him, 'You are an understanding man, but G. Fox is a mere fool.' Now, though the governor dealt hardly with him, yet in time he altered, for having sent out a privateer to sea, they took some ships that were not their enemies, which brought him into some trouble; after that he grew somewhat more friendly to G. Fox: to whom the deputy-governor said once, that the king knowing that he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the wall. And among the Papists, who were numerous in those parts, there was much talk then of hanging G. Fox. But he told them, if that was it they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death nor sufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent peaceable man, free from all stirrings, and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men. But the governor now growing kinder, G. Fox spoke to him when he was to go to the parliament at London, and desired him to speak with Esq. Marsh, Sir Francis Cob, and some others, and to tell them, how long he had lain in prison, and for what. This the governor did, and at his coming back told him, that Esq. Marsh said, he knew G. Fox so well, that he would go a hundred miles barefoot for his liberty; and that several others at court had spoken well of him.

After he had been prisoner in the castle there above a year, he sent a letter to the king, in which he gave an account of his imprisonment, and the bad usage he had met with, and also that he was informed, that no man could deliver him but the king. Esq. Marsh, who was a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, did whatever he could to procure his liberty,



and at length obtained an order from the king for his release ; the substance of which order was, 'That the king being certainly informed that G. Fox was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots, rather than to make any, &c., that therefore his royal pleasure was, that he should be discharged from his imprisonment,' &c. This order being obtained, was not long after brought to Scarborough, and delivered to the governor, who upon the receipt thereof, discharged him, and gave him the following passport :

. 'Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by his majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle, this first day of September, 1666.

JORDAN CROSLANDS,

*Governor of Scarborough Castle.'*

G. Fox being thus released, would have given the governor something for the civility and kindness he had of late showed him ; but he would not receive any thing ; and said, whatever good he could do for him and his friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt : and so he continued loving to his dying day ; nay, if at any time the mayor of the town sent to him for soldiers, to disperse the meetings of those called Quakers, if he sent any, he privately charged them, not to meddle with the meeting.

The very next day after G. Fox was released, the fire broke out at London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country, how that city was turned into rubbish and ashes, insomuch that after an incessant fire which lasted near four days, but little of old London was left standing, there being about thirteen thousand and two hundred houses burnt ; the account whereof hath been so circumstantially described by others, that I need not treat of it at large ; but I cannot omit to say, that Thomas Briggs, some years before passing through the streets of London, preached repentance to the inhabitants ; and coming through Cheapside, he cried out, that unless London repented, as Nineveh did, God would destroy it.

Now I may relate another remarkable prediction.

Thomas Ibbitt, of Huntingdonshire, came to London a few days before the burning of that city, and, as hath been related by eye witnesses, did, upon his coming thither, alight from his horse, and unbutton his clothes in so loose a manner, as if they had been put on in haste just out of bed. In this manner he went about the city on the sixth, being the day he came thither, and also on the seventh day of the week, pronouncing a judgment by fire which should lay waste the city. On the evening of these days some of his friends had meetings with him, to inquire concerning his message and call, to pronounce that impending judgment : in his account whereof he was not more particular and clear, than that he said he for

sometime had the vision thereof, but had delayed to come and declare it as commanded, until he felt, as he expressed it, the fire in his own bosom : which message or vision was very suddenly proved to be sadly true, as the foregoing brief account doth in part declare. The fire began on the 2d of September, 1666, on the first day of the week which did immediately follow those two days the said Thomas Ibbitt had gone about the city declaring that judgment.

Having gone up and down the city, as hath been said, when afterwards he saw the fire break out, and beheld the fulfilling of his prediction, a spiritual pride seized on him, which, if others had not been wiser than he, might have tended to his utter destruction ; for the fire being come as far as the east end of Cheapside, he placed himself before the flame, and spread his arms forth, as if to stay the progress of it ; and if one Thomas Matthews, with others, had not pulled him (who seemed now altogether distracted) thence, it was like he might have perished by the fire. Yet in process of time, as I have been told, he came to some recovery, and confessed this error : an evident proof of human weakness, and a notorious instance of our frailty, when we assume to ourselves the doing of any thing, which heaven alone can enable us.

I cannot well pass by without taking notice of it, that about three weeks before the said fire, the English landed in the island of Schelling in Holland, under the conduct of captain Holmes, and setting the town on fire, there were about three hundred houses burnt down, belonging mostly to Baptists that did not bear arms. It may be further observed, that the English were beaten at sea this summer by the Dutch, under the conduct of admiral De Ruyter, in a fight which lasted four days ; so that they had occasion to call to mind how often the judgments of God had been foretold them, which now came over their country, viz. pestilence, war, and fire.

G. Fox being at liberty, did not omit to visit his friends, and in their meetings to edify them with his exhortations, whereby others also sometimes came to be convinced. And coming to Whitby, he went to a priest's house, who fourteen years before had said, that if ever he met G. Fox again he would have his life, or he should have his. But now his wife was not only become one of G. Fox's friends, but this priest himself favored the doctrine professed by his wife, and was very kind to G. Fox who passed thence to York, where he had a large meeting, and visited also justice Robinson, who had been loving to him from the beginning. At this time there was a priest with him, who told G. Fox, 'It is said of you that ye love none but yourselves.' But he showed him his mistake, and gave him so much satisfaction, that they parted friendly.

In this county G. Fox had many meetings, and one not far from colonel Kirby's abode, who had been the chief means of his imprisonment at Lancaster and Scarborough castles : and when he heard of his release, said, he would have him taken again : but now when G. Fox came so

near him, he himself was caught by the gout, which had seized him so that he was fain to keep his bed ; and afterwards he met with adversities, as did most of the justices and others who had been the cause of the imprisonment of G. Fox, who now coming to Synder-hill Green, had a large meeting there, where the priest sent the constable to the justices for a warrant ; but the notice being short, the way long, and having spent time in searching for G. Fox in another house, before the officers came where the meeting was, it was ended, though they had almost spoiled their horses by hard riding.

G. Fox passing thence through Nottinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, and visiting his friends in all places where he came, and edifying them in their meetings, gets at length to London : but he was so weak, by lying almost three years in hard and cold imprisonments, and his joints and body were so stiff and benumbed, that he could hardly get on horseback.

Being now at London, he beheld the ruins of the city, and saw the fulfilling of what had been shown him some years before. Notwithstanding this stroke on London, persecution did not cease, which gave occasion to Josiah Coale to write these lines to the king :

*' King Charles,*

*' Set the people of God at liberty, who suffer imprisonments for the exercise of their conscience towards him, and give liberty of conscience to them to worship and serve him as he requireth, and leadeth them by his spirit ; or else his judgments shall not depart from thy kingdom, until thereby he hath wrought the liberty of his people, and removed their oppressions. And remember thou art once more warned,*

*By a servant of the Lord,*

*JOSIAH COALE.'*

London, Dec. 24, 1666.

About this time, or it may be in the next month, Stephen Crisp published an epistle, containing an exhortation to his friends, and also a prediction concerning succeeding times, which is as followeth :

*' Friends,*

*' I am the more drawn forth at this time to visit you with an epistle, because the Lord hath given me some sight of his great and dreadful day, and workings in it, which is at hand, and greatly hastens, of which I have something to say unto you, that ye may be prepared to stand in his day, and may behold his wondrous working among his enemies, and have fellowship with his power therein, and may not be dismayed nor driven away in the tempest, which will be great.*

*' And as concerning those succeeding times, the spirit of the Lord hath signified, that they will be times of horror and amazement, to all that have, and yet do reject his counsel : for as the days of his forbearance,*

warning and inviting, have been long, so shall his appearance amongst those that have withstood him, be fierce and terrible; even so terrible, as who shall abide his coming? for the Lord will work both secretly and openly, and his arm shall be manifest to his children in both.

‘Secretly he shall rise up a continual fretting anguish among his enemies, one against another, so that being vexed and tormented inwardly, they shall seek to make each other miserable, and delight therein for a little season; and then the prevailer must be prevailed over, and the digger of the pit must fall therein; and the confidence that men have had one in another shall fail, and they will beguile and betray one another, both by counsel and strength; and as they have banded themselves to break you, whom God hath gathered, so shall they band themselves one against another, to break, to spoil and destroy one another; and through the multitude of their treacheries, all credit or belief, upon the account of their solemn engagement, shall fail; so that few men shall count themselves, or what is theirs, safe in the hand of his friend, who hath not chosen his safety and friendship in the pure light of the unchangeable truth of God; and all the secret counsels of the ungodly shall be brought to naught, sometimes by the means of some of themselves, and sometimes by impossibilities lying in their way, which shall make their hearts fail of ever accomplishing what they have determined; and in this state shall men fret themselves for a season, and shall not be able to see the hand that turns against them, but shall turn to fight against one thing, and another, and a third thing, and shall stagger, and reel in counsel and judgment, as drunken men that know not where to find the way to rest; and when they do yet stir themselves up against the holy people, and against the holy covenant of light, and them that walk in it, they shall but the more be confounded; for they shall be helped with a little help, which all the ungodly shall not hinder them of, to wit, the secret arm of the Lord, maintaining their cause, and raising up a witness in the very hearts of their adversaries to plead their innocency, and this shall make them yet the more to vex themselves, and to go through hard-bestead; for when they shall look upward to their religion, to their power, policy, or preferments, or friendships, or whatsoever else they had trusted in, and relied upon, they shall have cause to curse it; and when they look downwards to the effects produced by all those things, behold then trouble, and horror; and vexation takes hold on them, and drives them to darkness; and having no help but what is earthly, and being out of the knowledge of the mighty overturning power of the Lord God Almighty, they shall despair and wear out their days with anguish; and besides all this, the terrible hand of the Lord is, and shall be openly manifested against this ungodly generation, by bringing grievous and terrible judgments and plagues upon them, tumbling down all things in which their pride and glory stood, and overturning, overturning even the foundations of their strength; yea, the Lord will lay waste the mountain of the ungodly, and the strength of

the fenced city shall fail ; and when men shall say, " We will take refuge in them," Nah. iii. 12, 13, they shall become but a snare, and there shall the sword devour : and when they shall say, we will go into the field, and put trust in the number and courage of our soldiers, they shall both be taken away ; and this evil also will come of the Lord, and his hand will be stretched out still, and shall bring confusion, ruin upon ruin, and war upon war ; and the hearts of men shall be stirred in them, and the nations shall be as waters, into which a tempest, a swift whirlwind is entered, and even as waves swell up to the dissolution one of another, and breaking one of another, so shall the swellings of people be : and because of the hardship and sorrow of those days, many shall seek and desire death rather than life.

' Ah ! my heart relents, and is moved within me in the sense of these things, and much more than I can write or declare, which the Lord will do in the earth, and will also make haste to accomplish among the sons of men, that they may know and confess, that the Most High doth rule in the kingdoms of men, and pulleth down and setteth up according to his own will : and this shall men do before seven times pass over them, and shall be content to give their glory unto him that sits in heaven.

' But, oh friends ! while all these things are working and bringing to pass, repose ye yourselves in the munition of that rock that all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping you subjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to kill and mortify that which remains in any of you, which is of this world ; for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in the world : for as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit ; so the world is but one, and many are partakers of the spirit of it ; and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straitened and perplexed with it, but they who are single to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, these shall rejoice in the midst of adversity ; these shall not have their hearts moved with fear, nor tossed with anguish, because of evil tidings, Psalm. cxii. 7, 8. Because that which fixeth them remains with them : these shall know their entrance with the bridegroom, and so be kept from sorrow, though his coming be with a noise ; and when a midnight is come upon man's glory, yet they being ready and prepared, it will be well with them, and having a true sense of the power working in themselves, they cannot but have unity and fellowship with the works of it in the earth, and will not at all murmur against what is, nor wish nor will what is not to be ; these will be at rest till the indignation passeth over, and these having no design to carry on, nor no party to promote in the earth, cannot possibly be defeated nor disappointed in their undertakings.

' And when you see divisions, and parties, and rendings in the bowels of nations, and rumors and tempests in the minds of the people, then take heed of being moved to this party, or to that party, or giving your

strength to this or that, or counselling this way or that way, but stand single to the truth of God, in which neither war, rent, nor division is; and take heed of that part in any of you, which trusts and relies upon any sort of men of this world, in the day of their prosperity; for the same party will bring you to suffer with them in the time of their adversity, which will not be long after; for stability in that ground there will be none; but when they shall say, come join with us in this or that, remember you are joined to the Lord by his pure spirit, to walk with him in peace and in righteousness, and you feeling this, this gathers out of all bustlings, and noises, and parties, and tumults, and leads you to exalt the standard of truth and righteousness, in an innocent conversation, to see who will flow unto that; and this shall be a refuge for many of the weary, tossed, and afflicted ones in those days, and a shelter for many whose day is not yet over.

‘So dearly beloved friends and brethren, who have believed and known the blessed appearance of the truth, let not your hearts be troubled at any of these things: oh let not the things that are at present, nor things that are yet to come, move you from steadfastness, but rather double your diligence, zeal and faithfulness to the cause of God: for they that know the work wrought in themselves, they shall rest in the day of trouble. Yea, though the fig-tree fail, and the vine brings not forth, and the labor of the olive-tree ceaseth, and the fields yield no meat, and the sheep be cut off from the fold, and there be no bullocks in the stall, yet then mayest thou rejoice in the Lord, and sing praises to the God of thy salvation. Hab. iii. 16, 17.

‘And how near these days are to this poor nation, few know, and therefore the cry of the Lord is very loud unto its inhabitants, through his servants and messengers, that they would prize their time while they have it, lest they be overturned, wasted, and laid desolate before they are aware; and before destruction come upon them, and there be no remedy, as it hath already done upon many.

‘Oh, London! London! that thou and thy rulers would have considered, and hearkened and heard, in the day of thy warnings and invitations, and not have persisted in thy rebellion, till the Lord was moved against thee, to cut off the thousands and multitudes from thy streets, and the pressing and thronging of people from thy gates, and then to destroy and ruin thy streets also, and lay desolate thy gates, when thou thoughtest to have replenished them again.

‘And, oh! saith my soul, that thy inhabitants would yet be warned, and persuaded to repent and turn to the Lord, by putting away every one the evil that is in their hearts, against the truth in yourselves, and against those that walk in it, before a greater desolation and destruction overtake you.

‘Oh, what shall I say to prevail with London, and with its inhabitants! The Lord hath called aloud, he hath roared out of Zion unto them, but many of them have not hearkened at all, nor considered at all.

‘Well, oh my friends, (and thou, oh my soul,) return to your rest, dwell in the pavilion of the house of your God, and my God, and shelter yourselves under the shadow of his wings, where ye shall be witnesses of his doings, and see his strange act brought to pass, and shall not be hurt therewith, nor dismayed.

‘Oh, my friends, in the bowels of dear and tender love have I signified these things unto you, that ye might stand armed with the whole armor of God, clothed in righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; and freely given up in all things to the disposing of the Lord, who will deliver us, not by might, nor by sword, nor spear, but by his own eternal, invisible arm, will he yet save us and deliver us, and get himself a name by preserving of us; and we shall yet live to praise him who is worthy of glory, of honor and renown, from the rising of the sun, to the setting of the same, now and forever, amen, amen, saith my soul.’

In the year 1667 a book came forth in print at London, with this title, ‘Persecution appearing with its open face in William Armorer.’ This was written by some of the prisoners called Quakers, and contained a relation of the impetuous carriage of the said Armorer, who being a knight and justice of peace, had made it his business many years, one after another to persecute the Quakers, and from time to time to disturb their religious meetings. From a multitude of cases I meet with in the said book, I will pick out but a few. The aforesaid Armorer came very often to the house of Thomas Curtis, at Reading, to disturb the meeting, taking many persons prisoners from thence, particularly once thirty-four, both men and women, at a time. And when they were brought to their trial, the oath was tendered them as the most ready means to ensnare and to keep them in prison. Among the prisoners taken out of the meeting was one Henry Pizing, who coming to the bar with his hat in his hand, judge Thomas Holt said, ‘Here is a man that hath some manners,’ and asked him, if he would take the oath of allegiance? to which Pizing answered, he had taken it twice already. But said the judge, ‘You were no Quaker then.’ To which the said Henry replied, ‘Neither am I now, but have been many weeks among them, and I never met with any hurt by them, but found them to be an honest and civil people.’ Upon which William Armorer, who had taken him prisoner, said, ‘Why did you not tell me so before?’ to which Henry returned, ‘Your worship was so wrathful, that you would not hear me.’ Then the judge said, ‘He must take the oath again.’ The oath being read, he took it, upon which they let him go free without paying any fees. But they required of him, to go out at a back door, and to come no more among the Quakers. But Pizing told them, he hoped now he was freed, he might go out at which door he would.

Thomas Curtis afterwards being called, the judge asked him, if he would take the oath of allegiance? to which he answered, that he did

not refuse the oath upon the account of not bearing allegiance to the king, but because Christ had commanded not to swear at all : for he was persuaded that he had manifested himself to be as good a subject to the king as most in the county, since he came into it, and that if he could take any oath, either to save his estate or life, he professed he would begin with that oath. Then he desired, that the court would be pleased to let some of their ministers show him by the Scriptures, how he might take it, and not break the command of Christ. And the judge called to one Worrel, a priest, that was near him, and desired him to satisfy Curtis in that particular. But the priest putting off his hat, and bowing to the court, desired to be excused, saying, he had had to do with some of them already, but they were an obstinate people and would not be satisfied. 'Aye,' said Curtis, 'this is commonly the answer we have from these men, when they are desired to answer us a question according to the Scripture ; for when we make it appear that they give no satisfactory answer to the question, they use to say, we are obstinate.' Curtis, (whose wife Anne was a daughter of a sheriff of Bristol, that had been hanged near his own door, for endeavoring to bring in the king,) was released after some small time ; but quickly taken prisoner again by Armorer, who perceiving that he intended to have gone to Bristol fair, caused him to be brought to an inn, where he told him, ' You are going to Bristol fair, but I will stop your journey.' And then commanding the constable to carry him to prison, he was compelled thither without a mittimus.

About this time Custis' imprisoned friends wrote a paper, and it is like he had a hand in it, to show the hurt and mischief proceeding from swearing. This paper being sent by him to one of the magistrates, and leave being given him to read it in the council-chamber, at the reading of these words, ' Because of swearing the land mourns,' Alderman Johnson said that was very true.

Sometime after it happened that T. Curtis, his wife and man-servant being all prisoners, Armorer sent his man to inquire if there were any in the house more than the family, to which the maid having answered no, a little after Armorer came himself, and knocked at the door ; but the maid being in fear, did not open it. Armorer then pulling an instrument out of his pocket, picked the lock, entered the house, and searching from room to room, came at length where he found one Joseph Coale, who dwelt in the house, and was not well at that time ; and Armorer taking him by the arm, and pulling him down stairs, said to him, ' Will you take the oath of allegiance ? ' Which he refusing, was sent to the house of correction, whither the day before seven women, taken from a meeting, had also been brought. This bold act of picking the lock he did at other times also, and once when the maid was gone out to carry some victuals to her master and mistress in prison. In the meanwhile he searched the warehouse, where was much cloth ; and to a woman that was there, and spoke against his picking of the locks, he said, ' What have you to do with it ? ' And ' Where's that whore ? '



meaning the maid servant. The woman answered him, she had to do with it; for she was to see that nobody did steal any thing out of the house. Besides, Armorer continually made it his business to disturb the meeting which commonly was twice a week; and then he used to curse, and to strike those he found there with a great cane, always sending some to prison. Having once caused three women to be brought before him from the house of correction, he would have them pay a fine for having been at a meeting; to which one Anne Harrison said, 'Thou hast got our house already that we built, and hast taken away our means; and wouldst thou have me pay more money when I have broken no law? We were but four above the age of sixteen years, and the act says, it must be above four.' To which Armorer said, his man told him there were six: and two of them ran away. 'It is false,' said Anne, 'there was Frances Kent, but she being a midwife, was fetched out of town; and as for the sixth, she was not there.' But Armorer not regarding whatever Anne said, spoke in a rude manner, 'I shall have Mrs. Kent, and then let the best lady in the land want her, she shall not go, except the king or court send for her.'

If I should mention all the enormities of Armorer's violent behavior, this relation must needs be very large; and therefore I pass by the most cases, and touch but on some few. More than once it happened when the prisoners being brought to their trial, reproved Armorer because of his injustice, and put him in mind that once he must give an account for his bad deeds; he in a most impudent manner said, 'You shall see at the day of judgment whose arse will be blackest, yours or mine.' And when a prisoner told him, it was an uncivil thing for one called a justice to speak such words, he replied, 'Why, sirrah, what incivility is it? Is not your nose your nose, and your arse your arse?' Other absurdities the prisoners met with in the court, I pass by, as also how from time to time, they were treated when they refused the oath. From what hath been said already in more than one place concerning the like cases, one may easily guess how matters were transacted here, which sometimes was so grossly, that the spectators showed their dislike. When once the jury for want of good witnesses, could not agree to find the bill, Armorer rose off the bench, and appeared as a witness. But notwithstanding, the jury returning the second time, brought it in *ignoramus*. Upon which the other justice said to them, that Sir William Armorer, an honorable gentleman, had taken his oath also. To which the jury returned, it was true, Sir William Armorer was an honorable gentleman, but was a man subject to passion. And they continuing unwilling to bring in the prisoners guilty, the two justices, Proctor and Armorer, (for there were then no more on the bench,) for all that would not discharge the prisoners, but sent them to jail again, as seditious persons; for Proctor had told the jury the day before, that if they did not bring in the prisoners guilty, they would make William Armorer and the clerk perjured persons.

Anne, the wife of Thomas Curtis, being called to the bar, and asked if she would take the oath, said, 'I look on it as a very hard thing, that I should be required to take this oath, being under covert, and my husband being here a present sufferer, for the very same thing; for there is no other woman in England, that I have heard of, under covert, that is required to take that oath, and kept in prison on that account. But Armorer full of passion, cried, 'Hold your tongue, Nan, and turn your back.' And so she, with another woman, that had also been required to take the oath, was sent back to jail, as dangerous and suspected persons. At length some justices procured her liberty; but this so displeased Armorer, that he did not rest before he had her in prison again: but others it seems so eagerly desired her liberty, that she was discharged a second time, though her husband's goods and money were seized. How a prisoner who spoke something in his own defence, was threatened to be gagged, how girls were sent to the house of correction, and how Armorer coming in winter-time into the meeting, and having got a bucket of water into the room, he himself threw it with a nasty bowl in the faces of some young maidens, I cursorily skip over. He seemed exceedingly offended with Anne Curtis, who being a witty woman, did not omit, when occasion was offered, to tell of his uncivil behavior: and therefore he soon had her in jail again; and when it was proposed in the summer-time to discharge some of the prisoners, because of the extreme hot weather, provided they gave security, 'No,' said Armorer, 'Mrs. Curtis shall not go out, though she would give security; but she shall lie in jail till she rots.' But how wicked soever he was, yet he could not prevent, that all his exorbitant carriage against the Quakers was published in print.

But such behavior was at that time no rare or uncommon thing; for since persecution was continually cloaked with a pretence of rebellion and sedition all over the country, such were found, who to their utmost power did persecute the Quakers, so called; as among others, one Henry Marshall, priest at Crosthwait in Westmoreland, who being also a prebendary, and having several benefices, yet how great soever his revenues were, kept poor people of that persuasion in prison for not paying tithes to him: and once he said very presumptuously from the pulpit, that not one Quaker should be left alive in England. But this temerity he did not out-live long; for as he was going half-undressed to his chamber to bed, he fell down stairs, as was concluded from the circumstances; for he was found lying on the floor, with his skull broken, wrestling with death, without being able to speak one word; and being taken up he died, leaving his wife and children in such a condition, that by reason of debts they fell into poverty.

About this time a certain popish author, who expressed his name no further than with the letters A. S., gave forth a book called, 'The Reconciler of Religions; or, A Decider of all Controversies in matters of Faith.' Josiah Coale, who was very zealous for religion, and well saw

what this author aimed at, answered him by a book that appeared in print, with the title of, 'The Whore unveiled; or the Mystery of the Deceit of the Church of Rome revealed.' Now although the said A. S. chiefly struck at the Quakers as the worst of heretics, falsely perverting their doctrine, as importing, that the same spirit that reproved Judas of sin, did also induce him to desperation, and to hang himself; yet he omitted not to encounter the doctrine of other Protestant societies; and the Roman church he stated as the true church, from which they were unjustly departed, and to which they must all return again: for the Roman, said he, was the true church, and not any other; she was the holy Catholic and apostolical church, that was infallible, and could not err, and had the power to work miracles. He also asserted, that she was one in matters of faith, that she was governed by one invisible head, Christ, and by a visible head, the pope; and that therefore she was the true church. Now forasmuch as he held forth at large these and several other positions, so Josiah Coale did not omit to answer all these pretences distinctly and emphatically; for he was an undaunted and zealous disputant. Besides the superstition, idolatry, and cruel persecution of the Roman church, which had taken away the lives of many thousands of honest and pious people, supplied abundant matter to Josiah Coale, to show the papal errors, and clearly to prove her to be the false church. For though he did not deny that the true church was Catholic, or universal, yet he denied that the universality of the church of Rome was a sufficient argument to prove her to be the true church: 'What church, (thus he queried,) is more universal than the great whore, the false church, who had a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth? Who sits upon the waters, which are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues? And did not the whole world wonder after the beast that carried the whore? Did she not sit as queen over them all, with her fair profession, or golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornication? And did not all the inhabitants of the earth, and the kings of the earth, drink of the wine of her fornication, and commit fornication with her? Mark how universal was this great whore, the false church; and how confident she was: for she said in her heart that she should see no sorrow; and she glorified herself, and reigned over the kings of the earth. Is not this the very state of the church of Rome at this day? Doth she not reign over the kings of the earth? And hath she not done so long, even for many ages? And how she hath exercised authority over kings, may appear from the case of the emperor Frederick, who was fain to hold the pope's stirrup while he got on horseback. And did not the great whore, which John saw, drink the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus? Surely the histories of many generations past testify this. And was she not to have blood given her to drink? as may appear not obscurely from Rev. xvii. 6.' At this rate Josiah Coale encountered the

masked A. S., but in a more copious way; and thus he answered his assertions. To that, that the church of Rome should always remain to the end of the world, and that therefore she was infallible, J. Coale said, that the bare affirmation of A. S. was no proof, except he would produce that saying of the mother of harlots, 'I sit as a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.' But indeed that would be a very pitiful argument to prove the church of Rome infallible, unless she was first proved to be the true church. And as J. Coale answered these and other objections at large, so he showed also the vanity of the boast of miracles, of which the church of Rome gloried; and he refuted all the falsities which that anonymous author had belched out against the Quakers, as a people that might be wronged without incurring any danger. But I omit to recite all J. Coale's answer for brevity-sake; yet may make mention of a poem which he wrote sometime before, when he was prisoner at Launceston, in Cornwall, to which the reader is referred, being to be found in Josiah Coale's works, at page 111.

Thus zealously J. Coale wrote against popery; and yet such hath been the malice of many, that they represented the Quakers as favorers of the church of Rome, though on many occasions they had effectually shown the contrary. But their enemies endeavored to brand them many ways; and they left no stone unturned to blacken them; to which sometimes false brethren gave occasion: for about this time there were yet many of the adherents of John Perrot, who often ill-treated, and spoke evil of those who did not approve their absurdities. This befel Richard Farnsworth, one of the first preachers among those called Quakers, though he was a man of a notable gift, and on his dying bed he gave evidences of a firm and steadfast trust in God; for it was not long before this time that he fell sick, and deceased at London. Among the many expressions which signified his good frame of mind, and the divine consolation he felt, were also these words, that were taken in writing from his mouth:

*'Friends,*

*'God hath been mightily with me, and hath stood by me at this time; and his power and presence hath accompanied me all along, though some think that I am under a cloud for something. But God hath appeared for the owning of our testimony, and hath broken in upon me as a flood, and I am filled with his love more than I am able to express; and God is really appeared for us,' &c.*

This he spoke but a short time before his departure; and exhorted his friends to faithfulness and steadfastness, and that nothing might be suffered to creep in of another nature than the truth they professed, to intermix therewith, saying, 'No linsey-woolsey garment must be worn.' Some more consolatory words he spoke, and his last testimony was as a seal unto all the former testimonies he had given for the Lord. And

after having lain yet an hour or two, he slept in peace with the Lord, and left a good repute behind, with those who truly were acquainted with him, and knew how zealously he labored in the ministry of the gospel for many years.

Now I return again to G. Fox, who was this year not only in Wales, but in several other places, without being imprisoned, though at Shrewsbury, where he had a great meeting, the officers being called together by the mayor, consulted what to do against him, since it was said, 'The great Quaker of England was come to town.' But they could not agree among themselves, some being for imprisoning him, and others for letting him alone : and they being thus divided, he escaped their hands.

As several eminent men among those called Quakers were taken away by death, so others came in who filled their places ; among these, and none of the least was Robert Barclay, son of colonel David Barclay, descended of the ancient and famous family of the Barclays, and of Katharine Gordon, from the house of the dukes of Gordon. This his son Robert being born at Edinburgh, in the year 1648, was educated in France and trained up in literature, having lived some years with his uncle at Paris, where the Papists were very active to bring him over to their religion. But though in that tender age he seemed a little to hearken to them, yet growing up in years, and so advancing in knowledge, he soon got a clear sight of their errors. During his stay in France, he not only became master of the French, but also of the Latin tongue ; and after he had been instructed in the language of the learned, and other parts of human literature, he returned to Scotland ; but during his absence, his father had received the doctrine of the Quakers, and showed by his pious behavior, that he had not therein acted inconsiderately. Robert Barclay having attained the age of nineteen years, and being come to a good maturity of understanding, found so much satisfaction in the religion which his father made profession of, that he also embraced it, and openly showed before all the world, that the despised name of Quakers, could not hinder him from maintaining boldly that which he now apprehended to be truth. Nay, he grew so zealous and valiant in the doctrine he now professed, that he became a public promulgator of it ; and often engaged in disputes with the scholars, not only verbally, but also by writing : for he was so skilful in school learning, that he was able to encounter the learned with their own weapons, and of such quick apprehension, as not to be inferior to the refined wits ; his meekness also was eminent ; and these qualifications were accompanied with so taking a carriage, as rendered him very acceptable to others. And though his natural abilities were great enough to have made him surpass others in human learning, and so to have become famous among men, yet he so little valued that knowledge, that he in nowise endeavored to be distinguished on that account. But his chief aim was to advance in real godliness, as the conversation I had with him hath undoubtedly assured me : for I was well acquainted with him ; as also with Roger Haydock of Lancashire, a learned and intelligent

man, who about this time also came to enter into society with those called Quakers, whose doctrine his eldest brother, John Haydock, had received before him. But it so happened, that Roger coming once to his father's house, was by his mother put on to discourse with his brother John, in hopes that thereby he might have been drawn off from the way of the Quakers. But John gave such weighty reasons for what he asserted to be truth, that he quickly put Roger to silence, which so displeased his mother who was inclined to the Presbyterian way, that she blamed him for not having held it out longer against his brother : but he told her, 'It is truth, I dare not say against it.' Being thus convinced, he also became a public professor of the doctrine of the Quakers, and in time a zealous preacher of it too. And he being a man of great parts, well read and full of matter, many times engaged in disputes with the priests, sometimes making use of his pen also to that end ; for he was an unwearied laborer, and suffered the spoiling of his goods, and several imprisonments ; and though he was attended with bodily weaknesses, yet he did not use to spare himself, but travelled much to visit the churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, &c. And he continued steadfast to the end of his days ; not only for which, but also because of a special affection he bore me, his remembrance is dear to me still.

I must now make some mention again of Miles Halhead, several times named in this history, who this year coming into Devonshire, and being brought before the magistrates, it was asked him, what business he, (who dwelt in Westmoreland,) had in Devonshire ? to which he answered, that he was come there to see his old friends, whom formerly, about ten years ago, he had acquaintance with. One of the magistrates asked him, what were the names of those friends he meant ? To which he returned, 'One Sir John Coplestone, who was then high sheriff of Devonshire ; John Page, who was mayor of Plymouth ; one justice Howel, who was then the judge of the sessions of Exeter, and one colonel Buffet, who was also a justice at that time.' One of the magistrates then said to the others, 'Truly, gentlemen, though this man calls these men his friends, yet they have been his persecutors.' Another of the magistrates then gave him an account, into what pitiful condition those men were fallen, and how they lost their estates ; nay, Buffet had been committed to prison for high treason, and was escaped out of jail, and not to be seen in his own country. And further he said to Halhead, 'Thus I have given you a true account of your old friends ; if these men were your persecutors, you may be sure they will trouble you no more : for if they that trouble you and persecute you, have no better fortune than these men, I wish that neither I, nor any of my friends, may have any hand in persecuting of you.' And thus these discreet magistrates suffered him to go his ways, without meddling with him.

Neither was persecution now generally so hot in England as it had been before, yet the Presbyterians and some others durst not keep public meetings, lest they should be fined ; but at times when they have met for

worship, they have had tobacco-pipes, bread and cheese, and cold meat on the table, having agreed before-hand, that if the officers came in upon them, they should leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their meat. This made G. Fox say to one Pocock, whose wife was one of his friends, 'Is not this a shame to you who persecuted and imprisoned us, and spoiled our goods, because we would not follow you, and be of your religion, and called us house-creepers?' 'Why,' said Pocock, 'we must be wise as serpents.' To which G. Fox returned, 'This is the serpent's wisdom indeed. Who would ever have thought, that you Presbyterians and Independents, who persecuted and imprisoned others for not following your religion, now should flinch away yourselves, and not stand to, and own your own religion!'

G. Fox travelled this year through England, and visited his friends in their meetings. But I pass by his occurrences.

This year also came forth the perpetual edict, so called, in Holland, made as the title recites, for the maintenance of liberty, and for preservation of the unity, and the common quiet of the country of Holland and West Friesland. By this edict, the chief command of the military forces of the states, and the stadt-holder-ship, (or deputy-ship,) were separated. This was on purpose to prevent the prince of Orange's becoming too potent, for hereupon followed the suppression of the stadt-holder-ship. But how strong soever this law was made, and confirmed by oaths, yet afterwards it was broken by the instigation of the rabble, as will be seen in its due time. This year also a peace was concluded between England and Holland, not long after the Dutch had burnt some of the king's ships in the Thames.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

THE NINTH BOOK.

IN the beginning of the year 1668, William Penn, son of admiral Sir William Penn, began to show himself openly an adherer to, and an asserter of the doctrine of those called Quakers. He had been trained up in the university of Oxford, and he was afterwards by his father sent into France, where for some time he lived, (as himself once told me,) with the famous preacher, Moses Amyrault. After a considerable stay in that kingdom, being returned and come into Ireland, he once went to a meeting of those called Quakers, which being disturbed, he, though finely clothed as a young gentleman, and wearing a great periwig, was with others carried thence to prison, where by his fellow-prisoners he was more confirmed in that doctrine which he already apprehended to be truth. But when it came to be known that he was the son of Admiral Penn, he was soon released. This change did not a little grieve his father, who intended to have trained him up for the court; but now saw his eldest son in the early part, being about the twenty-second year of his age, entered into the society of the despised Quakers. Several means were used, nay even his necessities were withheld from him, to draw him off, if possible, and bring him to other resolutions. But all devices and wiles proved in vain: for he continued steady, and conversed much with Josiah Coale, who likewise in his young years came over to the Quakers.

This summer Stephen Crisp was prisoner at Ipswich, where the number of friends was considerably increased by his ministry. I, with some other friends of Holland, visited him there in prison, and we found him in a cheerful condition, as well contented as if he had been at liberty: for he suffered for the ministry of the gospel, and continued to preach in prison when his friends came to visit him.

The journey which G. Fox made this year through England and Wales I pass by. The latter part of the summer he returned to London, where with great satisfaction I heard him preach several times before a numerous auditory: for about that time, the meetings of dissenters were not disturbed at London, but all was so quiet, that the Quakers, so called, were suffered



to build a large meeting-place in Gracechurch-street, where the first time a meeting was kept, I was present, and saw G. Fox, and heard him preach there, besides some others.

Whilst he was at London, he gave a visit to Esquire Marsh, who now was a justice of the peace in Middlesex, and it so happened that he was at dinner when G. Fox came to his house, which so pleased him, that he kindly invited him to sit down with him to dinner, but G. Fox courteously excused himself. There were at that time several great persons at table with justice Marsh, who said to one of them, (a Papist,) 'Here is a Quaker you have not seen before.' From this the said Papist took occasion to ask G. Fox, whether he did own the christening of children? To which G. Fox answered, there was no Scripture for any such practice. 'What?' said he, 'not for christening children?' 'Nay,' replied G. Fox, 'the one baptism by the one Spirit into one body, we own; but to throw a little water on a child's face and to call that baptizing and christening it, there is no Scripture for that.' Then the Roman Catholic asked him, whether he did own the Catholic Faith? 'Yes,' said G. Fox, but he added, that neither the pope nor the Papists were in that Catholic Faith; since the true faith worked by love, and purified the heart; and if they were in that faith which gives victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not talk to the people of a purgatory after death; neither would they ever use prisons, racks, or fines, to force others to their religion; because that was not the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians; but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and heathens, to use such forcing means. 'But,' continued G. Fox, 'seeing thou art a great and leading man among the Papists, and sayest, there is no salvation but in your church, I desire to know of thee, what it is that bringeth salvation in your church.' To this the Roman Catholic answered, 'A good life.' 'And nothing else?' said G. Fox. 'Yes,' replied the other, 'good works.' 'Is this your doctrine and principle?' said G. Fox. 'Yes,' said he. Then G. Fox replied, 'Neither thou nor the pope, nor any of the Papists, know what it is that brings salvation.' Then the Roman Catholic asked him, what brings salvation into your church? G. Fox answered, 'That which brought salvation to the church in the apostles' days, namely, the grace of God, which the Scripture says brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men; and teaches us to deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously, and soberly, in this present world. By this it appears, it is not the good works, nor the good life, that brings the salvation, but the grace.' 'What!' said the Roman Catholic, 'doth this grace, that brings salvation, appear unto all men?' 'Yes,' said G. Fox. 'I deny that,' returned the other. 'All that deny that,' replied G. Fox, 'are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace, and truth, which the apostles were in.' Then the Roman Catholic began to speak about the mother-church, which gave occasion to much discourse, and G. Fox asserted, that if any outward place had claim to be the mother-church, above all other churches, then

Jerusalem had much more right to it than Rome. But in conclusion he said, that there was no other mother-church but Jerusalem, which is above, and is free, and which is the mother of us all, as saith the apostle. Upon this subject G. Fox did so paraphrase, that Esquire Marsh said at length to the Roman Catholic, 'O, you do not know this man. If he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man.'

After some other discourse together, G. Fox, got an opportunity to go aside with the said Marsh into another room, and to desire that he who had much of the management of affairs, would prevent the persecution of his friends as much as possibly he could. Marsh showed himself not averse to this, but said, he was in a strait how to act between the Quakers and some other dissenters. 'For,' said he, 'you say ye cannot swear, and the Independents, Baptists, and Fifth-Monarchy people, say also, they cannot swear.' To this G. Fox said, 'I will show thee how to distinguish: the members of those societies thou speakest of, do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If any one should steal their cows or horses, and thou shouldst ask them whether they would swear they were theirs? many of them would readily do it. But if thou triest our friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore when thou puttest the oath of allegiance to any of them, ask them whether they can swear in any other case; as for their cow or horse? Which if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth.' Then G. Fox gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, viz. 'A thief having stolen two beasts from one of those called Quakers, was imprisoned; but somebody having informed the judge, that the man that prosecuted was a Quaker, and he, (the judge,) perceiving that he would not swear, would not hear what the man could say, but tendered him the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which the said Quaker refusing, the judge premunired him, and let the thief go free.'

Esquire Marsh having heard this relation, said that judge was a wicked man. And by what G. Fox had told him, he sufficiently perceived how he might distinguish between the Quakers and other people. True it is, the Baptists in those days made some profession of the unlawfulness of swearing, but when they came to be tried on that account, they soon desisted from that part of their profession, as will be shown more at large in the sequel. But they and the Independents, &c. were very loth to take the oath of allegiance, because of a grudge they had to the government; and this was well known to those that were at the helm. But the innocent Quakers were continually exposed to the malice of their persecutors, and bore the hardest shock of the laws made against dissenters. But now justice Marsh did not omit to free the Quakers from persecution as much as was in his power; for he kept several from being premunired in those parts where he was a justice. And when sometimes he could not avoid sending those that were brought before him to prison, he sent some only for a few hours, or for a night. And even this was such hard work to him, that at length he told the king, he had sent some of the

Quakers to prison contrary to his conscience, and that he could not do so any more. He also advised the king to give liberty of conscience : and he was so serviceable to stop the violence of persecution, that about this time little was heard about disturbing of meetings.

About the forepart of this year, if I mistake not, there happened a case at Edmondsbury, which I cannot well pass by in silence, viz. A certain young woman being delivered of a bastard child, destroyed it, and was therefore committed to prison : whilst she was in jail, it is said William Bennit, a prisoner for conscience-sake, came to her, and in discourse asked her, whether during the course of her life, she had not many times transgressed against her conscience ? And whether she had not often thereupon felt secret checks and inward reproofs, and been troubled in her mind because of the evil committed ; and this he did in such a convincing way, that she not only assented to what he laid before her, but his discourse so reached her heart, that she came clearly to see, that if she had not been so stubborn and disobedient to those inward reproofs, in all probability she would not have come to such a miserable fall as now she had : for man not desiring the knowledge of God's ways, and departing from him, is left helpless, and cannot keep himself from evil, though it may be such as formerly he would have abhorred in the highest degree, and have said with Hazael, " What, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing ? " W. Bennit thus opening matters to her, did by his wholesome admonition so work upon her mind, that she who never had conversed with the Quakers, and was altogether ignorant of their doctrine, now came to apprehend that it was the grace of God that brings salvation, which she so often had withstood ; and that this grace had not yet quite forsaken her, but now made her sensible of the greatness of her transgression. This consideration wrought so powerfully, that from a most grievous sinner, she became a true penitent, and with hearty sorrow she cried to the Lord, that it might please him not to hide his countenance. And continuing in this state of humiliation, and sincere repentance, and persevering in supplication, she felt in time some ease ; and giving heed to the exhortations of the said Bennit, she attained at length to a sure hope of forgiveness by the precious blood of the immaculate Lamb, who died for the sins of the world.

Of this she gave manifest proofs at her trial before judge Matthew Hale, who having heard how penitent she was, would fain have spared her, having on purpose caused to be inserted in the indictment, that she had committed the fact wilfully and designedly. But she being asked according to the form, ' Guilty or not guilty ' readily answered, ' Guilty.' This astonished the judge, who purposely had got the words wilfully and designedly inserted in the indictment, that thence she might find occasion to deny the charge, and so to quash the indictment ; and therefore he told her, that she seemed not duly to consider what she said ; since it could not well be believed that such a one as she, who it may be inconsiderately had roughly handled her child, should have killed

it wilfully and designedly. Here the judge opened a back door for her to avoid the penalty of death. But now the fear of God had got so much room in her heart, that no tampering would do; no fig leaves could serve her for a cover; for she knew now that this would have been adding sin to sin, and to cover herself with a covering, but not of God's Spirit; and therefore she plainly signified to the court, that indeed she had committed the mischievous fact intendedly, thereby to hide her shame; and that she having sinned thus grievously, and being affected now with true repentance, she could by no means excuse herself, but was willing to undergo the punishment the law required; and therefore she could not but acknowledge herself guilty, since otherwise how could she expect forgiveness from the Lord? This undisguised and free confession, being spoken with a serious countenance, did so affect the judge, that tears trickling down his face, he sorrowfully said, 'Woman, such a case as this I never met with before; perhaps you, who are but young, and speak so piously, as being struck to the heart with repentance, might yet do much good in the world: but now you force me, that *ex officio* I must pronounce sentence of death against you, since you will admit of no excuse.' Standing to what she had said, the judge pronounced sentence of death. And when afterward she came to the place of execution, she made a pathetic speech to the people, exhorting the spectators, especially those that were young, 'To have the fear of God before their eyes, to give heed to his secret reproofs for evil, and so not to grieve and resist the good spirit of the Lord; which she herself not having timely minded, it had made her run on in evil, and thus proceeding from wickedness to wickedness, it had brought her to this dismal exit. But since she firmly trusted to God's infinite mercy, nay surely believed her sins, though of a bloody dye, to be washed off by the pure blood of Christ, she could contentedly depart this life.' Thus she preached at the gallows the doctrine of the Quakers, and gave heart-melting proofs that her immortal soul was to enter into paradise, as well as anciently that of the thief on the cross. I have been credibly informed by a person who had it from the mouths of such as were present at the execution, that in her request to God she prayed, that it might please him to give a visible sign, that she was received into his favor. And that though it was then a cloudy day, yet immediately after she was turned off, the clouds broke a little, and the sun for a few moments shined upon her face, and presently after ceased shining, and the sky continued overcast. She thus in a serious frame of mind, suffered death, which her crime justly deserved.

This year at London died Thomas Loe, a man of an excellent gift, who zealously had labored in the ministry of the gospel in Ireland, and by his preaching had brought many over into the society of his friends, and among others also William Penn, to whom on his death-bed he spoke thus, 'Bear thy cross, and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory, that shall not be taken from

thee. There is no other way which shall prosper than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, glory to him, for he is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart, nay, my cup runs over : glory be to his name for ever.' No wonder that this speech of one that was at the point of entering into eternity, confirmed William Penn exceedingly in that doctrine, which he had now embraced as truth. At another time Thomas Loe said to his friends that stood at his bed-side, ' Be not troubled, the love of God overcomes my heart.' And to George Whitehead and others he said, ' The Lord is good to me ; this day he hath covered me with his glory. I am weak, but am refreshed to see you. The Lord is good to me.' Another friend asking him how it was with him, he answered, ' I am near leaving you, I think : but am as well in my spirit as I can desire : I bless the Lord : I never saw more of the glory of God than I have done this day.' And when it was thought he was departing, he began to sing praises to the Lord, saying, ' Glory, glory to thee for ever !' which did not a little affect the standers by, thus to hear a dying man sing. And in this glorious state he departed this life the 5th of October.

Now since persecution was at a stand this year at London, those of other persuasions sometimes bitterly inveighed from the pulpit against the Quakers, and would challenge them also to a dispute. William Burnet and Jeremy Ives, eminent Baptist teachers, had encountered George Whitehead this summer at Chertsey, and Horn, in Surrey, about the resurrection, and Christ's body in heaven, endeavoring to blacken the Quakers in respect of those points, because they kept to Scripture words, from which the others departing, advanced very gross absurdities.

One Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian teacher, was much disturbed because some of his auditory were gone over to the society of the Quakers ; and to render them odious, he and his fellow teachers accused them of erroneous doctrine concerning the Trinity ; and this was chiefly because they did not approve of such expressions as were not to be found in the holy Scriptures, as that of Three persons. On this subject a dispute was held in the Presbyterian meeting-house at London, between the said Vincent on one side, and George Whitehead on the other. That which Vincent and his brethren advanced first, was an accusation, that the Quakers held damnable doctrine. George Whitehead denying this, would have given the people an information of the principles of his friends ; but Vincent instead thereof, stated this question, ' Do you own one God-head, subsisting in three distinct and separate persons ?' Whitehead and those with him denying this as an unscriptural doctrine, Vincent framed this syllogism.

' There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost : and these three are one.

' These are either three manifestations, three operations, three substances, or three somethings else besides subsistences.

But they are not three manifestations, three operations, three substances, nor three any things else besides subsistences.

Ergo, 'Three subsistences.'

G. Whitehead rejected these terms, as not to be found in Scripture, not deducible from the 1 John, v. 7, the place Vincent instanced. And therefore he desired an explanation of those terms, insomuch as God did not use to wrap up his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but in plain language. But whatever was said, no better explanation could be obtained, than person, or the mode of a substance. G. Whitehead and William Penn, who also was there, alleged several places from Scripture, proving God's complete unity: and they queried how God was to be understood, if in an abstracted sense from his substance? But instead of answering the question, they concluded it a point more fit for admiration than disputation. Then W. Penn denied the minor proposition of Vincent's syllogism; 'For,' said he, 'no one substance can have three distinct subsistences, and preserve its own unity: for every subsistence will have its own substance; so that three distinct subsistences, or manners of beings, will require three distinct substances or beings: consequently three Gods: for if the infinite God-head subsists in three separate manners or forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and complete subsistence without the other two: so parts, and something finite is in God; or if infinite, then three distinct infinite subsistences; and what is this, but to assert three Gods, since none is infinite but God? On the contrary, there being an inseparability betwixt the substance and its subsistence, the unity of substance will not admit a Trinity of incommunicable or distinct subsistences.'

After several words on both sides, G. Whitehead, to bring this strange doctrine nearer to the capacity of the people, comparing their three persons to three apostles, said, he did not understand, how Paul, Peter, and John could be three persons and one apostle. At which one Maddocks, one of Vincent's assistants, framed this odd syllogism; 'He that scornfully and reproachfully compares our doctrine of the blessed Trinity of Father, Son and Spirit, one in essence, but three in persons, to three finite men, as Paul, Peter and John, is a blasphemer. But you, G. Whitehead, have done so,' Ergo. A rash conclusion; but how firm, let the judicious reader determine. I have no mind to enter further into this quarrel, since the parties on both sides went away unsatisfied; for Vincent had not been able to prove the doctrine of the Quakers damnable, as he had asserted. But his passion had transported him, as well as when he said from the pulpit to those of his society, that he had as lief they should go to a bawdy-house, as to frequent the Quakers' meetings, because of their erroneous and damnable doctrines. And pointing to the window he further said, 'If there should stand a cup of poison, I would rather drink it, than suck in their damnable doctrines.' But this untimely zeal did not profit him; for it gave occasion to some of his hearers to

\* inquire into the doctrines of the Quakers ; and thus some came to be convinced of the truth thereof.

Now since the aforesaid dispute made a great noise at London, William Penn published a book with this title, 'The Sandy Foundation Shaken,' in which he explained the points controverted, and defended his positions with good reason and the Holy Scriptures. But yet this book, which he himself spread, caused such a stir, that it was evilly spoken of, and not long after he was committed to the Tower, and some thought it was not without his father's being acquainted with it, perhaps to prevent a worse treatment.

This was at the latter end of the year, about which time Josiah Coale fell into a sickness, which took him off the stage of this life ; he had languished long, and yet did not at all spare his voice, but was used both in preaching and praying so to raise it, that he spent his natural strength exceedingly, though he was yet as in a flourishing age ; nay, it was his life and joy to declare the gospel, and to proclaim the word of God, for which he had an excellent ability : and when he spoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a sharp sword. But though he was as a son of thunder, yet his agreeable speech flowed from his mouth like a pleasant stream, to the consolation and comfort of pious souls. Oh ! how pathetically have I heard him pray, when he, as transported and ravished, humbly beseeched God, that it might please him to reach to the hard-hearted, to support the godly, and to preserve them steadfast ; nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the Most High in his public prayers ! but his work was now done, he had finished his course, and a time of rest from his labors was come. Although he grew weak, yet his manly spirit and great courage bore him up for some time ; but his disease, which seemed to be a kind of consumption, at length so increased, that he was fain to keep within doors for several weeks ; then mending a little, he went abroad again, and came into a meeting in London, where I beheld his countenance much unlike what it used to be, for it clearly manifested his bodily indisposition : nevertheless he preached with a godly zeal, and his salutary exhortations flowed like a stream from his lips, which seemed to be touched with a coal from the altar of heaven, whilst he was preaching the gospel to the edification of his hearers. Now he began to lift up his voice again to that degree, that judging from thence, one would have supposed him to have been pretty well restored : but the ground of his distemper not being taken away, he was soon necessitated to keep at home again ; and his natural strength wasted away so fast, and he so declined, that his death began to be expected, which not very long after fell out accordingly. A little before he died, G. Fox being come to see him, asked him, whether any thing lay upon him to write to the friends in England ? But he signified that he had nothing to write, only desired that his love might be remembered to them, and desired G. Fox to pray to God, that he

might have an easy passage, for he felt his end approaching. He having complied with his desire, and seeing him begin to be heavy, bid him go and lie on the bed : which J. Coale did ; but finding this, as it seems, more uneasy, with the help of his friends he rose again, and sat on the side of the bed ; and his friends sitting about him, he felt himself so lively and powerfully raised, that he spoke to them after this manner :

‘ Well, friends, be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory ; and seek nothing for self, or your own glory ; and if any thing of that arise, judge it down by the power of the Lord God, that so ye may be clear in his sight, and answer his witness in all people ; then will ye have the reward of life. For my part, I have walked in faithfulness with the Lord ; and I have thus far finished my testimony, and have peace with the Lord : his majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me. So mind my love to all friends.’ Then he ceased speaking ; and a little time after he said to Stephen Crisp, ‘ Dear heart, keep low in the holy seed of God, and that will be thy crown for ever.’ After a short pause, he said, ‘ A minister of Christ, must walk as he walked.’

A little afterwards fainting, and being stayed by his friends, he departed in their arms, without the least sigh or groan, but as one falling into a sweet sleep ; and being filled with heavenly consolations, he passed from this mortal life, to that which is immortal, having attained the age of thirty-five years and two months, and preached the gospel about twelve years. He had travelled much in the West Indies, sustained great hardships, and labored in the ministry at his own charge, being freely given up to spend his substance in the service of the Lord. And though he went through many persecutions, imprisonments and other adversities, yet he was not afraid of danger, but always valiant ; and continued in an unmarried state, that so he might more freely labor in the heavenly harvest, and many were converted by his ministry. He lived to see the desire of his heart accomplished ; for when first he was raised up to true godliness, being under the sense of his former transgressions, he cried to the Lord for deliverance, and said with David, “ If thou, O God, wilt help me thoroughly, then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.” He had been long in a mournful state, though naturally of a cheerful temper ; and having himself passed through a path of sorrow, he was the more able to comfort the mourners of Zion. The church was very sensible of this great loss ; and I have reason to think his corpse was attended to the grave by more than a thousand of his friends, among whom I was then one ; and his burial being very public and well known, drew the eyes of many spectators towards it. Let none think it strange, that I have here expatiated somewhat largely, seeing he was indeed dear to me, and I have his kind usage yet in fresh remembrance ; for the piety of my mother, whom he had seen in England, caused him to give me marks of



the esteem he bore to her memory : and his excellent endowments so affected me, that I was eager to go to that meeting where I heard he was likely to be ; nay, I imagined I saw something in him so extraordinarily valuable, that I bore a very reverent respect to him, and the more, because difference of age deprived me of a familiar conversation with him.

On the 20th of the First month. called January, 1668-9, Francis Howgill, after a sickness of nine days, died in the prison at Appleby, where he had been kept about five years. During his sickness he was in perfect good understanding, and often very fervent in prayer, uttering many comfortable expressions, to the great refreshment of those about him. He was often heard to say, that he was content to die, and praised God for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshments he had received in that his prison-house-bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand in his restraint. And said he, ' This was the place of my first imprisonment for the truth, here at this town, and if it be the place of my laying down the body, I am content.' Several persons of note, inhabitants of Appleby, as the mayor, and others, came to visit him ; and some of these praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he returned, ' He hath done it.' About two days before his departure, being attended by his wife, and several of his friends, he said to them : ' Friends, as to matter of words, ye must not expect much more from me, neither is there any great need of it, or to speak of matters of faith to you who are satisfied : only that ye remember my dear love to all friends who inquire of me : for I ever loved friends well, or any in whom truth appeared. Truly God will own his people, as he hath ever hitherto done, and as we have daily witnessed ; for no sooner had they made that act of banishment, to the great suffering of many good friends, than the Lord stirred up enemies against them, whereby the violence of their hands was taken off. I say, again, God will own his people, even all those that are faithful. And as for me, I am well, and content to die. I am not at all afraid of death ; but one thing was of late in my heart, and that I intended to have written to George Fox and others, even that which I have observed, viz. that this generation passeth fast away : we see many good and precious friends within these few years have been taken from us ; and therefore friends had need to watch, and be very faithful, that we may leave a good, and not a bad savor, to the next succeeding generation ; for we see that it is but a little time that any of us have to stay here.' A few hours before he departed, some friends from other places being come to visit him, he inquired about their welfare, and prayed fervently, with many heavenly expressions, that the Lord, by his mighty power, might preserve them out of all such things as would spot and defile. His voice then, by reason of his great weakness failed him, and a little after recovering some strength, he said, ' I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men ; and if any inquire concerning my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith in which I lived, and suffered

for.' After these words, he spoke some others, in prayer to God, and so sweetly finished his days in peace with the Lord, in the fiftieth year of his age.

He left a good name behind him amongst all who knew him.—Some-time before his sickness, considering this mutable state, and finding in himself some decay of nature, he made his will, in which, as his love was very dear to his brethren, with whom he had labored in the ministry, so he gave to each of them a remembrance of his love ; he left also a legacy to his poor friends in those parts where he lived.

For although his movable goods were forfeited to the king for ever, yet the confiscation of his real estate was only for life ; so that thence having something left, he could dispose of it by his will.

During his imprisonment, he neglected not to comfort and strengthen his brethren by writing, effecting that by his pen, which he could not by word of mouth : he also defended his doctrine against those who opposed the same, and among others, he wrote a large treatise against oaths, contradicting the opinion of those who account it lawful to swear under the gospel.

About two years before his decease, he wrote an epistle of advice and counsel as his last will and testament to his daughter Abigail, a child whom he much loved, who was born in a time of deep exercises and trouble, which nevertheless by the Lord's goodness he was patiently brought through ; wherefore he named this child Abigail, signifying, the father's joy. In this testament he gave her instructions for the future conduct of her life, the beginning whereof is thus :

' Daughter Abigail, this is for thee to observe and keep, and take heed unto, all the days of thy life, for the regulating thy life and conversation in this world, that thy life may be happy, and thy end blessed, and God glorified by thee in thy generation. I was not born to great possessions, nor did inherit great matters in this world ; but the Lord hath always endowed me with sufficiency and enough, and hath been as a tender father unto me, because my heart trusted in him, and did love the way of righteousness from a child. My counsel unto thee is, that thou remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, and fear the Lord in thy youth, and learn to know him and serve him all thy days : first seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof ; it is not far from thee ; it is within thee ; it consists in life and power, and it stands in righteousness, truth, and equity ; justice, mercy, long-suffering, patience, love, light, and holiness, this is the being and centre thereof ; therefore seek not lo ! here, or lo ! there, without thee, in this or that outward observation, for many seek there and never find it ; but seek and thou shalt find, wait and thou shalt receive. If thou inquire, in what must I seek ? and what must I wait in ? and how must I seek ? I inform thee, that thou must silence all thy own thoughts, and thou must turn thy mind to that which is pure, and holy, and good within thyself, and seek and wait in that in the light of Jesus Christ, wherewith thou art enlightened, which shows thee when

thou doest evil, and checks and reproves ; take heed unto that, and it will show the evil motions and thoughts ; and as thou lovest it, it will subdue them, and preserve thee for the time to come out of evil : for though thou be born into the world a reasonable creature, yet thou must be born again, and be made a new creature, or else thou canst not enter into God's kingdom ; thou must know the seed of the kingdom in thyself, of which thou must be born and formed again into God's image. I have told thee God hath sown it in thee, a grain of it, a measure of it, a portion of it, a measure of light and truth, of righteousness and holiness ; keep in thy mind to that, and love it, and thou wilt feel the heavenly Father working in thee, and begetting thee to life through Jesus Christ that hath enlightened thee, and thou wilt feel the power of the Lord strengthening thee, in thy little, and making thee to grow in the immortal seed of his kingdom, and outgrow and overgrow all evil, so that thou wilt daily die to that, and have no pleasure in it, but in the Lord, and in his goodness and virtue shed abroad in thy heart, which thou wilt taste and feel within, and have joy and comfort therein : love the Lord with thy heart and soul, even him that made thee, and gave thee a being, and all things in heaven and earth ; and still wait for the knowledge of him in thyself ; he is not far from thee, but near unto thee, and unto all that call upon him in an upright heart ; and do thou inquire of thy dear mother ; she will inform thee, she knows him, and the way to life and peace, and hearken to her instruction : God is a spirit, of light, and life, and power, that searcheth the heart, and shows thee when thou doest, or thinkest, or speakest evil, and shows unto man or woman their thoughts. That which shows the evil, is good, and that which shows a lie, is truth ; this is within, take heed to it ; this is called God's Spirit in the Scriptures ; believe in it, love it, and it will quicken thy heart to good, and it will subject the evil : here is thy teacher near thee ; love it, and if thou act contrary, it will condemn thee ; therefore take heed unto this spirit of truth, and it will enlighten and enliven thee, and will open thy understanding, and give thee to know what God is, and to do that which is good and acceptable in his sight ; this spirit never errs, but leads out of all error into all truth. Be sober-minded in thy youth, and wait on the Lord within ; hearken unto him. God is light immortal, life immortal, truth immortal, an everlasting eternal Spirit : he speaks spiritually and invisibly within the hearts and consciences of men and women : hear what he speaks, and obey his voice, and thy soul shall live ; fear to offend him, or sin against him, for the wages of sin are death ; therefore prize his love in thy young and tender years, and do thou read the Scriptures and Friends' books, and take heed to what thou redest to obey it, as far as thou understandest ; and pray often unto the Lord, that he will give thee his knowledge, and open thy understanding in the things of his kingdom ; search thy heart often with the light of Christ in thee : manifest and bring thy deeds to it, that they may be tried ; and examine thyself how the case stands betwixt the Lord and thee ; and if thou seest thyself wrong, humble thyself, and be sorry, and turn unto him, and he

will show thee mercy ; and take heed for the time to come, that thou run not into the same evil again ; keep thy heart clean, watch against the evil in thyself, in that which shows it ; therein there is power, and thereby thou hast power to overcome all evil. And, dear child, mind not the pleasures of sin, which are but for a moment, and the end is misery ; but keep under and cross thy will and affection, so thy mind will have no pleasure in the evil, but in good ; and thou wilt feel the immortal seed springing up in thee, which God's peace and love is to. O child ! these are great and weighty things, not to be slighted. Accompany thyself always with them that fear the Lord, and fear and worship him in spirit and truth, and lead a holy and blameless life and conversation ; deny them not, but love them, and suffer with them. Take heed that thou follow not the hireling teachers, who preach for gain and lucre, and abide not in Christ's doctrine ; believe them not, heed them not, they do people no good ; but thou wilt see them thyself, they have an outside show of godliness sometimes, but deny the power of God and true holiness ; remember, I who have had perfect knowledge of them, have told thee. But be sure that thou let nothing separate thy love from God and his people ; those are his people that keep his law, and obey Christ's voice, and lead a holy life, and they were ever hated and belied, and persecuted, and evilly-spoken of, always by bad and evil, loose people ; these are God's people, and his love, and peace, and blessing, is with them ; do thou grow as a natural branch, (up among them,) of the living vine, and continue all thy days in obedience unto God's will, and thou wilt feel joy and love in thy heart, which above all things covet after, and thou shalt attain and obtain everlasting peace, which the Lord grant unto thee, according to the riches of his mercy and love, which endure for ever and ever. Amen.

‘And now, Abigail, concerning thy well-being in this life, this is my advice and counsel unto thee ; love thy dear mother, and ever obey her and honor her, and see thou grieve her not ; be not stubborn nor wilful, but submit unto her, and be as an obedient child unto her, whose love and care hath been too great over thee and thy sisters, which hath brought too much trouble upon herself ; learn in thy youth to read and write, and sew and knit, and all points of good labor that belong to a maid, and flee idleness and sloth, that nourisheth sin ; and as thou growest up in years, labor in the affairs of the country, and beware of pride, and riotousness, and curiosity, but be well content with such apparel as thy mother will permit thee, that thou mayest be a good example unto others. Be not wanton, nor wild, nor light, but temperate, moderate, and chaste, and not forward in words, nor speech, but swift, to hear, slow to speak ; and do thou always live with thy mother, and be a help unto her, and cherish her in her old age and latter years, that she may be comforted in thee, and her soul may bless thee. Love thy sisters, and be always courteous to them and thy brother ; encourage one another in good : and if thou live to be a woman of perfect years,

keep thyself unspotted, and let not thy mind out after sports nor pastimes; the end of all those is sorrow; neither after young men; if thou have a desire to marry, do not thou seek a husband, but let a husband seek thee; and if thou live in God's fear, and an honest life and virtuous, them that fear God will seek unto thee; let not thy affections out unto every one that proffers love, but be considerate, and above all things, choose one, (if thou dost marry,) that loves and fears the Lord, whose conversation and manner, and course of life, thou knowest well, before thou give consent. Be discreet and wise, hide nothing from thy mother, and she will advise thee, no doubt, for thy good; and if she be living, marry not without her consent: and if thou join to a husband, be sure thou love him in thy heart, and be obedient unto him, and honor him among all, so will his heart be more to thee, and his love increase; grieve him not, but be gentle, and easy to be intreated, and mind thy own business; and if the Lord give thee children, bring them up in God's fear, and good exercise, and keep them in subjection unto thee, and be an example of virtue and holiness unto them, that the Lord's blessing thou mayest feel in youth and in age, and all thy life long. O Abigail! remember these things, keep in mind these things, read often this writing over, get it copied over, and lay up my words in thy heart, and do them, so wilt thou be happy in this life, and in the life to come: these things I give thee in charge to observe, as my mind and will, and counsel unalterable unto thee, as witness hereof I have set my hand.

Thy dear father

FRANCIS HOWGILL.'

The 26th of the Fifth month, 1666.

In the beginning of this year the members of this society, held a general YEARLY-MEETING at London, which since that time, hath been used to be held there annually, in the week called Whitsun-week, because at that time of the year it is commonly best travelling, &c. Several are deputed from all places to this meeting, and what concerns the church in general, is there treated on.

Persecution for religion seemed now to be at a stand, which displeased some of the most rigid sort of churchmen, which we not only have already, but may again in due place demonstrate.

About this time, (as I take it,) a certain bishop said occasionally, that the Quakers by their unlimited freedom, increased much, and therefore it was very needful to take care of them, seeing they often had much greater assemblies than the national church; 'For,' said he, 'at such a time I preached myself, and there were but a few hearers, when at the same time the Quakers' meeting just by was crowded full;' and thereupon he desired them to consider whether it was not high time to stop these sectaries? After he had set forth his matter at large, another lord then present among others, said, that indeed it seemed that the lord bishop had spoken what was very reasonable, that the sectaries had often more

hearers than the national church-preachers, and that it was not strange to him that it displeased him, since he took so much upon himself; 'For,' said he, 'his lordship observed, that he preached himself; and the professed Quakers, who had such great assemblies, preached Christ Jesus, and therefore no wonder that they had the more hearers.' This was such a witty turn upon the bishop, as no doubt made him so sensible as not to think fit to enter upon the debate in a doubtful dispute, for it is observable, this lord's turn upon the bishop was chiefly to stop him from promoting persecution.

This spring G. Fox travelling to York, went through several other places in the North of England; and although he came near to his old enemy, colonel Kirby, who had a fit of the gout, and had threatened him, yet he passed on unmolested. So he went to Liverpool, whence he, with some of his friends, passed over to Ireland: among others, were Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs; and being arrived at Dublin, he was kindly received by his friends; and journeying into the country, he met with no small opposition from the Papists, of whom there are many there. Being come to a certain place, he challenged the Jesuits, priests and monks, to try whether their god, which they make of a wafer, be an immortal god, but they could not be brought to it; wherefore he said, they were worse than Baal's priests, for Baal's priests tried their god. Then he went to Cork, where they had knowledge of his coming, and intended to take him prisoner; for the Quakers in Ireland were many years sharply persecuted, as their brethren were in England, of which to mention all circumstances it would make a very large treatise. At this time there were many prisoners at Cork, among whom was Samuel Thornton, with whom I was well acquainted, who being met with his friends in a chamber one First-day, the officer Quinnal came and shut the door of the room, and locked them in, to the number of eighty persons, and carried the key to the mayor, Matthew Dean, who gave order that there should neither victuals nor drink be carried to them; and so they could only get what was pulled up with ropes through the grate, or thrown in through a hole: under this chamber the soldiers were ordered to keep guard, that none might get away, and they made so great a smoke, that many of the prisoners were sick, among whom were some weakly old people, and some women with child, and nurses, who were almost stifled; and complaint thereof being made to the mayor, he answered in a scoffing manner, 'They are all brethren and sisters, let them lie upon one another; and if they are stifled it is their own fault.' Thus they were kept twenty-four hours, and afterwards some of them made prisoners.

Solomon Eccles, whom I also knew very well, was this year in prison at Gallaway in Ireland, where he was put, by a strange accident. He was an extraordinarily zealous man, and what he judged evil he warmly opposed, even to the hazard of his life. This zeal led him to perform a strange action in a chapel of the Papists without the town; for he went

naked above his waist, with a chafing-dish of coals and burning brimstone on his head, and entered the chapel when all the people were on their knees to pray to their idol, and spoke as followeth: 'Woe to these idolatrous worshippers! God hath sent me this day to warn you, and to show you what will be your portion except you repent.' Which when he had done, he went away to the town, where he was presently made a prisoner. What the benefit of this strange action might be, I leave.

Amongst the martyrs of the reformed, we find some instances of persons zealous to a strange degree, as of William Gardiner at Lisbon, and Bertrand le Blas at Tournay, whose actions were not less remarkable; for this last, snatching the host from the priest in their church as they were at mass, was certainly a bold attempt, and not praiseworthy, if it was only an act of human contrivance; but I shall leave the judgment thereof unto God, as I account it safest, and the rather, because under the sharpest punishment they could inflict, they seemed not to shrink, but rather to be strengthened. However so sharp a trial did not fall to Eccles' portion, and I think it safer not to judge hastily of this uncommon performance. He was, to my knowledge, a bold and undaunted man, and before this action in the chapel, as above, he did something of a like nature at London at the fair-time, amongst the plays, where he suffered much by the coachmen whipping him grievously on his naked back; but that could not lay his fervent zeal, which was kindled not only against the immodest and ungodly carriage of the pretended fools, but also against those other vanities there used. To what height his zeal carried him, the following instance will show: he who had been a member of the church of England, and then went to the Presbyterians, and afterwards among the Independents, and after that was a Baptist, had been an eminent musician, so that by his art he could get nearly 150*l.* a-year; but at last being a Quaker, he could not follow for conscience-sake, what he now called his Babylonish trade of music: wherefore he learned to make clothes to get his living by, and sold his musical books and instruments; but, as he declared, he had no peace in his conscience; for observing them to be instruments of vanity, he judged they ought to be destroyed, and therefore bought them again, although they were worth above £20, and carried them, viz. virginals, fiddles, &c., to Tower-hill, where laying them together, he set fire to them; but when some who were by, endeavored to hinder him, and to get one of the virginals away, he stamped upon it with his foot, and would not rest until he had destroyed it: and after that he said, he found peace in his conscience, having made an offering of that which he once entirely loved, and in the use of which he was educated; for not only his father and grandfather, but his grandfather's father had been musicians, and he himself had the name of an eminent music-master.

Another account we have of his strange zeal: when he saw how the Quakers were belied by William Burnet, Jeremy Ives and Matthew Kiffin, teachers amongst the Baptists, as if they believed not in Christ

nor the resurrection, he challenged all the teachers, and priests, and Jesuits, openly in a book which he printed, to come to a proof with him, who were the true worshippers ; first, to fast seven days and seven nights, and neither to eat nor drink ; and then the next seven days not to sleep day nor night ; but we may well think that none were to be found to enter the lists with him, nor to put themselves on such a test ; and although some reckoned him out of his wits, yet he was not, for I remember the time very well, and had many an opportunity both to see and to hear him speak.

I now return to G. Fox at Cork in Ireland, where they intended to take him, nevertheless they let him go unmolested, although he rode through the market, by the mayor's door, who not only saw him, but said, 'There goes G. Fox,' and yet he let him pass quietly. After he had travelled through many places in Ireland, he came again to Dublin, whence he returned to England, and coming into Gloucestershire, he heard at Nailsworth of a report which had been spread abroad in the country, that he was turned Presbyterian, and that they had prepared a pulpit for him in the open yard, where he was to preach. G. Fox hearing this, thought it very strange, whereupon he went to the place spoken of, where he indeed found a pulpit ; but the case was this : a certain Presbyterian preacher, named John Fox, who went preaching about the country, was to preach there, and it seems some had changed his name from John to George, whereupon it was reported that he was turned from being a Quaker, to be a Presbyterian : this begat so great a curiosity in the people, that many went thither to hear this Quaker turned Presbyterian ; so this John Fox came to have a great auditory of several hundreds, who would not have gone a foot to have heard him, had they known it. Now some hundreds of them hearing afterwards that the real G. Fox was not far off at a meeting, they went thither and were sober and attentive ; where they were by him directed to the grace of God in themselves, which would teach them and bring them salvation. And when the meeting was over, some of the people said, they liked George Fox the Quaker's preaching, better than G. F. the Presbyterian. Not long after this John Fox was complained of in the house of commons, for having a tumultuous meeting, in which treasonable words were spoken. This John Fox had formerly been priest of Marshfield in Gloucestershire, and being put out of that place, was afterwards permitted by a common-prayer priest to preach sometimes in his steeple-house ; at length this Presbyterian priest presuming too far upon the parish priest's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and would have preached there whether the parish priest would or not ; which caused a great hustle and contest between the two priests, and their hearers on either side, in which the common-prayer book was cut to pieces, and it is said some treasonable words were then spoken, by some of the followers of this John Fox ; which case was quickly put into the newspapers, and some malicious Presbyterians caused it to be so worded as if it had



proceeded from G. F. the Quaker ; but some members of the house of commons certified it under their hands, that it was John Fox, formerly priest of Marshfield, who was complained of to be the ring-leader of that unlawful assembly.

After this G. F. travelled to Bristol, where he met with Margaret Fell, then a widow, who came thither to visit her daughter Yeomans. He had before this intimated to her his affection, and proposed taking her in marriage at a suitable time ; but though he had a sense in himself, it was of the Lord, yet he did not at first find a freedom to accomplish the same, but all obstructions being now removed, he so proposed the matter, that if she was willing to give her consent, that the same should be accomplished, she might first send for her children ; who being come, he asked both her daughters and their husbands, whether they had any thing against his taking their mother to be his wife ? And they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then he asked Margaret, whether she had performed her husband's will ? And the children, whether, if their mother married, they should lose by it ? The children said, she had answered it to them, and desired him to speak no more of that. So observing they were all well satisfied, he proceeded in his marriage, and took Margaret Fell to wife in a public meeting of Friends in Bristol. She was a woman of a noble endowment, and this I know not only by her writings, but I have also heard her preach an hour together, delivering her matter compactly and orderly.

G. F. being married, he stayed with his wife about a week in Bristol, and then they went together to Oldstone, and there taking leave of each other, they parted ; she went homeward into the north, and he travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Bucks, and so to London : for although now he had a wife, yet he did not neglect his care towards the churches, all the nation over, in the gift which he had received of God, both in word and writing to their edification, and among the rest he had a special regard, that the poor might be taken care of, to which end he wrote an epistle in London, to this effect, that poor children should be put forth apprentices to trades, whereby in time, they might help their aged parents, and enable them to bring up their families, and maintain themselves handsomely.

G. Fox stayed not long in London : but the year 1670 being now come, he travelled through Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Leicestershire, where he expected to have met with his wife ; for he had wrote her word, if she found it convenient, to meet him there ; but instead thereof he understood she was hauled out of her house and carried to Lancaster prison, upon the old premunire, which was executed upon her five years before, from which she was discharged by order of the king and council the last year. Wherefore, after he had visited friends in those counties, he returned to London, where he found two of his wife's daughters, whom he hastened to go to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, which they did, but met with much

difficulty ; yet they diligently attended the same, as it behoved them for their mother, who was a mother or overseer of the church also, and therefore of the greater concern ; but at last through assiduous application, they got to the speech of the king, to whom one of them said, that instead of their waiting upon him to return him thanks for the discharge of their mother, they were now necessitated to make complaint of their mother's being cast into prison a second time. Whereupon the king gave command to Sir John Otway, to write to the sheriff of Lancashire, to set her at liberty, which letter G. F. accordingly hastened his daughters with into the country.

The parliament now sitting, made a law, entitled, 'An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles,' which is as follows :

For providing further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, have or may at their meetings contrive insurrections, (as late experience hath shown,) (2) Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that if any person of the age of sixteen years or upwards, being a subject of this realm, at any time after the tenth day of May next, shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, at which conventicle, meeting, or assembly, there shall be five persons or more assembled together, over and besides those of the same household, if it be in a house where there is a family inhabiting ; or if it be in a house, field, or place where there is no family inhabiting ; then where any five persons or more, are so assembled, as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for any one or more justices of the peace of the county, limit, division, corporation or liberty ; wherein the offence aforesaid shall be committed, or for the chief magistrate of the place where the offence aforesaid shall be committed ; and he and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to him or them respectively made of such offence, either by confession of the party, or oath of two witnesses ; (3) (which oath the said justice and justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively, are hereby empowered and required to administer,) or by notorious evidence and circumstance of the fact, to make a record of every such offence under his or their hands and seals respectively : which record so made, as aforesaid, shall to all intents and purposes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every such offender for such offence : and thereupon the said justice, justices and chief magistrate respectively, shall impose on every such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, a fine of five shillings for such first offence : which record and conviction shall

be certified by the said justice, justices, or chief magistrate, at the next quarter-sessions of the peace, for the county or place where the offence was committed.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if such offender so convicted, as aforesaid, shall at any time again commit the like offence or offences, contrary to this act, and be thereof in manner aforesaid convicted, then such offender so convicted of such like offence or offences shall for every such offence incur the penalty of ten shillings; (2) which fine and fines, for the first and every other offence, shall be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; or in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other person or persons who shall be then convicted in manner aforesaid of the like offence at the same conventicle, at the discretion of the said justice, justices or chief magistrate respectively, so as the sum to be levied on any one person in case of the poverty of other offenders, amount not in the whole to above the sum of ten pounds, upon occasion of any one meeting, as aforesaid; (3) and every constable, head-borough, tithing-man, church-warden, and overseer of the poor respectively, are hereby authorized and required to levy the same accordingly, having first received a warrant under the hands and seals of the said justice, justices, or chief magistrate respectively, so to do; (4) the said monies so to be levied, to be forthwith delivered to the same justice, justices, or chief magistrate, and by him or them to be distributed, the one third part thereof to the use of the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, to be paid to the high sheriff of the county for the time being, in manner following: that is to say, the justice or justices of peace shall pay the same into the court of the respective quarter-sessions, which said court shall deliver the same to the sheriff, and make a memorial on record of the payment and delivery thereof, which said memorial shall be a sufficient and final discharge to the said justice and justices, and a charge to the sheriff, which said discharge and charge shall be certified into the exchequer together, and not one without the other: and no justice shall or may be questioned or accountable for the same in the exchequer or elsewhere, than in quarter-sessions; another third part thereof to and for the use of the poor of the parish where such offence shall be committed; and the other third part thereof to the informer and informers and to such person and persons as the said justice, justices or chief magistrate respectively shall appoint, having regard to their diligence and industry in the discovery, dispersing and punishing of the said conventicles.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person who shall take upon him to preach or teach in any such meeting, assembly or conventicle, and shall thereof be convicted, as aforesaid, shall forfeit for every such first offence the sum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforesaid upon his goods and chattels; (2) and if the said preacher or teacher so convicted, be a stranger, and his name and habitation not known, or is fled, and cannot be found, or in the judgment

of the justice, justices or chief magistrate before whom he shall be convicted, shall be thought unable to pay the same, the said justice, justices, or chief magistrate respectively, are hereby empowered and required to levy the same by warrant, as aforesaid, upon the goods and chattels of any such persons who shall be present at the same conventicle; any thing in this or any other act, law, or statute to the contrary notwithstanding; and the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid: (3) and if such offender so convicted as aforesaid, shall at any time again commit the like offence or offences contrary to this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforesaid, then such offender so convicted of such like offence or offences, shall for every such offence, incur the penalty of forty pounds, to be levied and disposed, as aforesaid.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person who shall wittingly and willingly suffer any such conventicle, meeting, or unlawful assembly aforesaid, to be held in his or her house, out-house, barn, yard, or backside, and be convicted thereof in manner aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforesaid, upon his or her goods and chattels; or in case of his or her poverty or inability, as aforesaid, upon the goods and chattels of such persons who shall be convicted in manner aforesaid, of being present at the same conventicle; and the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid.

V. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall by any clause of this act be liable to pay above ten pounds for any one meeting, in regard of the poverty of any other person or persons.

VI. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that in all cases of this act, where the penalty or sum charged upon any offender exceeds the sum of ten shillings, and such offender shall find himself aggrieved, it shall and may be lawful for him within one week after the said penalty or money charged shall be paid or levied, to appeal in writing from the person or persons convicting, to the judgment of the justices of the peace in their next quarter-sessions, (2) to whom the justice or justices of the peace, chief magistrate, or alderman, that first convicted such offender, shall return the money levied upon the appellant, and shall certify under his and their hands and seals the evidence upon which the conviction passed, with the whole record thereof, and the said appeal: (3) whereupon such offender may plead and make defence, and have his trial by a jury thereupon: (4) and in case such appellant shall not prosecute with effect, or if upon such trial he shall not be acquitted, or judgment pass not for him upon his said appeal, the said justices at the sessions shall give treble costs against such offender for his unjust appeal: (5) And no other court whatsoever shall intermeddle with any cause or causes of appeal upon this act, but they shall be finally determined in the quarter-sessions only.

VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that upon the delivery

of such appeal, as aforesaid, the person or persons appellant shall enter before the person or persons convicting, into recognizance, to prosecute the said appeal with effect : (2) which said recognizance the person or persons so convicting is hereby empowered to take, and required to certify the same to the next quarter-sessions : (3) and in case no such recognizance be entered into, the said appeal to be null and void.

VIII. Provided always, that every such appeal shall be left with the person or persons so convicting, as aforesaid, at the time of the making thereof.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the justice, justices of the peace, and chief magistrate respectively, or the respective constables, head-boroughs, and tithing-men, by warrant from the said justice, justices, or chief magistrate respectively, shall and may with what aid, force and assistance they shall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refusal or denial to enter, break open, and enter into any house or other place, where they shall be informed any such conventicle, as aforesaid, is or shall be held, as well within liberties as without : (2) and take into their custody the persons there unlawfully assembled, to the intent they may be proceeded against according to this act : (3) and that the lieutenants or deputy-lieutenants, or any commissioned officer of the militia, or other of his majesty's forces, with such troops or companies of horse and foot ; and also the sheriffs, and other magistrates and ministers of justice, or any of them, jointly or severally, within any of the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, with such other assistance as they shall think meet, or can get in readiness with, the soonest, on certificate made to them respectively under the hand and seal of any one justice of the peace or chief magistrate, of his particular information or knowledge of such unlawful meeting or conventicle held, or to be held in their respective counties or places, and that he with such assistance as he can get together is not able to suppress and dissolve the same, shall and may, and are hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are so held, or to be held, and by the best means they can, to dissolve, dissipate, or prevent all such unlawful meetings, and take into their custody such and so many of the said persons so unlawfully assembled as they shall think fit, to the intent that they may be proceeded against according to this act.

X. Provided always, that no dwelling-house of any peer of this realm, where he or his wife shall then be resident, shall be searched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant from his majesty, under his sign manual, or in the presence of the lieutenant, or one deputy-lieutenant, or two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum, of the same county or riding.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any constable, head-borough, tithing-man, church-warden, or overseer of the poor, who shall know, or be credibly informed of any such meetings or

conventicles held within his precincts, parishes, or limits, and shall not give information thereof to some justice of the peace, or the chief magistrate, and endeavor the conviction of the parties according to his duty; but such constable, head-borough, tithing-man, church-warden, overseers of the poor, or any person lawfully called in aid of the constable, head-borough, or tithing-man, shall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty, in the execution of this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforesaid, he shall forfeit for every such offence, the sum of five pounds, to be levied upon his goods and chattels, and disposed in manner aforesaid: (2) and that if any justice of the peace, or chief magistrate, shall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, the one moiety to the use of the informer, to be recovered by action, suit, bill, or plaint, in any of his majesty's courts at Westminster, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall lie.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person be at any time sued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, otherwise than upon appeal allowed by this act, such person shall and may plead the general issue, and give the special matter in evidence; (2) and if the plaintiff be non-suited, or a verdict pass for the defendant, or if the plaintiff discontinue his action, or if upon demurrer judgment be given for the defendant, every such defendant shall have his full treble costs.

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act, and all clauses therein contained, shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof: (2) and that no record, warrant, or mittimus to be made by virtue of this act, or any proceedings thereupon, shall be reversed, avoided, or any way impeached by reason of any default in form. (3) And in case any person offending against this act, shall be an inhabitant in any other county or corporation, or fly into any other county or corporation after the offence committed, the justice of peace or chief magistrate before whom he shall be convicted as aforesaid, shall certify the same under his hand and seal, to any justice of peace or chief magistrate of such other county or corporation wherein the said person or persons are inhabitants, or are fled into; (4) which said justice or chief magistrate respectively, is hereby authorized and required to levy the penalty or penalties in this act mentioned, upon the goods and chattels of such person or persons, as fully as the said other justice of peace might have done, in case he or they had been inhabitants in the place where the offence was committed.

XIV. Provided also, that no person shall be punished for any offence against this act unless such offender be prosecuted for the same within three months after the offence committed. (2) And that no person who shall be punished for any offence by virtue of this act, shall be punished for the same offence by virtue of any other act or law whatsoever.

XV. Provided, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every alderman of London for the time being, within the city of London, and the liberties thereof, shall have, (and they and every of them are hereby empowered and required to execute,) the same power and authority within London, and the liberties thereof, for the examining, convicting, and punishing of all offences within this act committed within London, and the liberties thereof, which any justice of peace hath by this act in any county of England, and shall be subject to the same penalties and punishments, for not doing that which by this act is directed to be done by any justice of peace in any county of England.

XVI. Provided, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if the person offending, and convicted as aforesaid, be a femme-covert, cohabiting with her husband, the penalties of five shillings, and ten shillings, so as aforesaid incurred, shall be levied by warrant, as aforesaid, upon the goods and chattels of the husband of such femme-covert.

XVII. Provided also, that no peer of this realm shall be attached or imprisoned by virtue or force of this act; any thing, matter, or clause therein to the contrary notwithstanding.

XVIII. Provided also, that neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall extend to invalidate or make void his majesty's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs: (2) but that his majesty, and his heirs and successors, may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, exercise and enjoy all powers and authority in ecclesiastical affairs, as fully and as amply as himself or any of his predecessors have or might have done the same: any thing in this act notwithstanding.

By this very law many an honest family was impoverished; for the Quakers did not leave off meeting together publicly, but the most sincere amongst them were the more zealous, and they were the more winnowed from the chaff, which in time of ease gets in amongst religious professors; and none need wonder at it, since the Quakers having gained the repute of an upright-hearted people, some, for by-ends, might creep in amongst them.

At London, as well as at other places, many were spoiled of their goods very unmercifully, and many times people of good substance brought to mere poverty, seeing not only the shop goods of some, but also their household goods have been seized, insomuch that the very sick have had their beds taken from under them, and they themselves laid upon the floor; nay, they have been so cruel, as to leave them nothing; insomuch that when the child's papp hath stood in a pannikin, they have thrown out the papp to take the pannikin away.

Should I sum up all the particulars I have received, and the account I could give, it would make a volume of itself; for the informers were generally poor, and sometimes also the justices, so that they knew how to part their booty belonging to the king, as well as to the poor; and thus the king and the poor got but little of their plunder. Nevertheless it so

happened sometimes, that those who were finable, were freed by the justices ; for they knew very well, that these informers, who were also witnesses, were cunning sharkers, who were also concerned to get their thirds of the booty, and therefore found out a way by which they showed that they were knavish and unjust in their office, and were therefore not fit to give evidence ; so that it hath sometimes fallen out, that an honest justice hath cleared those informed against, when the informer missed in his evidence, either in the day of the month, or the like, in the complaint.

At London there once appeared before the lord mayor, sitting at a court of aldermen, an impudent informer having such a quantity of informations for fines as would have wronged the parties to the value of 1500*l*. but the mayor abominating such a practice, adjourned the court, and went away. But this hardy informer was not content to let the matter fall thus, but appeared before the court from time to time, to make a booty of honest people's goods ; but they still put him off, until at last he was himself arrested for debt, and carried to prison, where he ended his days.

Although now the law against seditious conventicles had passed, upon a supposition that the Presbyterians were ready to rise, considering the bustle and tumult occasioned by John Fox in Gloucestershire, which was much taken notice of, as I have mentioned before, yet nevertheless the Quakers' meetings became the chief object in the execution of this law. Whereupon G. Fox being in London, set forth in print the injustice of this law, in order, if possible, to moderate the government not to put the same in execution. Nevertheless, being also sensible that a great storm hung over the heads of Friends, he also wrote an epistle to them, to exhort them to faithfulness, and to encourage them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear with Christian patience the suffering that was come upon them. Now the first First-day that this law took place, he went to the meeting of Friends at Gracechurch-street in London ; but being come to the place, he found the street full of people, and a guard to keep them out of their meeting-house ; whereupon he went to Lombard street, (out of which there also was a passage to the meeting-house,) and there he also found a guard ; but there being a court before the door, which was full of people, one of the Quaker ministers was there preaching to the people, and when he had ended, G. Fox stood up and said, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ; it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." Which words he thus explained : that it was Saul's nature that persecuted ; and that they persecuting Christ in his members, were kicking against the pricks ; and that it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth of the Spirit ; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep, but that they suffered like sheep, who did not bite again ; but were a peaceable people, who loved even their persecutors. While G. Fox was thus preaching, there came a constable and an informer, with soldiers, who pulled him down from the



place he stood on. Then, said he, "Blessed are the peace-makers," but the commander of the soldiers ordered them to secure him: 'For,' said he, 'you are the man I looked for.' Wherefore he with two more of his friends, John Burnet and another, were had before the lord mayor; and as they were going, the informer said, 'It will never be a good world, until all people come to the good old religion, that was two hundred years ago.' G. Fox hearing this, said, 'Art thou a Papist? what! a Papist informer? For two hundred years ago there was no other public profession of religion but that of the Papists in this nation.' It vexed the informer that G. Fox heard him speak thus; for he now saw he was ensnared in his own talk. When he came into the court before the lord mayor's house, some people who were there asked G. Fox, why he was brought thither prisoner? 'Pray,' said he, 'ask that informer, and ask him his name;' but he would not tell his name. Then one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window, told him, he should tell his name before he went away: 'For,' said he, 'the lord mayor will know by what authority you have intruded yourself with soldiers in the execution of those laws which it belongs to the civil magistrate to execute, and not the military. The informer understanding this, got away, but not without some difficulty, because they would not then let him out of the court; but he forcibly pulling open the door, and having got into the street, the people gave a great shout, crying out, 'a Papist informer! a Papist informer!' and he would have come off but badly, had not G. Fox advised the constable and soldiers to keep him out of the hands of the common people. Whereupon he went into the house and changed his perriwig, and so got away.

When the lord mayor came home, and G. Fox was brought before him, he said, 'Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man among those of your own profession; pray will you be instrumental to persuade them from meeting in such great numbers: for, (said he,) seeing Christ hath promised where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them; and the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God, why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four?' To which G. Fox answered in his own words as followeth:

'That Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name; but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet, because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name; how much more would his presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in his name. I wished him to consider, whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples, (if it had been in their time,) who used to meet often together; and that with great numbers? However, I told him, this act did not concern us;

for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met under pretence and color of religion, to contrive insurrections, as, (the act says,) late experience had shown; but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable: and therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty. He said the act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy. I told him, 'according to,' was not the very same thing; and asked him, whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures? And whether we might not read Scriptures, and speak Scriptures? he said Yes. I told him, that this act took hold only of such as meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shown; but they had never experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel therefore? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people, meet to do good? If we had been a people that did meet to plot and contrive insurrections, &c. we might have drawn ourselves into fours; for four might do more mischief in plotting, than if there were four hundred; because four might speak out their minds more freely one to another, than four hundred could: therefore we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do; and I said, I believed that he knew in his conscience we were innocent.'

After this and more discourse, the lord mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, let them go, seeing the informer was gone before, and now nobody accused them. The treatment this informer met with, made others scrupulous, yet several of their meetings in London were disturbed, and some of their preachers cast into prison; but though the Baptists and other dissenters ceased their public meetings, yet the Quakers continued to keep theirs, as they used to do, whereby it happened that some of their meeting-houses were pulled down, and among others that at Ratcliffe, which was a substantial building, almost new.

After some time, the heat of persecution in the city began to abate, but in other places it raged more fiercely; this engaged G. Fox to leave the city, and travel about the country in divers places to visit his friends.

This year G. Fox, had a very great fit of sickness, to such a degree, that he became both blind and deaf, insomuch that his recovery was despaired of by some; but after a time he grew better.

In the meanwhile persecution in many places grew very dismal; for many of the friends were beaten with swords, and pikes, and muskets, to that degree, that their blood ran along the ground, and the informers were so very eager to hunt after their prey, that they informed of meetings when there were none. Amongst others, this following was an instance. At Droitwich, John Cartwright came to a friend's house there, who sitting down to supper, he prayed before they ate, which being heard by an informer, the room being next to the street, he thereupon went immediately and informed that there was a meeting in the

house, and so got a warrant to distrain the goods; and when he came riding with them in the evening, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck, thereby getting his death instead of the prey, which he hunted after.

Now, although persecution was not so hot in London, as in other places in the country, yet sometimes even there it was very severe, as may be seen by the instance of William Penn and William Mead, who were taken from a meeting and imprisoned, and tried for the same in the month of September.

The indictment contained, 'That William Penn and William Mead, with divers other persons, to the number of three hundred, at Gracechurch-street, in London, on the 15th of August, with force and arms, had tumultuously assembled together, and that William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, had preached there in the public street, whereby was caused a great concourse and tumult of the people,' &c. That there was a public meeting in the street, proceeded from necessity; because a guard was placed in the passage to hinder Friends from going into their meeting-house; but it was a great untruth that they met with force and arms, which were never used by the Quakers. This indictment being read before the court, the prisoners were demanded, according to custom, whether they were guilty, or not guilty? Whereupon W. Penn said, 'It is impossible that we should be able to remember the indictment *verbatim*, and therefore we desire a copy of it, as is customary on the like occasions.' The recorder, John Howell, said hereupon, 'You must first plead to the indictment before you can have a copy of it.' Then W. Penn said, that he first desired that no advantage might be taken against him, nor he deprived of any benefit, which he might otherwise receive, and that the court would promise him a fair hearing, and liberty of making his defence. Upon which the court said, that no advantage should be taken against him, and that he should have liberty, and should be heard. W. Penn then said, he pleaded not guilty in manner and form. Then W. Mead was demanded, whether he was guilty or not guilty, and he answered the same as W. Penn. The court then proceeded with the business of trying thieves and murderers, making the prisoners stay waiting five hours, and then returned them to prison; and after two days brought them again before the court. And then the officers of the court having taken off the prisoners' hats, the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, showed himself displeased with it, and ordered the officers to put on their hats again, which being done, the recorder, John Howell, who upon all occasions showed his fierceness, accused them, that they showed no respect to the court, and condemned them for it, in a fine of forty marks each, because they had not taken off their hats. Thereupon W. Penn said, that he desired it might be observed, that they came into court with their hats off, (that is, taken off,) and if they had been put on since, it is by order from the bench, and therefore not the prisoners, but the bench should be fined. The jury then being sworn,



and the indictment read again, the witnesses were called, who declared that they saw W. Penn speaking to the people, who were assembled in a great number in Gracechurch-street, but they could not hear what he said.

The recorder then asked William Mead, whether he was there? Who answered, that 'It is a maxim in your own law, *nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*, which if it be not true Latin, I am sure it is good English. 'That no man is bound to accuse himself;' why then dost thou offer to ensnare me with such a question?' Hereupon the recorder showed himself so displeased, that he said, 'Sir, hold your tongue, I did not go about to ensnare you.' Then William Penn said, we confess ourselves to be so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves, to preach, pray, or worship the Eternal, Holy, Just God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty, to meet incessantly, upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made us.' The sheriff, Richard Brown, said, 'You are not here for worshipping of God, but for breaking the law. You do yourselves a great deal of wrong in going on in that discourse.' Hereupon W. Penn answered, 'I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge: and to the end, the bench, the jury, and myself, with these that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure, I desire you would let me know by what law it is you prosecute me, and upon what law you ground my indictment?' The recorder answered, 'Upon the common law?' 'Where is,' asked W. Penn, 'that common law?' 'You must not think,' said the recorder, 'that I am able to run up so many years, and over so many adjudged cases, which we call common law, to answer your curiosity.' This answer, replied W. Penn, 'I am sure is very short of my question, for if it be common, it should not be so hard to produce.' The recorder replied, 'Sir, will you plead to your indictment?' 'Shall I,' answered W. Penn, 'plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain that law ye say I have broken, why should you decline to produce that law, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in their verdict, who have not the law produced, by which they should measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt or contrary of my fact.' The recorder being angry, said, 'You are a saucy fellow, speak to the indictment.' W. Penn replied; 'I say, it is my place to speak to matter of law; I am arraigned a prisoner; my liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned,' &c.

At this time several upon the bench urged hard upon the prisoner to bear him down. W. Penn said, 'You are many mouths and ears against me, and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my cause, it is hard; I say again, unless you show me and the people the law you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted your proceedings are merely arbitrary.' The recorder then replying, said, 'The

question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment.' 'The question,' said W. Penn, 'is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal: it is too general and imperfect an answer, to say it is the common law, unless we know both where, and what it is: for where there is no law, there is no transgression; and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.' The recorder snapped him hereupon, with, 'You are an impertinent fellow, will you teach the court what law is? It is *lex non scripta*,\* that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment.' 'Certainly,' replied W. Penn, 'if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common; but if the lord Coke in his institutes, be of any consideration, he tells us, that common law is common right; and that common right is the great charter privileges confirmed, 9 Hen. 3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8. Coke's Institutes, 2. p. 56.' The recorder taking no pleasure in that speech, said, 'Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honor of the court to suffer you to go on.' 'I have,' replied W. Penn, 'asked but one question, and you have not answered me; though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it.' 'Well,' said the recorder, 'if I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser.' 'That is,' said W. Penn, 'according as the answers are.' 'But,' says the recorder, 'we must not stand to hear you talk all night.' Whereupon W. Penn replied, 'I desire no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen, to your sinister and arbitrary designs.' This so enraged the recorder, that he called to the officers, 'Take him away.' And to the lord mayor he said, 'My lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow, to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night.' Then the lord mayor cried, 'Take him away; take him away; turn him into the bail-dock.'

W. Penn seeing how force and violence prevailed, said, 'These are but so many vain exclamations; is this justice or true judgment? Must I therefore be taken away because I plead for the fundamental laws of England?' Then addressing himself to the jury, he said, 'However, this I leave upon your consciences who are of the jury, and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph, by every sturdy

\* 'The unwritten law'—alluding to the 'Common Law of England.'

beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeits for conscience-sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.' The hearing of this emphatical speech was so troublesome to the recorder, that he cried, 'Be silent there.' At which W. Penn returned, 'I am not to be silent in a cause wherein I am so much concerned, and not only myself, but many ten thousand families besides.'

He being now hauled into the bail-dock, it was W. Mead's turn to plead, who spoke thus, 'Ye men of the jury, I now stand here to answer to an indictment against me which is a bundle of stuff full of lies and falsehoods: for therein I am accused, that I met *vi et armis, illicite et tumultuose*.\* Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man: but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man, nor do I know I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person. I say, I am a peaceable man; therefore it was a very proper question that W. Penn demanded in this case, an oyer of the law, on which our indictment is grounded.' To this the recorder said, 'I have made an answer to that already.' W. Mead then turning his face to the jury, said, 'Ye men of the jury, who are my judges, if the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful assembly, Coke, he that once they called the lord Coke, tells us what makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful assembly. A riot is when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut down his grass, his wood, or break down his pales.' The recorder interrupting him, and scornfully pulling off his hat, said, 'I thank you, sir, that you will tell me what the law is:' and Richard Brown, that inveterate enemy of the Quakers, said, 'He talks at random, one while an Independent, another while of some other religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papist.' Mead, not being minded openly to affront this alderman, told him this well known Latin verse.

*Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.*

for Brown himself formerly had been an Independent, though now he belonged to the church of England, and was of the court party. But the lord mayor, who it seems was a great friend of Brown's, said to Mead, 'You deserve to have your tongue cut.' 'And,' added the recorder, 'if you discourse on this manner, I shall take occasion against you.' To which Mead returned, 'Thou didst promise me I should have fair liberty to be heard. Why may I not have the privilege of an Englishman? and you might be ashamed of this dealing.' At this the envious recorder said, 'I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of England, which ought to be observed and kept; nor are you worthy of such privileges as others have.' Mead well seeing that force and violence

\*By force and arms; unlawfully and tumultuously.

prevailed, and that his speaking could not avail him, said with a composed mind, 'The Lord be judge between me and thee in this matter.'

Upon which he was taken away into the bail-dock, and the recorder gave the jury the following charge: 'You have heard what the indictment is; it is for preaching to the people, and drawing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was speaking. If they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on; there are three or four witnesses that have proved this, that he did preach there; that Mr. Mead did allow of it: after this, you have heard by substantial witnesses what is said against them. Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to, and observe, as what hath been fully sworn, at your peril.' That the recorder spoke thus to the jury in the absence of the prisoners, was indeed irregular; wherefore W. Penn, who heard this from afar, spoke with a very raised voice, (that so he might be heard by those on the bench,) after this manner, 'I appeal to the jury, who are my judges, and to this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners. I say it is directly opposite to, and destructive of the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Coke in the 2 Inst. on the chap. of Magna Charta, speaks.' The recorder being thus unexpectedly lashed for his extra-judicial procedure, said with a disdainful smile, 'Why, ye are present; you do hear, do you not?' To which Penn returned, 'No thanks to the court, that commanded me into the bail-dock: and you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court, before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate their indictment.' This plain speaking of W. Penn, so enraged the recorder, that he cried, 'Pull that fellow down; pull him down.' For Penn it seems, to be heard the better, had clambered up a little by the rails of the bail-dock. Then W. Mead said, 'Are these according to the rights and privileges of Englishmen, that we should not be heard, but be turned into the bail-dock for making our defence; and the jury to have their charge given them in our absence? I say, these are barbarous and unjust proceedings.' The recorder yet more incensed, cried, 'Take them away into the hole: to hear them talk all night as they would, that I think doth not become the honor of the court.'

The prisoners being kept in a stinking hole, the jury were commanded up, to agree upon their verdict; and after an hour and a half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above: the court then sent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down; but the court used many indecent threats to the four that dissented, and after much menacing language, and a very imperious behavior against the jury, the prisoners being brought to the bar, the foreman was asked, 'How say you; is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted in manner and form, or not guilty?' Foreman: 'Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-

street.' The next question was, 'Is that all?' Foreman: 'That is all I have in commission.' This answer so displeased the recorder, that he said, 'You had as good say nothing.' And the lord mayor, Starling, said, 'Was it not an unlawful assembly? You mean he was speaking to a tumult of people there?' To which the foreman returned, 'My lord, this was all I had in commission.' Some of the jury seemed now to buckle to the questions of the court; but others opposed themselves, and said they allowed of no such word as an unlawful assembly in their verdict: at which some of the bench took occasion to vilify them with opprobrious language. And because the court would not dismiss the jury before they gave a more satisfactory verdict, they called for pen, ink, and paper, and so went up again: and after half an hour returning, delivered the following verdict in writing:—

'We, the jurors hereafter named, do find William Penn to be guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly, met together in Gracechurch-street, the 14th of August last, 1670, and that William Mead is not guilty of the said indictment.

|                 |                 |                    |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>Foreman,</i> | THOMAS VEER,    | CHARLES MREILSON,  |
|                 | EDWARD BUSHEL,  | GREGORY WALKLET,   |
|                 | JOHN HAMMOND,   | JOHN BAILEY,       |
|                 | HENRY HENLY,    | WILLIAM LEVER,     |
|                 | HENRY MITCHEL,  | JAMES DAMASK,      |
|                 | JOHN BRIGHTMAN, | WILLIAM PLUMSTED.' |

This verdict the mayor and recorder resented at so high a rate, that they exceeded the bounds of all moderation and civility; and the recorder said, 'Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you shall be locked up, without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco: you shall not think thus to abuse the court; we will have a verdict by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.'

Now, though the jury had given in their verdict, and signified that they could give no other, yet all was in vain; and W. Penn seeing how they were treated against all reason, said, 'My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict should be free, and not compelled; the bench ought to wait upon them, but not forestal them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict.' This modest speech so incensed the recorder, that he cried, 'Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court.' And the lord mayor said to the jury, 'You have heard that he preached, that he gathered a company of tumultuous people, and that they do not only disobey the martial power, but the civil also.' To which W. Penn returned, 'That is a great mistake; we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury cannot be so ignorant, as to think that we met there with a design to disturb the



civil peace, since, first, we were by force of arms kept out of our lawful house, and met as near it in the street as the soldiers would give leave. And, secondly, because it was no new thing, nor with the circumstances expressed in the indictment, but what was usual and customary with us. It is very well known that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man.'

The court now being resolved to send the prisoners to their jail, and the jury to their chamber, Penn spoke as followeth: 'The agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law, and such an one being given by the jury, I require the clerk of the peace to record it, as he will answer it at his peril. And if the jury bring in another verdict contradictory to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law.' And looking upon the jury, he said, 'You are Englishmen, mind your privilege; give not away your right.' To which E. Bushel, one of them, returned, 'Nor will we ever do it.' Another of the jurymen pleaded indisposition of body, and therefore desired to be dismissed; but the lord mayor said, 'You are as strong as any of them; starve then, and hold your principles.' To which the recorder added, 'Gentlemen, you must be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; for the court is resolved to have a verdict, and that before you can be dismissed.' And though the jurymen said, 'We are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed,' yet the court swore several persons, to keep the jury all night, without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation; nay, they had not so much as a chamber-pot, though desired. Thus force and violence prevailed. The next day, though it was the first of the week, vulgarly called Sunday, the court sat again; and the prisoners being brought to the bar, the jury were called in, and their foreman was asked, 'Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form aforesaid, or not guilty?' To which he answered as before, 'William Penn is guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street.' The lord mayor then asking, 'to an unlawful assembly?' Edward Bushel answered, 'No, my lord, we give no other verdict than what we gave last night; we have no other verdict to give.' 'You are,' returned the lord mayor, 'a factious fellow: I will take a course with you.' 'I have,' said Bushel, 'done according to my conscience.' This so displeased the mayor, that he said, 'That conscience of yours would cut my throat; but I will cut yours so soon as I can.' To which the recorder added, 'He has inspired the jury; he has the spirit of divination; methinks I feel him: I will have a positive verdict, or you shall starve for it.'

Then W. Penn said, 'I desire to ask the recorder one question: do you allow of the verdict given of W. Mead?' to which the recorder answered, 'It cannot be a verdict, because you are indicted for a conspiracy; and one being found not guilty, and not the other, it cannot be a verdict.' This made Penn say, 'If not guilty be not a verdict, then you make of the jury and Magna Charta but a mere nose-of-wax.' 'How?' asked W. Mead then, 'Is not guilty no verdict?' 'No,' said the recorder, 'It is no

verdict.' 'To which Penn replied, 'I affirm that the consent of a jury is a verdict in law ; and if W. Mead be not guilty, it consequently follows, that I am clear, since you have indicted us of conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire alone.' After this, the court spoke to the jury, and caused them to go up again, if possible to extort another verdict from them. Then the jury being called, and asked by the clerk, 'What say you ? is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form aforesaid, or not guilty ?' The foreman answered, 'Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street.' To which the recorder returned, 'What is this to the purpose ? I say I will have a verdict.' And speaking to E. Bushel, said, 'You are a factious fellow ; I will set a mark upon you ; and whilst I have any thing to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you.' To this the mayor added, 'Have you no more wit than to be led by such a pitiful fellow ? I will cut his nose.'

Thus the court endeavored to baffle the jury ; and therefore it was not without very good reason that W. Penn said, 'It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced : is this according to the fundamental laws ? are not they my proper judges by the great charter of England ? what hope is there of ever having justice done, when juries are threatened, and their verdict is rejected ? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such arbitrary proceedings. Did not the lieutenant of the tower render one of them worse than a felon. And do you not plainly seek to condemn such for factious fellows, who answer not your ends ? unhappy are those juries, who are threatened to be fined, starved, and ruined, if they give not in their verdicts contrary to their consciences.' These plain expressions so troubled the recorder, that he said to the lord mayor, 'My lord, you must take a course with this fellow.' And then the mayor cried, 'Stop his mouth ; jailer, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground.' To which W. Penn said, 'Do your pleasure ; I matter not your fetters.' The recorder then ventured to say, 'Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them. And certainly it never will be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England.' The jury being required to find another verdict, and they saying they could give no other, the recorder grew so angry, that he said, 'Gentlemen, we shall not be at this pass always with you ; you will find that at the next session of parliament there will be a law made, that those that will not conform, shall not have the protection of the law. Your verdict is nothing ; you play upon the court. I say, you shall go together, and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve, and I will have you carted about the city, as in Edward the Third's time.'

The jury refusing to give in another verdict, since they had all agreed to that which they had given, and showing themselves unwilling to go up again, the lord mayor bid the sheriff to make them go. The sheriff then coming off his seat, said, 'Come, gentlemen, you must go up ; you see I am commanded to make you go.' Upon which the jury went up,

and several were sworn to keep them without any accommodation as aforesaid, till they brought in their verdict: and the prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remaining till next morning were then brought to the court again: and being set to the bar, and the jury called, and asked, 'Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted in manner and form, &c., or not guilty?' the foreman answered, 'You have there read in writing already our verdict, and our hands subscribed.' Now the clerk who had that paper, was by the recorder stopped from reading it; and it was said by the court, that paper was no verdict. Then the clerk asked, 'How say you? Is William Penn guilty, &c., or not guilty?' to which the foreman answered, 'Not guilty.' The same question being put concerning W. Mead, the foreman answered likewise, 'Not guilty.' The jury then being asked by the clerk, whether they said so all, they answered, 'We do so.' The bench still unsatisfied, commanded that every person should distinctly answer to their names, and give in their verdict, which they unanimously did, in saying, 'Not guilty.' The recorder, who could not bear this, said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the good and wholesome advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands: but for this the court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid.'

W. Penn then stepping up towards the bench, said, 'I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.' 'No,' said the lord mayor, 'you are in for your fines.' 'Fines!' returned Penn, 'for what?' 'For contempt of the court,' said the lord mayor. 'I ask,' replied Penn, 'if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Englishman should be fined or amerced, but by the judgment of his peers or jury? since it expressly contradicts the 14th and 29th chapters of the great charter of England, which say, 'No freeman ought to be amerced but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.' Instead of answering to this question, the recorder cried, 'Take him away, take him away; take him out of the court.' On which W. Penn said, 'I can never urge the fundamental laws of England, but you cry, take him away, take him away. But it is no wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition hath so great a place in the recorder's heart. God Almighty, who is just, will judge you for all these things.' W. Penn was not suffered to speak any more, but he and W. Mead were hauled to the bail-dock, and thence sent to Newgate, and so were their jury. How they came at length to be freed, I do not know.

This trial was afterwards published in print more at large than is set down here, and an appendix subjoined to it; in which are shown not only the invalidity of the evidence, but also the absurdity of the indictment, and the illegal proceedings of the court; and from the great charter, that they had been dealt with contrary to law. The case of the lord chief justice Keeling is also mentioned, who having put restraints upon juries, a committee of parliament, the 11th of December,

1667, came to this resolution, 'That his proceedings were innovations, in the trial of men for their lives and liberties; and that he had used an arbitrary and illegal power, which was of dangerous consequence to the lives and liberties of the people of England, and tended to the introducing an arbitrary government. Moreover, that in the place of judicature he had undervalued, vilified and condemned Magna Charta. And therefore, that he should be brought to trial, in order to condign punishment, in such manner as the house should judge most fit and requisite.' Two days after, viz. *Die Veneris*, the 13th of December, it was resolved, that the precedents and practice of fining or imprisoning jurors for verdicts are illegal. The book containing the fore-mentioned trial of W. Penn and W. Mead was reprinted I think more than once; for it came to be much in request, because the liberties of the people were therein well defended, and arbitrary power controlled. The title of it was, 'The People's Ancient and Just Liberties asserted;' and underneath was added this well known verse of Juvenal,

*Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas.*

This matter was more circumstantially treated of in a book in print, by Thomas Rudyard a lawyer, who showed therein at large the right of juries, and the unlawfulness of the proceedings then in vogue; which he made appear plainly, both from law, and by citations from the books of eminent lawyers. And having sometimes vigorously pleaded the cause of the oppressed, he also became the object of persecuting fury, which could not endure his faithful defending of the innocent. And therefore this summer the magistrates of London issued out a warrant to break open his house in the dead of the night, in order to apprehend him; and this warrant was executed by the soldiers of one captain Holford; and the next day he was sent to Newgate by a mittimus under the hands and seals of the lord mayor Samuel Starling, William Peak, Robert Hanson, and several others, under pretence, that he stirred up persons to disobedience of the laws, and abetted and encouraged such as met in unlawful and seditious conventicles, contrary to the late act. But his case being brought before the justices of the court of Common Pleas, at Westminster, by a *habeas corpus*, that court, after solemn debate, gave their judgment, that Thomas Rudyard was unjustly imprisoned, and unlawfully detained. And so he was set at liberty. But the lord mayor Samuel Starling fretting at this discharge, found out new stratagems to compass his ends upon him. For an indictment was formed against him for having hindered due course of law against one Samuel Allingbridge. But Rudyard so well defended himself, that he was acquitted; which so incensed the lord mayor, that not long after he was again committed to Newgate, on a religious account, viz. for having been in the meeting at Whitehart-court in Gracechurch-street. The proceedings against him and others on that account were no less arbitrary than those against

W. Penn and W. Mead, already mentioned, and therefore Rudyard exposed his and their trials in print; and seeing he understood the law, he was the more able to show the unjustness of these proceedings, and how inconsistent such prosecutions were with the laws of the land.

But to avoid prolixity I shall relate but little of them, since many things occur therein, which have been mentioned already in other cases. How the recorder Howell was inclined in respect to religion, may be deduced from what hath been said already of his panegyric upon the Spanish Inquisition. And to Rudyard and his fellow-prisoners, he gave no obscure evidence what religion he preferred; for they saying, that they were always quiet and peaceable in their assemblies, and that the laws against riots were never intended against them, but popish, or such like disturbers of the peace, the recorder returned, that the Papists were better subjects to the king, than they were; and that they were a stubborn and dangerous people, and must either be brought under, or there was no safe living by them. The prisoners offering to vindicate themselves from these odious and foul aspersions, were not suffered to say any thing in their own defence; but instead of hearing them, they were by order of the lord mayor and the recorder thrust into the bail-dock, and treated almost at the same rate as W. Penn and W. Mead had been before.

But violence prevailed now; and the recorder, because of his outrageous behavior against the Quakers, was so much in favor of the court of justice, that alderman Jo. Robinson did not stick to tell them, that the recorder deserved a hundred pounds for his service done at the Old Bailey, the last sessions. And his proposal so took, that the court consented to pay him for the said service a hundred pounds, by the chamberlain of London. And since this was so well known to T. Rudyard, that in a book he published, he named the date of the said order, viz. the 8th of October, 1670: and that other orders had been given for two hundred pounds more to him, within eight months last past; he, to reprehend such doings in a satirical way, called them, 'An excellent way to ease the treasury of being over-burdened with orphans' money, by which sinister ends, and cursed dispositions of its cash, the chamber was so deeply in debt, that it was almost incredible.'

Now, since Rudyard as a lawyer, had a more full knowledge of these unlawful proceedings against him and his friends, than many others, he composed a treatise of those prosecutions, which he called the 'Second Part of the People's Ancient and Just Liberties asserted.' And true lovers of their country were pleased with it: for that party which countenanced popery, and therefore endeavored to violate the people's rights, strove to get the upper hand.

Persecution was now very hot and fierce all over the country, because a door was opened for all base and wicked fellows to get booty by informing; for by the act against meetings, which though religious, were branded with the name of seditious, the informer, was to have a

third part of the imposed fine. This set on many vile persons, and among these sometimes thieves and infamous fellows, to render any comings together of Quakers, though it was but a visit or a burial, the name of a meeting, and to swear that a meeting had been kept there. Nay, sometimes they swore only by guess, that in such a place a meeting had been kept, though the witnesses had not seen it, as was requisite by law. And this informing came so much in vogue, that some magistrates themselves turned informers.

——— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis  
Auri sacra fames !\**

I might write a large volume of these abominable deeds, if I could find leisure for it ; yet now and then I will mention a few instances, by which the reader may make a conjecture of the rest.

This year at Alford in Somersetshire, in the month called August, the corpse of one Samuel Clothier was buried, and though in the burying-place all were silent, yet the justice, Robert Hunt, fined some that had been at the burial, for having assisted at this pretended meeting.

In Nottingham it happened in the latter end of this year, that the justice, Penniston Whaley, who had fined many of those called Quakers, for frequenting their religious meetings, encouraged the people at the sessions to persecute the Quakers without any pity, saying to them, ‘Harden your hearts against them ; for the act of the 35th of queen Elizabeth, is not made against the Papists, since the church of Rome is a true church, as well as any other church ; but these Quakers are erroneous and seditious persons.’ By these words one may easily judge to what religion this justice of peace was inclined ; but such dissemblers feigned to be Protestants, that so they might bear honorable offices. I pass by unmentioned, many persons, who by beating, pushing, and trampling, were grievously abused in their meetings, to that degree, that some not long survived the violence committed on them, and felt the painfulness or smart of it till death.

This year about midsummer, Thomas Bud deceased at Ivelchester in Somersetshire, after having been prisoner about eight years and a half, because for conscience-sake he could not swear. Some hours before his death, he was heard to say, that he had renewed his covenant with God, and was well satisfied in it ; and that he believed God would sustain him by the right hand of his justice ; and that he rejoiced and thanked God that all his children walked in the way of the Lord.

At Warborough in Oxfordshire, those called Quakers were also most grievously abused in their religious meetings, and even aged women not spared ; which often caused the cry of innocent children to go up to heaven, when they saw their mothers thus ill treated. For magistrates

\*What will not the cursed thirst of gold force mankind to perform !

themselves to break their canes to pieces on those that were met together, was but an ordinary thing ; and then sometimes other sticks were made use of : often also women were stripped of their upper garments ; and this accompanied with the spoil of goods. That the persecutors were thus enraged was not strange, when we consider that some were stirred up to it by their teachers ; an instance of which was given by Robert Priest of the same place, who once said in his sermon, that the king's laws, though they were contrary to the law of God, yet ought to be obeyed. Quite otherwise was the doctrine of the apostles Peter and John, when they said to the Jewish council, ' Judge ye whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God.'

In Northamptonshire, where persecution was also very hot, the bishop of Peterborough said publicly in the steeple-house, after he had commanded the officers to put in execution the last act against seditious meetings, ' Against all fanatics it hath done its business, except the Quakers ; but when the parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bond slaves.' Thus the churchmen blew the fire of persecution.

At York the spoiling of goods was also fiercely driven on by alderman Richardson ; and even boys and girls, that were under sixteen years of age, and therefore not subject to the penalty of the law, were fined ; and when the constables showed themselves unwilling to assist in the robbery, they were snarled at, and one prosecuted for not performing his duty, because he had refused to take away a man's cloak. But if I should mention the ill-usage committed in all counties and places, when should I come to a conclusion !

Thomas Green, a grave man, with whom I have been very familiarly acquainted, being in prayer at a meeting at Sawbridgworth in Hertfordshire, was pulled off his knees, and dragged out ; and being brought before the justices Robert Joslin and Humphrey Gore, they fined him twenty pounds, for speaking or preaching at the said meeting ; and granted a warrant to John Smith and Paul Thomson, constables, to distrain ; upon which they went into the said Thomas Green's shop, in Royston, and took away as much goods as were worth fifty pounds. But this did not quench his zeal ; for like a true and faithful pastor, he continued to feed the flock, and to edify the church with his gift : in which he was very serviceable.

At another time, the justices Peter Soames and Thomas Mead, gave a warrant to distrain twenty pounds worth of goods from the said Thomas Green, for preaching at a meeting at Upper-Chissel in Essex. And the officers going to Thomas Green's shop, took all they could get, leaving nothing in the shop but a skein of thread, which was fallen on the ground, and not observed by them.

Theophilus Green suffered also great spoil of goods : for having preached in a meeting at Kingston-upon-Thames, he was put into the stocks for some hours, and fined twenty pounds. And having preached the three

next First-days of the week at Wandsworth, was for each fined at the same rate.

The week following, being at Uxbridge, and visiting some poor children of his friends, whose father and mother died shortly one after another, he took two of them as his own, and looked after the disposing of the rest. And staying there till the first day of the week, he went to the meeting, and exhorted his friends to keep their meetings in the name of Jesus: at the speaking of which words the constable and informer came in, and carried him away to justice Ralph Hawtrey, who fined him twenty pounds, and sent him prisoner to Newgate in London, with a mittimus; wherein he charged him, that he had exhorted the people to keep their meetings in the name of Jesus, notwithstanding the laws of men to the contrary. Warrants being issued forth to make distress for the above mentioned fines, which amounted to one hundred pounds, five shillings, they came and opened his doors, and took away all his goods they found, leaving him neither bed nor stool. And after he had been kept prisoner three months, he with seven more were brought to the sessions'-house at Hicks' Hall, and the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to them. To which his plea was, 'As an Englishman, I ought either to be acquitted or condemned, for the cause for which I was committed, before I should answer to any other matter or cause. Besides, I look upon myself to be illegally committed, as being fined and committed for the same fact.' But they told him, he must answer whether he would swear or no; and then he should be heard. But continuing to refuse swearing, he was remanded to prison with the rest; and afterwards being sent for again, and still unwilling to break Christ's command, not to swear at all, the sentence of premunire was read against him and his fellow-prisoners, and so they continued in jail above two years, till they were discharged by an act of grace from the king.

The meetings of those called Quakers were miserably disturbed in Horslydown in the county of Surrey. On the 25th of September several musketeers came into the meeting-house, and hauling those that were met together, into the street, the troopers came riding amongst them, and beat and abused them violently, pushing them with their carbines, which the others did with the butt-ends of their muskets, to that degree, that above twenty persons were wounded and sorely bruised; nay, so desperately wicked were these mischievous fellows, that a party of horse sought to ride over these harmless people; but the horses, more merciful than the riders, and not going forward, they turned them, and by curbing and reining them backward, strove to do what mischief they could. On the 2d of October these peaceable people being kept out of their meeting-place, there came a party of foot, and a party of horse, and abused them no less violently than the week before; insomuch that with beating and knocking they broke several of their muskets and pikes, and one carbine, and above thirty persons were so sorely wounded and bruised, that their blood was spilled in the streets.



On the 9th of the said month the soldiers, both horse and foot, came again to the meeting at the aforesaid place, and one of them having a shovel, threw the dirt and mire from the channels, on both men and women; and after him the horse and foot came, and fell upon them, striking and knocking down, without respect to age or sex, until they drew blood from many; and when some of the inhabitants in pity took them into their houses, and saved their lives, the soldiers forced open the doors, and hauled them into the street again, and plucked off their hats, that they might strike on their bare heads; insomuch that many had their heads grievously broken. Some troopers also tore the women's clothes off their backs, and hauled them through the mire by their horses' sides; and some of the foot soldiers put their hands in a most shameful manner under the women's coats: nay, a soldier twice struck a woman that was big with child, with his musket on the belly, and once on the breast, whilst another flung dirt in her face: so that she miscarried. And above fifty persons were this day sorely wounded and bruised. The 16th of the said month these conscientious people meeting again to perform their worship to God, a great party of horse and foot came, and fell to beating them so violently, as if they would have killed all on the spot; so that the blood ran down about the ears of many; and one of the constables endeavoring to stop the wicked crew from shedding more blood, they fell upon him also, and broke his head; and when they were rebuked for their cruel dealing, some said, 'If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you.' And being asked, 'How can ye deal thus with a people who make no resistance nor opposition?' they answered, 'We had rather, and it would be better for us, if ye did resist and oppose.' From which it appeared plainly, that this mischief was done to provoke opposition, that they might have imbrued their hands in the blood of these sufferers, and so have had their lives and goods for a prey. It was therefore thought convenient to acquaint the king and his council with this barbarous cruelty; which had such effect, that some stop was made to these excessive cruelties, though their abuses did not altogether cease.

About this time it happened that Solomon Eccles came to Cork in Ireland, and went into the cathedral, where the priest, Benjamin Cross, preached in a surplice; and having formerly been a Presbyterian preacher in Dorsetshire in England, had there said, that he had rather go to a stake and be burned, than to put on a surplice. This priest, (now become a turn-coat for gain,) having finished his sermon and concluded with a prayer, Solomon Eccles said, that the prayer of the wicked was an abomination to the Lord. And knowing the deceitfulness of the said priest, and his being an apostate, he added, 'What shall be done to the man that makes shipwreck of a good conscience?' For this he was taken, and by the mayor committed to prison, where being kept ten days, he was accused as a vagabond, and without any examination, whipped along the streets of Cork, from North-Gate to South-Gate, and received about ninety

stripes, and then was expelled. We have seen heretofore instances of his great zeal ; and though in some respect he might by it have been transported a little too far, yet he gave proofs of a sincere heart ; for having said some years after to one John Story, who launched out into great haughtiness and arrogancy, that it was the word of the Lord that he should die that year, (which by somebody to set a gloss upon it, was interpreted to be meant of the spiritual death,) yet Eccles himself said afterwards, both at London and Bristol, and elsewhere, that he had not spoken this according to the counsel of the Lord ; but that it had been in his own will, and from a forward mind : and that he had felt the anger of the Lord, because he had called these his own words the word of the Lord ; which he really repented of.

In the beginning of the year 1671, G. Fox was at London, and though by reason of a heavy sickness, of which he began to recover, he continued still weak, yet he did not omit preaching ; and about this time he made the following prayer to the Lord, which he put in writing :

‘ O Lord God Almighty ! prosper Truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land, and bring down all injustice and iniquity, oppression and falsehood, and cruelty, and unmercifulness in the land, that mercy and righteousness may flourish.

‘ And, O Lord God ! establish and set up verity, and preserve it in the land : and bring down in the land all debauchery, and vice, and whoredoms, and fornication ; and this raging spirit, which causeth and leadeth people to have no esteem of thee, O God ! nor their souls or bodies, nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

‘ And, O Lord ! put it in the magistrates’ hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, and violence, and cruelty, profaneness, cursing and swearing : and to put down all these whore-houses and play-houses, which do corrupt youth and people, and lead them from the kingdom of God, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come ; but such works lead people to hell. And the Lord in mercy bring down all these things in the nation to stop thy wrath, O God, from coming on the land.

**This Prayer was written the 17th day, at Night,  
of the Second month, 1671.**

**G. Fox.’**

G. Fox thinking his wife now at liberty, understood that her enemies, notwithstanding the king’s order to release her, had found means to hold her still in prison. Therefore he did not give himself rest, till by the help of others he obtained from the king a discharge under the great seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner, and premunired. This royal order he sent forthwith down to her, and thus she was set at liberty.

Now since the heat of persecution began to cool, he felt himself inclined

to make a voyage to America, to visit his friends there. Of this his intention he gave notice to his wife by a letter, and desired her to come up to London, which she did accordingly. And he having taken leave of her, set sail in the latter part of the summer towards America, with several of his friends that accompanied him.

Now whilst I leave him on ship-board, I cannot forbear to mention, that this year at London came forth a witty pamphlet with this title, 'An easy way to get money *cum Privilegio*, without fear or cumber, printed for the society of informers.' This book contained a satirical rebuke to the informers, and began thus : 'To all you that can work, and will not ; and to all those that through other ways of extravagancy have brought yourselves into debt, necessity, or other wants, (for your speedy supply and future support,) there is an opportunity put into your hands, that is both safe, profitable, and honorable. It is to be informers.'

Next the author said, 'That it was an easy way, since it was no more than to seek out where there were in any house, barn, stable, or backside, five persons besides those of the family ; though they spoke never a word. If you do but swear it, (thus he continued,) to be a conventicle, then it is a conventicle. It is no matter if there were never a thought in their hearts as to plotting or contriving insurrections ; (for which the law was made,) they being there, it is sufficient to have them fined five shillings apiece the first time, and twenty pounds for the house : and for the second time ten shillings apiece ; and if the justices be not well advised, it may be for the second time for the house you may get twenty pounds more, although the act doth not grant it. And of all this it is said, the thirds are yours : this you may easily have ; for the justices are afraid of your power, since you have them under your lee ; so they will not much question you, lest they be counted fanatics ; and they know that if they do not please your wills, your power is such, that you may recover fifty pounds for your parts, by action, suit, bill or plea, in any of his majesty's courts at Westminster, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall lie. Can your hearts desire more ? who will not be informers ? that must have all clauses construed most largely and beneficially to their justification and encouragement !'

As to the profitableness, the author said, 'Besides the twenty pounds and ten shillings apiece for meeting, if you can but tempt any by your questions, or other provocations, to speak but a word to answer you, it will serve to make him a preacher, and then for the first time there is twenty pounds, and for the second forty pounds. It is no matter what is spoken, or to what concern ; if you swear you did hear such an one speak, it is enough to make him a preacher. And as to the inability, there is no danger that you shall fall short of your salary ; for you can by your power make void that old proverb, 'Where it is not to be had, the king must lose his right.' But your prerogative is such, that if the offender hath it not, you can command your servants to levy it on any other that is not an offender in that nature, provided he be there, otherwise an appeal will be granted.'

At this rate the author treated the matter, taking out of the way all difficulties and scruples which any might have objected ; and though he did this mostly in a burlesque way, yet what he said was so firm and strenuous, that he gave proofs of being a man of understanding, and of great wit ; for though in an ingenious way he showed the abominableness of this informing trade, yet he proposed it safe every way : and if any might tell them they were knights of the post ; yet however the thing fell out, it was never attended with loss, but always with a certain gain ; since in the prosecution nothing could be objected, but what might be easily quashed, and the opposers thus frustrated. ' And when to all these infallible profits was added the honorableness of the office, what could one desire more ? for was it not honorable indeed to command both magistrates and military officers, to follow the informers where they will ? and to obtain this office, one needed not to be at great cost to purchase it, nor to break his pate with studying ; since at the very first conventicle they entered they might commence doctors.' But of what religion or profession these informers should be, the author himself seemed not to know : ' They must be no Jews,' said he, ' for these were not to covet their neighbor's ox, nor ass, nor any thing that was their neighbor's ; neither should they be Gentiles, for they had conscience accusing, and did by nature the things contained in the law, having the law written in their hearts. And Christians they could be by no means ; for they say they forsake the devil and all his works, and all the lusts of the flesh, and not to hurt any by word nor deed which is less than by swearing,' (the common fact of the informers.) To conclude, the author said : ' For any into whose hands this may come, if they fear any danger in it, they ought not to conceal it, but to bring it before some justice, or the chief magistrate of the place, with an account how they came by it, and then they are innocent : then if it cannot clear itself, let it lie in prison till it perish.'

Now I return to George Fox, whom we left in the ship going to America. During his voyage he suffered much in his body ; for the many hurts and bruises he had formerly received, and the griefs and infirmities he had contracted in England by cold, and hardships, and long imprisonments, returned upon him now he came to sea, and caused great pain. And after having been seven weeks and some odd days at sea, he, with his fellow-travellers, came safely to the island of Barbadoes. His occurrences there he hath described at large in his journal. Many of the great ones, especially the governor, showed him much kindness. And after he had edified his friends there on many occasions, and exhorted them to the maintaining of good order, both in things relating to the church, and in the governing of their blacks ; he now, being restored to health again, departed the island after a stay of three months, and set sail for Jamaica, where he had not been long, ere Elizabeth Hooton, several times mentioned in this work, departed this life, having been well the day before she died : and thus she finished her days in a good frame of mind.

After he had been there about seven weeks, he performed his service to his satisfaction.

In the beginning of the year 1672 he took shipping for Maryland, where being come, he with those with him travelled through woods and wildernesses, over bogs and great rivers, to New England. By the way he had sometimes opportunity to speak to the Indians and their kings; and at other times he met with singular cases, all which, for brevity's sake, I pass by in silence. He went also to the town formerly called New Amsterdam, which name is now changed into that of New York. Here he lodged at the governor's house, and had also a meeting there. Thence he returned again to Maryland, and came also into Virginia, and Carolina, and thus spent above a year travelling to and fro in America.

Whilst he was there, England and France were entered into war against Holland. Now though I have yet in fresh remembrance those sad times, and in what a wonderful manner it pleased the Lord to save our country from being quite overrun and subdued, yet I shall not mention those things, since they are at large set down by other writers. Yet transiently I will give a touch of the remarkable exaltation of William III., prince of Orange, and afterwards, king of Great Britain.

I have already said in its due place, how it was endeavored to exclude him by the perpetual edict from ever being stadtholder or deputy. But how strong soever this edict was sworn to, yet heaven brought it to naught, and broke the ties of it by the refuse of the nation: for women, and many others of the mob, forced the magistrates, when the French were come into the province of Utrecht, and all seemed to run into confusion, to break their oaths, and to restore that young and magnanimous prince to the honor and dignity of his renowned ancestors. The miserable fate of the two brethren, John and Cornelius de Witt, who had been chief instruments in making the said perpetual edict, and were killed and butchered in a most abominable manner by the inhabitants of the Hague, was not without good reason disapproved by many grave and serious people. It is true, it was a great mistake that they acted so, that they seemed to set limits to the Almighty; though I do not believe their intent was such, but rather that what they did in making void the stadtholdership, they judged conducive to the benefit of their country. After they were murdered the widow of Cornelius de Witt seemed to have a firm belief that they were entered into everlasting glory: for though for some time after their death she was under a great concern, considering how on a sudden, and at unawares, they were hurried out of this life; yet at length, early in the morning, either in a dream or in a vision, she beheld them both in a cloud in a glorious form, with hands lifted up, and clothed with pure white raiment. By this sight all her former solicitude and fear was taken from her, and she was fully satisfied concerning their eternal well-being. I have this relation from several credible persons, who said they had it from her own mouth; and they all agreed in the material circumstances.

In England, where it was observed that persecution for religion, during the war, could not but be prejudicial to the public, the king published a declaration, whereby the execution of the penal laws was suspended. But since the Papists, against whom the most of these laws had been made, thus got liberty to enter into offices of trust, many of the people grew jealous on this account; insomuch that the parliament in the year 1673, showed their dislike to the king, telling him, that the penal statutes about ecclesiastical matters could not be suspended but by an act of parliament. The king, wanting money to continue the war, yielded somewhat to parliament, in respect to the popish priests and Jesuits, consenting that the laws against them should continue in force.

This summer G. Fox returned to England, and arrived at Bristol, of which he gave notice to his wife by a letter; and she delayed not to go to him; with her came also her son-in-law Thomas Lower, and two of her daughters: her other son-in-law John Rouse, accompanied by William Penn, &c. came also from London; and since at that time there was a fair at Bristol, many of his friends came thither from other parts of the country, and so were at a great meeting he had there, in which he preached concerning the three chief teachers, viz: 'That God was the first teacher of man and woman in paradise; and that as long as they kept to God's teaching, they kept in the image of God, and in righteousness, holiness, and dominion over all that God hath made; but when they hearkened to the false teaching of the serpent, who was out of truth, and so disobeyed God, they lost the image of God, to wit, righteousness and holiness; and so coming under the power of satan, were turned out of paradise. That this serpent was the second teacher, and that man following his teaching, came into misery, and into the fall. And that Christ Jesus was the third teacher, of whom God said, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him:" and that this Son himself said, "Learn of me:" that he was the true gospel teacher, that never fell, and therefore was to be heard in all things, since he was the Savior and the Redeemer, and having laid down his life, had bought his sheep with his precious blood. Of this he treated at large in the said meeting. After some stay at Bristol, he went to Gloucestershire; and going thence to Oxfordshire, he came at length to London, where persecution being not so hot now as formerly, the Baptists and Socinians were very active in blackening the Quakers, by publishing several books against them, in which they averred that the Quakers were no Christians. But these malicious books were not left unanswered, nor the falsehoods contained in them.

After G. Fox had been some time at London, he went with his wife and Thomas Lower to Worcester; and when he signified to her that it was likely a prison would be his share, she seemed not without reason grieved at it. And not long after having had a meeting at Armscot in Tredington parish, after the meeting was ended, he, with Thomas Lower, sitting in the parlor, and discoursing with some friends, they both were

under pretence of having kept great meetings that might be prejudicial to the public peace, taken by Henry Parker, justice, and sent to Worcester jail, on the 17th of December, and his wife with her daughter returned into the north; and by that time he thought she could be got home, he wrote a short letter to her, and exhorted her, to be content with the will of the Lord. He also wrote a letter to the lord Windsor, who was lieutenant of Worcestershire, and other magistrates, wherein he informed them of his imprisonment, and that he had not been taken in a meeting, but in a house where he had some business. He also signified, that he intended to have visited his mother, from which he had now been stopped. But he could not thus obtain his liberty; yet Thomas Lower might have got free if he would; for his brother Dr. Lower, being one of the king's physicians, had procured Henry Savil, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, to write to the said lord Windsor to release Thomas Lower: but his love to his father-in-law, G. Fox, was such, that he kept the said letter by him unsent; and so they were both continued prisoners.

Now whilst I leave them in prison, I return once more to Miles Halhead, of whom mention hath been often made already. He being at Plymouth in this year, felt himself stirred up to go see John Lambert, who having formerly been a general, was now, as hath been said in due place, confined to perpetual imprisonment, in a little island not far from Plymouth. To this island Halhead passed over, and though he found there a strong guard of soldiers, yet he got leave to see Lambert; and being come to him, he said, 'Friend, is thy name John Lambert?' To which Lambert answered, 'Yea: which made Miles say, 'Then I pray thee, friend, hear what the servant of the Lord hath to say to thee:' and he continued thus: 'Friend, the Lord God made use of thee and others for the deliverance of his people, and when you cried to him, he delivered you in your distresses, as at Dunbar, and other places, and gave an opportunity into your hands to do good: and you promised what great things you would do for the Lord's people: but truly John Lambert, ye soon forgot your promises ye made to the Lord in that day and time of your great distress, and turned the edge of your sword against the Lord's servants and hand-maids, whom he sent forth to declare his eternal truth; and made laws, and consented to laws, and suffered and permitted laws to be made against God's people.' To this Lambert said, 'Friend, I would have you know, that some of us never made laws, nor consented to laws to persecute you, or any of your friends; for persecution we ever were against.' To which Miles returned, 'It may be so; but the Scripture of truth is fulfilled by the best of you: for although thou and some others have not given your consent to make laws against the Lord's people, yet ye suffered and permitted it to be made and done; and when power and authority was in your hands, ye might have spoken the word, and the servants and handmaids of the Lord might have been delivered out of the devourers' hands; but none were found amongst you that would be seen to plead the cause of the innocent; so the Lord

God of life was grieved with you, because ye slighted the Lord and his servants, and began to set up your self-interest, and to lay field to field, and house to house, and make your names great in the earth. Then the Lord took away your power and authority, your manhood and your boldness, and caused you to flee before your enemies, and your hearts fainted with fear, and some ended their days in grief and sorrow, and some lay in holes and caves to this day. So the Lord God of heaven and earth will give a just reward to every one according to his works. So, my dear friend, prize the great love of God to thee, who hath not given thy life into the hands of the devourers, but hath given thee thy life for a prey, and time to prepare thyself, that thou mayest end thy days in peace. And truly the Lord is good to all them that fear him, and believe in his name: for, though all the powers of the earth rise up against a poor innocent people, yet the Lord God of life and love was with them, and pleaded their cause, although all men slighted them: and truly, the best was but as a brier, and the most upright among them as a thorn hedge. If the Lord had not pleaded our innocency, we had not had a being in the land of our nativity, glory to his name forever, who hath not suffered or permitted more of the wrath of man, nor laws, nor decrees of men, to come against his people, that believe in his name, than hath been for his honor, and for his glory, and for the eternal good of all his sons and daughters, and servants; and the remainder, the Lord God of life and love hath restrained to this day: glory, and honor, and living eternal praises be given and returned to the Lord God, and the Lamb, for ever!

Thus Halhead ended his speech, and Lambert, who had heard him with good satisfaction, desired him to sit down, which Halhead did; and then Lambert called for beer, and gave him it to drink; after which he said to him, 'Friend, I do believe thou speakest to me in love, and so I take it.' And then he asked him, if he was at Dunbar fight? To which Halhead having answered 'No:' he further asked, 'How do you know what great danger we were in at that time?' Upon which Halhead gave him to understand, that he coming that way a little time after the fight, and having viewed the town of Dunbar, and the ground about it where the English army lay, how the sea was on one hand of them, and the hills and mountains on the other, and the great Scotch army before and behind them, he then took into serious consideration, the great danger the English had been in, and thought how greatly the Englishmen were engaged to the Lord for their deliverance, to serve him in truth and uprightness of heart all the days of their lives. 'Truly John,' said Halhead then to Lambert, 'I never saw thy face before to know thee, although I have been brought before many of our English commanders in the time of Oliver Cromwell.' Lambert then asking, who they were, Halhead named the generals Fleetwood and Desborough, major Blackmore, and colonel Fenwick, before whom he had been when he was governor of Edinburgh. Lambert then said, he knew the most of those



men to have been very moderate, and that they ever were against persecution. To which Miles replied, 'Indeed they were very moderate, and would not be much seen to persecute, or be severe with the Lord's people; but truly they permitted others to do it, and took little notice of the sufferings of the people of God: so that none were found to plead our cause, but the Lord God.' To this Lambert said, 'Although you and your friends suffered persecution, and some hardships in that time, your cause therein is never the worse for that.' 'That is very true,' returned Miles, 'but let me tell thee, in the plainness of my heart, that is no thanks to you, but glory to the Lord for ever.' About two hours Miles discoursed with Lambert, and his wife and two daughters, and after he had cleared himself, he took leave of them, and so parted in love.

Now before I leave Halhead, I will insert here a copy of a letter he wrote in the year 1674, to G. Fox, who was then prisoner in Worcester jail: the said letter was thus:

*'George Fox,*

*'Thou dear and well beloved of the Lord, whom he sent, out of his eternal love to me, and many more, who were in darkness and in blindness, seeking the living among the dead, to show and direct us the way that leads out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore. The living, eternal God of life and love, that sent thee into the north, keep and preserve me, by his eternal arm and power and all my dear friends and brethren truly sensible of his eternal love, which I bear record hath been exceeding great, since the day the Lord made his precious truth known amongst us. Therefore, dear George Fox, pray for me, for I am old, and infirm of body, and the sight of my eyes grows exceeding weak, that I may be kept faithful and upright to the Lord, in my measure I have received of the Lord, in this day of his eternal love; that I may give my account with joy and rejoicing, and gladness of heart; and be presented with thee, and all my brethren, blameless to the Lord, that I may go to my grave in peace, and rest for evermore. Amen.*

*'My dear love to my good old friends, Margaret Fox and Thomas Lower; their dear and tender love and care to me in months past, by me cannot be forgotten, as I dwell and abide faithful to him, who is my light and life, my joy and peace, God over all, blessed for evermore. Amen.*

MILES HALHEAD.'

In the month called January, 1673-4, G. Fox and Thomas Lower, were brought to their trial in the court at Worcester, it being the last day of the sessions; and when they came in, those on the bench were struck with paleness in their faces, and continued awhile speechless, insomuch that a butcher in the hall said, 'What! are they afraid? Dare not the justices speak to them?' At length justice Parker, by whose order G. Fox and T. Lower had been committed, made a long speech, much to the same effect as the contents of the mittimus, and added, that he thought

it a milder course to send them two to jail, than to put his neighbors to the loss of two hundred pounds, which they must have suffered, if he had put the law in execution against conventicles. But this was a very poor shift, and silly evasion ; for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict them, or his neighbors by. When Parker had ended his speech, the justices spoke to the prisoners, and began with Lower, whom they examined why he came into that country. And when they had done with him, they asked of G. Fox an account of his travel, which he gave them, and showed them clearly, that he and his friends, of whom so great a noise had been made by justice Parker, as if many had come together from several parts, were in a manner all but one family. When he had ended speaking, the chairman Simpson said, 'Your relation or account is very innocent.' Then he and Parker having whispered awhile together, the said chairman stood up, and said, 'You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said ; but that we may be the better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ?' Now, though G. Fox answered to this, that they had said they would not ensnare him, and that this was a plain snare, since they knew he and his friends would not take any oath ; all was in vain, and they caused the oath to be read, which being done, he told them, 'I never took oath in my life, but I have always been true to the government. I was cast into the dungeon at Derby, and kept prisoner six months there, because I would not take up arms against king Charles, at Worcester fight ; and for going to meetings, I was carried out of Leicester, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles ; and ye know in your own consciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, or swear in any case, because Christ hath forbidden it ; but as to the matter or substance contained in the oaths, this I can and do say, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be lawful heir and successor to the realm of England ; and do abhor all plots and plotters, and contrivances against him ; and I have nothing in my heart but love and good will to him and all men, and desire his and their prosperity ; the Lord knows it, before whom I stand an innocent man. And as to the oath of supremacy, I deny the pope and his power, and abhor it with my heart.' Whilst he was yet speaking, they cried, 'Give him the book,' viz. the Bible. 'The book,' said G. Fox, 'saith "Swear not at all :"' and he going on to declare his mind further, they cried, 'Take him away, jailer :' who not showing himself very forward, they cried again, 'Take him away : we shall have a meeting here ; why do you not take him away ?' And one of the bench said, 'That fellow,' meaning the jailer, 'loves to hear him preach.' The jailer then taking him away, as he was turning from them, he said, 'The Lord forgive you, who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ.' After G. Fox was led away, the justices told T. Lower, he was at liberty ; for they did not think it safe to deal with him at the same rate as they did with G. Fox, because they thought he had

some protection at court. Lower asked then, why his father-in-law might not be set at liberty, as well as he, since they were both taken together, and their cases were alike? But they telling him they would not hear him, said, 'You may be gone about your business, for we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged.'

This was all he could get from them; therefore after the court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know, what cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had discharged him; and wishing them to consider, whether this was not partiality. Upon this Simpson said, 'If you be not content, we will tender you the oath also, and send you to your father.' To which Lower replied, 'You may do that, if you think fit; but whether ye send me or no, I intend to go, and wait upon my father in prison; for that is now my business in this country.' Then justice Parker said to him, 'Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had no cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had such a great meeting, insomuch that the parson of the parish complained to me, that he had lost the greatest part of his parishioners; so that when he comes amongst them, he hath scarce any auditors left.' To this Lower returned, 'I have heard that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock, but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes, that it was but charity in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock: and therefore thou hadst no cause to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ their true teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes amongst them only to seek for his gain from his quarter.' Upon this the justices fell a laughing: for Dr. Crowder, the priest spoken of, was then in the room, sitting among them; though Lower did not know him, and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not to vindicate himself. But after Lower was gone away, the justices so jested on Crowder, that he grew ashamed; and was so nettled with it that he threatened to sue T. Lower in the bishop's court upon an action of defamation: which Lower having heard of, sent him word that he might begin if he would; and that he would answer him, and bring his whole parish in evidence against him. And he told him the same afterwards to his face; which so cooled the priest's eagerness, that he thought it more safe for him to let him alone.

Soon after the sessions were over, a *habeas corpus* was sent down to Worcester, for the sheriff to bring up G. Fox to the king's bench bar; whereupon his son-in-law, Lower, conducted him: for the under sheriff had made Lower his deputy, to convey G. Fox to London, who being arrived there, appeared before the court of king's bench, where he found the judges moderate, and they patiently heard him, when he gave them an account how he had been stopped in his journey, and committed to jail; and how at his trial, the oath of allegiance and supremacy had been tendered to him; and also what he had offered to the justices as a declaration, that he was willing to sign, instead of the said oaths.

To this it was told him, by the chief justice, that they would consider further of it. Being then delivered to the keeper of the king's bench, he was suffered to go and lodge at the house of one of his friends; for though he continued a prisoner, yet they were sufficiently persuaded that he would not run away. But after this, justice Parker, as it was said, moved the court that G. Fox might be sent back to Worcester, that his cause might be tried there; for Parker saw clearly, that if G. Fox had been acquitted here, this would have tended to his shame, for having committed him unjustly.

A day then being appointed for another hearing, and G. Fox appearing again at the king's bench, and hearing that it was under deliberation to send him back to Worcester, signified, that this was only to ensnare him, by putting the oath to him, that so they might premunire him, who never took oath in his life. And he further told them, if he broke his yea, or nay, he was content to suffer the same penalty as those that break their oaths. Now seeing Parker had spread a report at London, and it had been said in the parliament-house, that when he took G. Fox, there were many substantial men with him, out of several parts of the nation, and that they had a design or plot in hand, G. Fox did not omit to show the fallacy of that malicious story: and since he thus laid open Parker's shame, it was not strange, that by his friends at court, he procured that the king's judges complied with his desire that G. Fox should be remanded to Worcester jail; insomuch that whatever he said, he could not prevent it; only this favor was granted him, that he might go his own way, and at his leisure, provided he would be there without fail, by the assizes, which were to begin on the 2d day of the month called April.

G. Fox then after some stay, went down leisurely, and being come to Worcester, he was on the 2d day of the aforesaid month, brought from the jail, to an inn near the sessions hall; but not being called that day, the jailer came to him at night, and told him he might go home, meaning to the jail: whereupon he walked thither, being accompanied by one of his friends. Next day being brought up again, a boy of about eleven years old was set to be his keeper. Having in my relation of the proceedings before the king's bench, passed by most part of the pleading, so I shall do here likewise, to avoid repetitions of what hath been several times related already, concerning such kind of trials; yet I cannot pass by in silence, that after he had given an account of his journey before he was taken, he added, that since his imprisonment, he had understood that his mother, who was an ancient and weak woman, and had desired to see him before she died, hearing that he was stopped and imprisoned in his journey, so that he was not likely to come and see her, it struck her so, that she died soon after; which had been very hard to him. Judge Turner, who formerly had been very severe to him, seemed now, (as some thought,) inclined to have him set at liberty, since he saw they had nothing justly against him; but Parker who had committed him, endeavored to incense the judge against him; for if he had been released, then

he himself must have borne the blame of having committed G. Fox unjustly ; and therefore he told the judge that G. Fox was a ring-leader, that many of the nation followed him ; and one knew not what it might come to. Yet the judge gave but little ear to all this, being willing to be easy ; but he could not resolve to do this, by setting G. Fox at liberty, lest he should displease others ; and thus in conclusion, G. Fox and his cause were referred to the sessions again, and he continued prisoner, but with this proviso, that he should have the liberty of the town ; which accordingly he had.

By this he got opportunity to speak with many persons, and sometimes with priests too, one of whom asked him, whether he was grown up to perfection ? To which he answered, what he was, he was by the grace of God. ' This is,' replied the priest, ' a modest and civil answer.' ' But,' continued he in the words of the apostle John, " If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." And asking what he said to that ? G. Fox returned with the words of the same apostle, " If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." Moreover he said, ' Christ came to destroy sin, and to take away sin. There is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin.' After some more reasoning, the priest said, ' We must always be striving ;' to which G. Fox returned, that it was a sad and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome : and he told him also, that Paul, who once cried out because of the body of death, did also thank God, who gave him the victory ; and that he said there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus : so that there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. ' But,' said the priest, ' Job was not perfect.' To which G. Fox returned, that God hath signified in Scripture, that Job was perfect and upright, and that he eschewed evil : and that the devil himself was forced to confess, that God had set a hedge about him ; which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible heavenly power. ' Yet Job said,' replied the priest, ' he charged his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight.' ' That is a mistake,' said G. Fox, ' for it was not Job said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job.' ' Well, but,' said the priest, ' what say you to that Scripture, the justest man that is, sinneth seven times a day ?' ' There is,' answered G. Fox, ' no such scripture.' So the priest was silent, and this conference broken off, of which I have related thus much to show that G. Fox was not such a simple person, as some from mere envy have represented him : for he was never at a loss for an answer, but had it always in readiness.

Now the time of the sessions being come again, where the justice, who was chairman, was one Street, G. Fox was called there before the justices, and then the said justice exceedingly misrepresented the case, by telling the people, that G. Fox had a meeting at Tredington

from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects ; for which he had been committed, and that for the trial of his fidelity, the oaths had been tendered to him. And then turning to G. Fox, he asked him, since he had time to consider of it, whether he would now take the oaths ? G. Fox having obtained liberty to speak for himself, gave a relation of his journey, and showed that he and his friends had in no wise kept a meeting that occasioned terror to any of the king's subjects ; and as to the oaths, he showed why he could not take them, and what he could declare instead thereof. But notwithstanding all this, the oaths were read to him again ; and he persisting in his refusal to take them, the indictment was read also ; and afterwards the chairman asked him 'if he was guilty ?' G. Fox answered, 'No, since the indictment was a bundle of lies,' which he proved in several particulars, asking him, if he did not know in his conscience that they were lies ? To which he said, it was their form. Whereupon G. Fox returned, it was not a true form. Then the chairman told the jury what they should do in this case : and before they gave in their verdict, G. Fox said to them that it was for Christ's sake, and in obedience to his and his apostles' command that he could not swear : 'and therefore,' said he, 'take heed what ye do ; for before his judgment-seat ye shall all be brought.' The chairman then said, 'This is canting.' 'Why,' said G. Fox, 'if to confess Christ our Lord and Savior, and to obey his command, be called canting by a judge of a court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you. Yet ye shall see that I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity ; and my innocency shall be manifest.' By this his speaking, the people generally were affected ; but the jury however found the bill against him ; which G. Fox nevertheless traversed. Thus the matter could not be finished now, and therefore he was asked to put in bail, till the next sessions ; this he refused, and warned his friends that seemed willing to be bound for him, not to meddle with that, since there was a snare in it. Yet he told the justices, that he would promise to appear, if the Lord gave him health and strength, and he were at liberty. Some of the justices showed themselves loving, and endeavored to stop the rest from indicting him, or putting the oath to him. But the chairman said he must go according to law. Yet liberty was given G. Fox to go at large, till next quarter-sessions.

He then went up to London ; where the time of the Yearly-Meeting approached ; but at the instance of some of his friends, he appeared again before the judges of the king's bench, and delivered to them the following declaration, setting forth what he was ready to promise instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

'This I do in the truth, and in the presence of God declare, that king Charles the Second is lawful king of this realm, and of all others his dominions ; and that he was brought in, and set up king over this realm by the power of God : and I have nothing, but love and good-will to him

and all his subjects, and desire his prosperity and eternal good. And I do utterly abhor and deny the pope's power and supremacy, and all his superstitions and idolatrous inventions ; and do affirm, that he hath no power to absolve sin : and I do abhor and detest his murderings of princes, or other people, by plots or contrivances. And likewise I do deny all plots, and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers against the king and his subjects ; knowing them to be works of darkness, and the fruits of an evil spirit, and against the peace of the kingdom, and not from the spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, because it is forbidden by Christ and the apostle ; but if I break my yea or nay, then let me suffer the same penalty, as they that break their oaths.

GEORGE FOX.'

This declaration, being the substance of what oaths of allegiance and supremacy contain, G. Fox presented to the judges of the king's bench ; but the proceedings having gone on at Worcester, they were unwilling to meddle with the business, but referred it to the next quarter-sessions at Worcester.

The Yearly-Meeting at London, at which he was, being over, he returned again to Worcester, where the sessions being held in the month called July, and he called to the bar, and the indictment read, justice Street caused the oaths to be read also, and tendered to him again. G. Fox then said, that he was come to traverse his indictment. But when he began to show the errors that were in the indictment, viz. such as were sufficient to quash it, he was soon stopped, and the oath required of him ; and he persisting in the refusal, was by the jury found guilty. The chairman, how active soever he had been against G. Fox, yet was now troubled, and told him of a sad sentence he had to speak against him. To which G. Fox returned, that he had many and more errors to assign in the indictment, besides those he had already mentioned. Whereupon the chairman told him, he was going to show him the danger of a premunire, which was the loss of his liberty, and all his goods and chattels, and to endure imprisonment during life. 'But,' added he, 'I do not deliver this as the sentence of the court, but as an admonition to you.' Then the jailer was bid to take him away ; and G. Fox afterwards understood concerning this pretended admonition, that the chairman had said to the clerk of the peace, that what he had spoken should stand for sentence.

Now whilst G. Fox was in prison, there came to him, amongst others, the earl of Salisbury's son, who was very loving, and much concerned that they had dealt so with him ; and he himself took a copy in writing of the errors that were in the indictment. And G. Fox afterwards got the state of his case, drawn up in writing, delivered to judge Wild. He also wrote a letter to the king, wherein he gave an account of the sentiments of those called Quakers concerning swearing ; and how they abhorred all plottings and contrivances against the king. Not long after

he fell into such a sickness, that some began to doubt of his recovery ; and then one of his friends went to justice Parker, by whose order he had been first committed to prison, and desired him to give order to the jailer, that he might have liberty to go out of the jail into the city. Whereupon Parker wrote the following letter to the jailer.

‘ *Mr. Harris,*

‘ I have been much importuned by some friends to George Fox, to write to you. I am informed by them, that he is in a very weak condition and very much indisposed. What lawful favor you can do for the benefit of the air, for his health, pray show him. I suppose the next term they will make application to the king. I am,

Sir, your loving friend.

HENRY PARKER.’

Evesham, the 8th of October, 1674.

This letter was sufficient warrant for the jailer to permit G. Fox to be brought from prison to the house of one of his friends. His wife was come to him before that time, and after having been with him about seventeen weeks, and no discharge like to be obtained for him, she went up to London, and being come to Whitehall, and meeting with the king there, she gave him an account of her husband's long imprisonment, and how weak he was, and not without danger of his life. To which the king said, he could do nothing in it, but she must go to the chancellor. And so she went to the lord Finch, who was then chancellor ; and having given him an account of the matter, she told him that the king had left it wholly to him ; and if he did not show pity, and release her husband out of prison, she feared he would end his days there. But the chancellor said to her, that the king could not release him, otherwise than by a pardon. Now G. Fox could not resolve to be freed thus, as well knowing he had done no evil ; and therefore he would rather have lain in prison all his days, than to be thus set at liberty ; otherwise he needed not to have lain so long, since the king had been willing long before to have given him a pardon ; and also had said to one Thomas More, that G. Fox needed not scruple being released by a pardon, for many a man, that was as innocent as a child, had had a pardon granted him. G. Fox unwilling to have a pardon, but desiring to have the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, the lord chancellor, who showed himself a discreet man, procured that a *habeas corpus* was granted to bring G. Fox to London, once more to appear before the king's bench. The *habeas corpus* was with the first opportunity sent down by his wife to Worcester ; but there they would not part with him at first, (being now recovered a little of his sickness,) under a pretence that he was premunured, and was not to go out in that manner. Thus it became necessary to send to London again ; and another order was got and sent down, to bring up G. Fox before the king's bench. Being still



weak, he was carried up to London in a coach, the under-sheriff and the clerk of the peace accompanying him.

Being come to town, he was brought before the four judges at the king's bench, where counsellor Thomas Corbet pleaded his cause, and acquitted himself exceeding well; for he started a new plea, and told the judges, that by law they could not imprison any man upon a premunire. The judges then saying they must have time to look in their books, and to consult the statutes, the hearing was put off till the next day. And since it appeared that Corbet was in the right, they chose to let their plea fall, perhaps for fear of worse consequences. And thus they began to examine the errors of the indictment, which proved to be so many and so gross, that all the judges were of opinion, that the indictment was quashed and void, and that G. Fox ought to have his liberty. The same day several lords and other great men had the oaths of allegiance and supremacy tendered to them in open court; and some of G. Fox's adversaries moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him again, saying, he was a dangerous man to be at liberty. But judge Matthew Hale, who was then lord chief justice of England, and really an excellent and pious man, as hath been hinted already here before, said, he had indeed heard some such reports of G. Fox, but he had also heard more good reports of him. This saying was serviceable; and Hale and the other judges, ordered G. Fox to be freed by proclamation. Thus he was set at liberty in an honorable way, and his counsellor Corbet, who had pleaded for him got great fame by it; for many other lawyers told him, he had brought that to light which had not been known before. And after the trial, one of the judges said to him, 'You have obtained a great deal of honor by your way of pleading G. Fox's cause in court.'

The year was now come to an end. But before I go over to the next, I am to mention that the Baptists in England, losing from time to time some of their best members, wrote therefore very fiercely against the Quakers, endeavoring thereby to render them no Christians. But those writings were continually answered, and that with so many convincing reasons, that the Quakers got more adherents by it. The consequence of this was, that a public dispute was appointed to be held between the Baptists and the Quakers, in the meeting-house of the Baptists at London. For the Quakers, there spoke by turns, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, and George Keith; and the opponents were Jeremy Ives, William Kiffin, Thomas Plant, Thomas Hicks, and Robert Ferguson, a Presbyterian, afterwards eminently known in Holland, by the fierce declaration drawn up by him in the name of the duke of Monmouth, when that unhappy prince went over to England with forces, to dispute the throne against king James.

Jeremy Ives was an eminent teacher among the Baptists, that had been in prison in London fourteen years before on a religious account, and chiefly because for conscience-sake he refused to take the oath.

Not long after he wrote a smart letter from the prison, to two of his

society, (who having been imprisoned with him for the same cause, had taken the oath, thereby to obtain their liberty,) wherein he reproved them for their falling away, and signified that thus they had increased the burden of their faithful brethren, from the bearing of which they had withdrawn themselves. But what a changeable creature is man, if he doth not continue watchful, and keep close to the divine grace, continually laying hold thereon ! For scarce five days passed, but this inconstant Jeremy grew weary of imprisonment, and took the oath also to get out of prison. Neither did he stop here ; for it is plain that he was now departed from his profession. To temporize therefore, and to find out excuses for what he had done, he put forth a book in print, wherein he asserted the lawfulness of swearing. It was asked of him, whether he was that same Jeremy Ives, that once had been of such a tender conscience, that he durst not take an oath, and had afterwards publicly defended swearing as lawful ? And he did not deny the fact, for it was notoriously known : but he went about to disguise the matter, and said, ‘ I am that Jeremy who took the oath of allegiance, and wrote a book to prove that some oaths were lawful, though not all.’ Neither did he deny the fore-mentioned letter, for it was extant, and written as followeth :

*‘ Brother Pitman and Brother Shewel,*

‘ I am at this time surprised with a holy passion ; and though Jonah could not say concerning the gourd, that he did well to be angry ; yet, if my experience in the word of the Lord doth not deceive, I can truly say, I do well to be angry with you ; whom I have had a godly jealousy of all along, viz. That you would be as easily persuaded to part with, as unwilling to suffer for, your spiritual liberties. Oh my brethren ! Where is your first love ? How unlike the Christians in former times are you ? Whose zeal was so hot for God, that their eyes prevented the morning, that thereby they might prevent the rage of the adversary, who, as it is now, commanded them no more to worship in the name of the Lord.—I always did conclude, that those that would quit the cause of righteousness, would quit the ways of holiness, as yesterday’s sad experience hath taught, to the perpetual joy of your adversaries, and the saddening the hearts, and adding afflictions to the bonds of the prisoners of the Lord. I do therefore conjure you, as you will answer the great God another day, to consider, that now is the time for you to look to your ministry, and to the flock over which the Lord hath made you overseers, that you may be able through grace to say, ‘ You are clear from the blood of all men ; and observe, that God is now come to prove you, to see whether you will keep his commandments or not. Remember when that apostate’s case was debated, you had no zeal nor indignation against him, but you smothered all with this, ‘ If it were in a matter of faith and worship that he had fallen from, you would have been as one man against it.’ Well, behold the Lord is come home to you ; the matter now is purely for worshipping God ; now God is proving you to see whether you will

obey him or no : and did not yesterday's work witness, that you were willing to prefer the fear of a man, that must die, before the fear of the great God ; and the fear of them that can kill the body, before the fear of the Lord, that can cast body and soul into hell ? I have no more to say but this, that your cowardly temporizing and complying with the precepts of men, makes me jealous, that your fear towards the Lord, is taught by the precepts of men. I would not be too censorious, but my grounds are great ; and my bonds are my crown ; but your cowardly spirit is my great cross. You little think what a scandal it is amongst us to hear it affirmed that one of you should say, you had rather have given fifty pounds than have sworn, and yet swear that you swear willingly. Oh ! for the Lord's sake, do somewhat that may roll away this reproach ; which that you may, is the prayers of your brother, who could be contented to write himself,

Your companion in tribulation,

Jan. 14, 1660.

JER. IVES.'

'Brother Ward, my fellow-prisoner, desires to present his love to you, and so do some others.'

Thus zealously Jer. Ives wrote to his fellow-teachers, who for human fear, and to avoid sufferings, had, against their profession, and the conviction of their consciences, taken the oath. But who could have imagined on sight of such letter, that he himself within so short a space of time, should have done that which he reproved so severely in others. Certainly in this case the saying of the prophet Jeremiah seems to be very applicable, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked ; who can know it ? Let therefore him who standeth, be cautious lest he fall." Happy had this man been, if he had been so sensible of his transgression as one Edward Chilton, who though by profession a Quaker, yet when it came to a trial, either to take the oath of allegiance, or to be premunired, he wavered and fainted ; yet not so, that he fell away totally : for he became so penitent for the evil he had committed, that he found himself constrained to give proof thereof by a letter he wrote to his friends, who remained prisoners, because for conscience-sake they could not swear ; whereas he, to be released from imprisonment, had taken the oath that was demanded of him. But of what a bitter relish this became to him, and what terror and horror he was seized with, the following letter will show :

'*My dear Friends,*

'I desire to lay before you this my condition in this my fall, that my fall may be no cause for you to stumble, but that you by it may be the more encouraged to stand ; for I have yielded to the betrayer, and so betrayed the innocent seed in me ; for I forsook the counsel of the Lord, and consulted with flesh and blood, and so I fell into the snare of the

world, and yielded to the covenant; and so I rested satisfied in what I had done, for some certain hours; but when the Lord in his power looked back upon me, then I remembered what I had done; then I remembered that I had denied truth which once I had professed, though once I thought I should have stood when others fell. So the terrors of the Lord have taken hold on me, and I lie under the judgments of the Lord.

'And now I feel the truth of the words that were spoken by Christ, "that he that faileth in one tittle, is guilty of all;" and now I feel the truth of that, "that it is better to forsake wife and children, and all that a man hath, even life itself, for Christ and the truth's sake, than to break one tittle of the law of God written in the heart." So I hope that, by mercy and judgment, the Lord will redeem me to himself again. The Lord may suffer some to fall, that the standing of them that stand faithful may seem to be the more glorious, and for them to take heed lest they fall.

'Now I know and feel, that it is better to part with any thing of this world, though it be as dear to one as the right hand, or the eye, than to break our peace with God.

'Pray for me; for my bonds are greater than yours.

EDWARD CHILTON.'

Windsor, the 22d of the Eleventh  
month, 1660.

It is remarkable, that this Chilton in the conclusion of his letter saith, that his bonds were greater than those of his friends, who neither feared a premunire, nor loss of their liberty, when they must pay so dear for it, as the taking of an oath. For when any one truly abides in the fear of God, he dares not, against the convictions of his conscience, transgress the Divine commandments, and seek evasions to avoid the stress thereof: for certainly God will not be mocked. Could our Savior have spoken in more plain and express terms than he did, when he said, "Swear not at all?" And yet what cunning devices have been invented by those who boast of the name of Christians, to enervate the force of these express words. It is not a proper place here to refute their reasons; but yet I cannot think it unsuitable to show briefly how dangerous it is to act against the express commandments of sacred writ, and against the conviction of one's conscience, thereby to avoid persecution: for not only the apostle James saith, "Whosoever shall offend in one point, he is guilty of all;" but our supreme lawgiver Christ himself saith, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. And whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels." And to encourage us to faithfulness he hath also said, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Which words indeed are so emphatical, that it ought not to displease any that I

repeat them, as they have been left on record by the Evangelist Luke, viz. thus, "I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear : fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell : yea, I say unto you, fear him." Can it be otherwise, but that such words must needs make a powerful impression on a real Christian ? And the more when we consider, that nothing in the world can retrieve or restore a perishing soul, as may appear from these words of our blessed Lord, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul ?" A clear proof that the whole world, and all that is contained therein, is not able to save one soul, or to afford any thing that can redeem it. If I here thought it requisite, a godly zeal at present would make me say more on this subject ; but not to expatiate too far beyond the limits of this historical tract, I shall not pursue this digression any further, but return to my relation whence I thus stepped aside.

To take up again then the broken thread of my discourse, I once more come to Jeremy Ives, who, to avoid persecution, had taken the oath contrary to his understanding ; and it was Thomas Rudyard, mentioned here before, who objected this to him ; and he feeling himself pinched by it, endeavored to break the stress thereof by saying, that the reason why in a letter he had blamed a friend, was for his saying he had rather have given fifty pounds than have taken the oath of allegiance, and yet swore he took it freely and willingly. But who sees not what a poor shift this was ?

Now to come to the dispute ; I already mentioned it was asserted, that the Quakers were no Christians ; and to maintain this, Thomas Hicks said, 'They that deny the Lord's Christ, are no Christians : but the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ,' &c. To which W. Penn said, 'I deny the minor, viz. that the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ.' And T. Hicks returned, 'They that deny Christ to be a distinct person without them, deny the Lord's Christ ; but the Quakers deny Christ to be a distinct person without them : therefore,' &c. W. Penn then desired that T. Hicks would explain what he meant by the term person. And T. Hicks answered, 'I mean the man Christ Jesus.' To which W. Penn replied, 'Then I deny the minor, viz. that we deny the man Christ Jesus.' To which Hicks returned, 'I prove ye deny the man Christ Jesus. One of your own writers saith, 'That Christ was never seen with carnal eyes, nor heard with carnal ears,' &c. To this J. Ives added, 'He that denies that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes, &c., denies the man Christ : but the Quakers deny that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes,' &c. George Keith then said, 'I answer by distinguishing : Christ as God was never seen with carnal eyes ; but as man he was seen with carnal eyes.' To this J. Ives returned : 'But he was Christ as he was man : how then was not Christ seen with carnal eyes ?' This question G. Keith answered

thus: 'We are to consider that the terms or names Jesus Christ, are sometimes applied to him as God, and sometimes to him as man; yea, sometimes to the very body of Jesus: but the question is, whether do those names more properly, immediately, and originally belong to him as God or as he was before he took the manhood upon him; or to the manhood? We affirm, those names are given to him most properly and eminently as God; and less properly, yet truly, as man; and least properly to his body, yea to his dead body.' Then J. Ives asked, 'Where do you read that the carcase was called the Christ?' This irreverent expression so displeased many, that some cried out, 'Where didst thou ever read that Christ's dead body was called a carcase?' From this disgust W. Penn said, 'I beseech you for the Lord's sake, that we may treat of these things as becomes Christians.'

G. Keith then resuming the discourse, answered J. Ives' question thus: 'I prove that the dead body of Jesus was called Christ, from the words of Mary, "Where have ye laid him?" For she had just before called the body her Lord: likewise the angel said to her, "See the place where the Lord lay:" and that he was Jesus Christ before he took flesh, I prove from the saying of the apostle, "Who created all things by Jesus Christ."' Then T. Hicks said, 'I will prove the Quakers to be no Christians:' and J. Ives added, 'They that say that Christ cannot be seen with carnal eyes, and was never visible to wicked men, do deny the Lord's Christ; for he was seen with carnal eyes, and by wicked men.' To this W. Penn said, 'I distinguish upon the word seen; wicked men might see him in that bodily appearance, and yet not see him to be the Christ of God; they saw his manhood, but not his Christ-ship: this I will prove from Christ's words to Peter, when he confessed him to be Christ, the Son of the living God, viz. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven;" therefore Peter with a carnal eye could not have seen the Lord's Christ, much less wicked men. My second proof is from the apostle's words, "Whom none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known him, they would not have crucified him."' W. Penn enlarging a little more on this subject, said also, that seeing and knowing in Scripture are sometimes equivalent. And G. Keith added, 'Christ said, "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father:" but no wicked man hath seen the Father, therefore no wicked man hath seen Christ, as such.' Ives and his companions scoffed at this distinction: but the Quakers averred, that all who saw Jesus as the carpenter's son, did not see him as the Christ of God. Then Ives asked, 'Is the manhood a part of the Lord's Christ?' To which W. Penn returned, 'Is this to prove the charge of our denying the Lord's Christ? It seems we must be here to be catechised, and ye will not answer us one question, yet I shall answer J. Ives his question, if he will promise to answer mine.'

Ives then saying that he would answer it, W. Penn returned, 'I here declare, that we do faithfully believe that holy manhood to be a member of the Christ of God:' and directing his question to Ives, he said, 'Was

be the Christ of God before he was manifest in the flesh? 'He was,' answered Ives, 'the Son of God.' 'But,' replied W. Penn, 'Was he the Lord's Christ? I will prove him to have been the Lord's Christ as well before as after: first from the apostle Paul's words to the Corinthians, "That rock was Christ:" next from Jude, where some Greek copies have it thus, "That Jesus brought the people of Israel out of Egypt."' But to this Ives gave no answer, how often soever he was called upon for it. And this was no great wonder, since it was well known that there were such among the Baptists who favored the Socinian principles. But Ives, that he might not appear altogether mute, came on again with a question, viz. 'Do ye believe that Christ in his human nature is in heaven?' This made G. Whitehead say to the auditory, 'Ye have heard the charge against us, and the distinction that hath been made between seeing, and seeing of Christ, as namely between the spiritual saving sight of the Lord's Christ, and the seeing of his outward man, person, or body. In this last sense it could never be intended that it was not visible to the outward eye; but it was the spiritual rock which all Israel drank of, and as he was before Abraham was, and as glorified with the Father before the world began; and as Christ himself said to Philip, "He that seeth me, seeth my Father also:" and only saints, or children of light, could truly say, "We have seen his glory as the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." In all which considerations, or senses of seeing, the Lord's Christ was only seen spiritually, and not with carnal eyes.' This Ives granted, that so it might be left: yet presently after, instead of proving the Quakers no Christians, he asked again, 'Do ye believe or own that Christ is in heaven with his human nature?' To which W. Penn answered, 'We do believe the man Christ Jesus to be glorified in heaven.' Which answer Ives refusing to accept, because it was not in the terms of his question, Penn asked, 'What difference dost thou make between the manhood and human nature of Christ?' 'None,' returned Ives, 'if you mean candidly.' To which Penn replied, 'I do mean and speak candidly; we do believe that holy manhood to be in heavenly glory.'

Now since it began to grow dark, the Baptists desired to leave off, and to resume the matter at another time; as was done also: but the parties did not agree for all that; for though the Baptists continued to assert that the Quakers were no Christians, yet these had abundance of reasons to maintain the contrary; and this they did so effectually, that those of the other party, under a pretence of the meeting-place being overcharged with people, and that the gallery gave way, broke up the meeting, without a final conclusion.

Persecution in this year was not very sharp at London, but for all that, active in other places, so that I do not want matter to make a relation of it; but to shun prolixity, I will mention but one case.

One Robert Tillet, in Buckingham, sick of a consumption, and believing his death to be nigh at hand, desired some of his friends to



visit him. At this invitation some came to his house, yet not above the number of fourteen persons ; and two informers went and acquainted a justice of the peace thereof, who recorded this small assembly as a seditious meeting, and fined the sick man twenty pounds for this pretended transgression ; and so his goods were seized, and six cows taken from him. And one Robert Smith, being overheard by the informers to have spoken five or six words, was fined also twenty pounds as a preacher ; which fine was afterwards extorted from some others then present.

The peace between England and Holland was concluded this year, at the instance of Spain, but the war between Holland and France continued still.

I now pass over to the year 1675. About the beginning whereof G. Fox came to London, whilst the parliament was sitting, who advised the king to the suppressing of the growth of popery ; but in the meanwhile the Quakers bore the chiefest shock ; for their religious meetings were styled seditious conventicles.

After G. Fox had been at the Yearly Meeting of his friends at London, he left the city, and went to Lancaster, and thence to Swarthmore, where having a dwelling place of his own, he staid about two years to rest himself : having contracted distempers by hardships and imprisonments, which had much weakened his body. Being there, he understood that four young students at Aberdeen were convinced at a dispute held by Robert Barclay and George Keith, with some of the scholars of that university. And being visited by some of the neighborhood, among others came also to him colonel Kirby, his old persecutor, who now carried himself very lovingly, and bid him welcome into the country. Yet notwithstanding this appearance of kindness, sometime afterwards he ordered the constables of Ulverstone to tell G. Fox, that they must have no more meetings at Swarthmore, for if they had, they were commanded by him to break them up ; and they were to come the next Sunday after. But this threatening did not make G. F. afraid ; for he, with his friends, had a meeting on that First-day of the week, and none came to disturb them. During his abode at home, when he did not travel to and fro in the country, as he used to do, to edify his friends by his ministry, he supplied this with his pen, and exhorted them by writing, where he could not do it by word of mouth : besides he wrote other serviceable treatises, for he was a diligent man.

In the meanwhile persecution for the worship of God did not cease altogether : the act against seditious conventicles gave opportunity to the malicious to disturb the religious meetings of the Quakers, who never met in a clandestine manner, but always publicly : and on this account fines were extorted from them ; to which may be added, that oftentimes they were still very ill-treated, and most grievously abused, as among the rest at Long Claxton in Leicestershire, where some women were dragged by the neck along the street ; and among these a widow, the skin of



whose neck was rubbed off by this rudeness; and an ancient woman, above seventy, was violently cast down to the ground. Some of the men were dragged by the hair, and others by their legs, besides the many blows given them: and some were trodden upon till the blood gushed out of their mouths and noses. Yet all this they bore patiently, without making any resistance; whereby it happened sometimes that some who had not the gift of preaching, reached others by their patient suffering; showing by their meek behavior, that their works did agree with their Christian profession: and though many were robbed of all they had, even clothes and beds not excepted, yet they continued steadfast without fainting: though often it was called a meeting when some were come together, not properly to perform religious worship, as hath been related already.

At Kirby Muckloe, where some were come to the house of John Penford, to provide for their poor, the priest of the parish, called John Dixon, informed against them by letter to Wenlock Stanly of Branston, who sent three of his servants to take inspection of the said meeting; and though these looking into the book, in which the charitable distributions were entered, found that this meeting had been only to consider of the necessities of the poor, yet several were fined, and Penford himself twenty pounds for his house, and ten pounds for the preacher, when there was never any one there; but they having heard him speak, this was counted sufficient to make him pass for a preacher. Now though he and Richard Woodland appealed for justice, yet the court positively denied their appeal, unless they would first take the oath of allegiance. This was the old snare, so that the hearing of the matter was denied, and treble damage given against them.

At Lewes in Sussex, the priest, William Snat, became himself an informer, and went several times to the Quakers' meeting there; and thence to the justice Henry Shully, to whom he declared on oath, in whose house the meeting had been, and who had preached; and this was so gross, that once he gave a false information with respect to the house; but the gain proceeding from this work, how abominable soever, did shine so alluringly, that his kinsman, James Clark, entered upon this informer's office: which any one could easily do, without making suit for it.

In Norfolk, the rage of the persecutors was such, that some having been bereaved of all, were obliged, even in winter time, (as amongst the rest, Joseph Harrison, with his wife and children,) to lie on straw; and yet they, unwearied, did not leave frequenting their religious meeting; nay, even the dead were not suffered to rest, for outrageous barbarity came to that pitch, that Mary, the wife of Francis Larder, being dead and buried, was, by order of one Thomas Bretland, dug up again, whereby the coffin was broken, which they tied together, and carrying it away, exposed the corpse in the market-place. Thus this deceased woman was no more suffered to lie quiet in her grave, than in her sick bed, where the day before her death, she had been threatened by order of one Christopher

Bedingfield, to have her bed taken from under her while living. Now the reason of thus taking up the corpse was, that though her husband was one of those called Quakers, yet she not being properly a member of that society, it was taken ill that she had been buried in a plain way, without paying to the priest his pretended due, for the ordinary service over the dead.

In Somersetshire thirty-two persons were fined for having been at a burial. The like happened in the county of Derby, where Samuel Roe, (his wife being deceased,) was fined twenty pounds, because his friends met in his house to conduct the corpse to the grave. Of this the priest, John Wilson, was informer to the justice of peace, John Loe; and out of the house of the said Samuel Roe, was taken the value of thirty pounds; so that the share of the informer was no less than ten pounds; since according to law, his due was a third of the spoil. I could here relate several instances of great adversities, and sad mischiefs that befel cruel persecutors; but not to expatiate too far, I have silently passed by many remarkable cases.

Yet, in general terms I may say, that many of the persecutors, both justices, and informers; and others, came to a miserable end: some being by sudden, or unnatural death, and others by lingering sicknesses, or distempers, or by foul and stinking diseases, taken out of this life; whilst some, who by spoil had scraped much together, fell to great poverty and beggary; whose names I could set down, and mention also time and place; and among these some rapacious ecclesiastics, who came to a sad end; but I studiously omit particularizing such instances, to avoid the appearance of grudging and envy. Some of those that had been so active in spoil, signified themselves the terrible remorse of conscience they felt, because of their having persecuted the Quakers; insomuch, that they roared out their gnawing grief, mixed with despair, under the grievous pains they suffered in their body. And it was judged by many a very remarkable case, that one Christopher Glin, priest at Burford, who had acted with a very indiscreet zeal against the Quakers, having about the year 1663, read his text in the pulpit, and then intending to read his sermon, was on a sudden struck with blindness, and continued blind till he died. But none of the persecutors seemed to take notice, or to regard such instances; for they let their rage loose against the Quakers; who, for all that continued in patience, though they did not think it unlawful to give notice of the grievous oppression their friends suffered, to those that were in authority; lest they might have excused themselves as ignorant of these violent proceedings. Therefore it was not omitted to publish in public print, many of those crying instances that have been related here, and to present them to the king and parliament, with humble addresses to that purpose. But all this found but small entrance. King Charles it seems was not to be the man that should take off this yoke of oppression; this work was reserved for others. His brother James that succeeded him, made a beginning thereof, with what intention Heaven

knows; and William III. that excellent prince, brought it to perfection as far as it was in his power.

This year deceased at sea William Bayly, coming from the West Indies, in the ship called the 'Samuel,' of London, in the latitude of 46 degrees and 36 minutes: he had been a teacher among the Baptists, and had read much in the books of Jacob Behmen, but could not find thereby true satisfaction to his soul. And being afterwards entered into society with the Quakers, so called, he became a zealous preacher among them. When in this his last voyage he was grown sick, and felt death approaching, he bade John Clark, master of the said vessel, remember him to his dear wife and little ones, and also to G. Fox, G. Whitehead and others; and being filled with joy, began to sing, saying, 'The creating word of the Lord endures for ever.' He took several that were about him by the hand, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and not to fear death: 'Death,' said he, 'is nothing in itself; for the sting of death is sin. Tell the friends at London, that would have been glad to have seen my face, I go to my Father and their Father, to my God and their God. Remember my love to my dear wife; she will be a sorrowful widow: but let her not mourn too much, for it is well with me.' And having spoken something concerning his outward business to the master, he said in regard to his wife and children, 'I have left them no portions, but my endeavor hath been to make God their father. Shall I lay down my head upon the waters? Well, God is the God of the whole universe; and though my body sink, I shall swim a-top of the waters.' Then taking his leave of the company, he said, 'I see not one of you, but I wish you all well.' And one asking, how it was with him? he answered, 'I am perfectly well.' After having spoken many more sensible words, about four in the morning he departed quietly, as if he had fallen asleep. His wife Mary, the same that had formerly been at Adrianople, and spoken with the emperor of the Turks, gave an excellent testimony in writing concerning him; and J. Crook, in a preface to W. Bayly's work's, said of him, (the truth of which I know by my own experience,) 'As he was bold and zealous in his preaching, being willing to improve his time, as if he had known it was not to be long amongst us; so was he as valiant in suffering for his testimony, when called thereunto. Methinks I see how once I saw him stand at the bar to plead his innocent cause, like holy Stephen, in the senate-house, when the threats of his persecutors resembled the showers of stones, falling upon that blessed martyr, crying out with a hideous noise 'Take him away, jailer,' &c. and yet all this while he changed not his countenance, except by the additional ornaments of some innocent smiles. Sometimes by cruel persecutors he hath been thrown down, and dragged upon the ground by the hair of his head, and his mouth and jaws endeavored to be rent and broken asunder, so that the ground whereon he lay was smeared with his blood: yet, as if this butchering had not been enough to make him a fit sacrifice for the shambles of their cruelty, a heavy gross-bodied persecutor stamped upon his breast with

his feet, endeavoring to beat the breath out of his body : and when this persecutor had done his pleasure, he commanded the jailer to take him away, and put him in some nasty hole for his entertainment and cure. And had not the God of Israel been his physician there, he had been taken from us long before this.' Thus far John Crook.

At the beginning of this year, 1676, died at London, Matthew Hyde, who had made it his business, during the space of about twenty years, publicly to contradict the Quakers in their meetings, and to disturb them in their worship of God, thinking from a blind zeal, that he did God an acceptable piece of service, by zealously opposing what he judged to be heresy. Now how much soever this man was bent against them, yet he showed this moderation, that in his gainsaying he did not behave himself furiously, but appeared to be well meaning, although he erred exceedingly, and often hindered the preaching of ministers among the Quakers ; which induced W. Penn sometimes to pray to God very earnestly for him, and to tell him in the presence of many auditors, that God would plead with him by his righteous judgments ; and that the time would come he should be forced to confess to the sufficiency of that light he then opposed, and to acknowledge that God was with those called Quakers.

This same Hyde being by sickness brought to the brink of death, desired that G. Whitehead, and some of his friends, might be sent for : and to one Cotton Oade, who asked him, if he had any thing to say to clear himself, concerning his having so often opposed the friends called Quakers, in their declarations and prayers, he said, that he was sorry for what he had done : for, added he, they are the people of God. G. Whitehead, then, though it was late in the evening, being come to him, with some others, said, 'I am come in love and tenderness to see thee.' To which Hyde returned, 'I am glad to see you.' And Whitehead again, 'If thou hast any thing on thy conscience to speak, I would have thee to clear thy conscience.' To this Hyde replied, 'What I have to say, I speak in the presence of God : as Paul was a persecutor of the people of the Lord, so have I been a persecutor of you, his people, as the world is who persecute the children of God.' More he spoke, but being very weak, his words could not well be understood. Then G. Whitehead resumed, 'Thy understanding being darkened when darkness was over thee, thou hast gainsayed the truth and people of the Lord ; and I knew that that light which thou opposedst, would rise up in judgment against thee. I have often with others, labored with thee to bring thee to a right understanding.' To which Hyde said, 'This I declare in the presence of God, and of you here, I have done evil in persecuting you who are the children of God, and I am sorry for it : the Lord Jesus Christ show mercy unto me, and the Lord increase your number, and be with you.' After some pause G. Whitehead said to him, 'I would have thee, if thou art able to speak, to ease thy conscience as fully as thou canst. My soul is affected to hear thee thus confess thy evil, as the Lord hath given thee a sense of it. In repentance there is mercy and forgiveness :

in confessing and forsaking sin, there is mercy to be found with the Lord, who in the midst of judgment remembers mercy, that he may be feared.' Hyde being in great anguish, and striving for breath, said, a little after, 'I have done evil in opposing you in your prayers; the Lord be merciful unto me; and as I have been an instrument to turn many from God, the Lord raise up many instruments to turn many to him.' G. Whitehead resumed, 'I desire thou mayest find mercy and forgiveness at the hand of the Lord. How is it with thy soul? Dost not thou find some ease?' 'I hope I do,' answered Hyde, 'and if the Lord should lengthen my days, I should be willing to bear a testimony for you, as publicly as I have appeared against you.' His wife then said, 'It is enough; what can be desired more.' 'If,' queried Whitehead, 'the Lord should not lengthen out thy days, dost thou desire what thou sayest should be signified to others?' 'Yes,' answered Hyde, 'I do, you may; I have said as much as I can say.' After some silence, he being much straitened for breath, Whitehead said, 'If this company be wearisome unto thee, we may withdraw.' To which he returned, 'You may use your freedom.' G. Whitehead then taking leave of him, said, 'I shall leave thee to the Lord, desiring he may show mercy and forgiveness unto thee, as I hope he will.' Upon which Hyde replied, 'The Lord be with your spirits.'

All this was spoken to G. Whitehead and his friends, in the presence of Hyde's wife, and some others of his acquaintance, about two hours before his death: and thus he gave manifest proofs of a sincere repentance; for Elizabeth his wife having perceived him to be much troubled in his mind, had asked him, if he would speak with some of the Quakers? and he smiting his hand on his breast, said, 'With all my soul.' After G. Whitehead and his friends were gone, it being the seventh day of the week, he desired several times that he might live till morning, and might bear on that day, viz. the first day of the week, a testimony for the truth he had on that day so often opposed; yet he signified that he had found some ease to his spirit. He also exhorted his wife, who conversed much with people that were great in the world, to use the plain language of the Quakers. And after some more words to this purpose, spoken by him, with good understanding, he stretched himself out, and died very quietly. An evident token of God's unspeakable mercy, who wills not the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and live; and who entirely knowing the real disposition of man's heart, forgives sin by mere grace, without any merit in man, but for his own sake, as he hath said himself, "I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." The truth of which saying very plainly appeared in the converted thief on the cross, though his impenitent fellow-sufferer hardened his heart against it.

In this year, while G. Fox was at Swarthmore, died William Lampitt, the priest of Ulverstone, who formerly had been a great friend to Margaret, now the wife of G. Fox, but grew so envious against the friends she was in society with, that he said in the year 1652, he would

wage his life upon it, that the Quakers would all vanish and come to naught within half a year. But on his death-bed he said to one of his hearers, who came to visit him, 'I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it had been so hard a thing to die.'

At Norwich now great spoil was made upon the Quakers, for their religious assemblies. Erasmus Cooper coming once into the house of Anthony Alexander, said to his wife, who was big with child, he came to seize all she had. 'All,' said she, 'and that for seven pounds fine, that is hard.' But he slighting what she said, replied, he would not leave her a bed to lie on. And then began to break the doors with a pick-axe; he and his companions behaving themselves so desperately that it drew tears from some of the neighbors who beheld it; and the warranted spoilers forced Alexander's man to help them; which made Alexander say, that it was a most unreasonable thing to require a servant to assist in the taking his master's goods: for which the warden, Robert Clerk, snarled at him, saying, 'They are our goods.' To the house of Samuel Duncon, the aforesaid officers came also, and with them the informer, Charles Tennison, and the hangman. Here they staid several days and nights, and kept Samuel's wife, who was big with child, as a prisoner in her own house, not suffering her to speak with any, so much as at the door, nor any to come to her. And after they had broken open all the locked doors, they took away to the value of about forty-three pounds in goods; and so insolent the informers were that one did not stick to say, 'I will make the mayor wait upon me as often as I will, at my pleasure.' Nay, this wicked crew was become so powerful, that none durst oppose them, for fear of falling into disgrace with the court: since they were encouraged by such as were in high stations, and probably at the instance of the Papists, or popishly affected. The constable, William Poole, coming this summer into a meeting at Norwich, with an informer, who made him come, and hearing efficacious preaching there, cried with tears in his eyes, 'What shall I do? I know the power of God is among you:' and told the informer, that if there were a curse hung over any people upon the earth, it was over the informers. And Tennison, the informer, who had assisted in taking away Samuel Duncon's goods, being afterwards committed to prison for debt, confessed he never prospered since he took in hand that work; and said if he were at liberty, he would never meddle with it more.

In Nottinghamshire also great spoil and havoc were made, to which the justice Robert Thoroton, was greatly instrumental; for at Sutton he gave forth a warrant to seize the goods of two persons, one of whom was a woman, who having in a meeting spoken five or six words, which, according to the testimony of some officers that were present, were not at all like preaching, was however informed against as a preacher, and so by the said Thoroton fined twenty pounds; and she being unable to pay, the one half of the fine was charged upon her, and the other half upon



John Fulwood. At another time Thoroton gave order to seize the goods of William Day, a miller, because he having been at a meeting at Sutton, in the street, the fine of a pretended preacher, that was unable, was charged upon him; though Day proved, and the officers who kept the friends out of their meeting-place, declared also, that those words, which were called preaching, were no more than an answer to what another had spoken. But for all that, Thoroton, to protect, and to gratify the informer, said, 'Though but one word were spoken, it is sufficient.' A poor woman at South Collingham, who was already bereaved of almost all that she possessed, and since by her friends provided with a bed and other necessities, was also deprived of this little, because she continued to frequent meetings. Matthew Hartly, a poor man, who lived by spinning of wool, was likewise, for frequenting the meeting there, bereaved of what he had; and so it was with many others, whose names and surnames I could mention, if I had a mind to enlarge. And if their friends had not taken care of them, and other impoverished families, who had lost all by spoil, many might have perished.

In the town of Hereford the meetings were also disturbed from time to time, chiefly by boys, who threw among those that were met, not only stones, and excrements, but burning squibs; and used all manner of insolency and mischief they could think of, against these harmless people, either by breaking the glass windows, or the forms and seats. One of the leaders of this turbulent company, was the son of one Abraham Seward, who about this time was elected mayor; but when complaints were made to him of the outrageous actions of the said wicked crew, he pretended to be ignorant of his son's doings, and for all that threatened those that came to him, with the execution of the law upon them, if they did not leave off to keep meetings. And as it was well known that the chief master of the town-school was displeased at the extravagant insolency of some of his scholars, so it was reported also, that he was forbidden to correct them for it; and that the college priests had set them on, and said they would bear them out in what they did; for some of those brutish boys were choristers. Two friends went to the justices, Robert Simons and Thomas Simons, to acquaint them with the excessive abuses they met with. But the justices not at all regarding their complaint, the said Robert endeavored to draw some confession of a meeting from one of them, intending, as he himself said, immediately to have fined him, if he had confessed; but he was wary. Now since the insolency of the boys was thus encouraged by authority, it was no wonder it continued there a whole year. At length eight men were taken from the meeting, by the aforesaid mayor, Abraham Seward, and carried to the town-hall; and in their passage along, he said, they should never meet there more. To which a friend, going with him, said, 'We are a people gathered by the power of the Lord; and therefore the power of man cannot scatter us.' Being come to the town-hall, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to them, on which they said, 'We are

Christians, therefore cannot break the command of Christ, which forbids to swear at all ; but to render just and lawful allegiance to the king, we do not deny, nor refuse.' And they persisting in their refusal to swear, were committed to prison. The next day after, one Walter Rogers, a prebend, walking by the meeting-house, and observing how it was broken, said to some, that they were very good boys, and had done their work better than he thought they had.

At one of the quarter-sessions in Nottingham, one John Sayton appeared, who, being fined twenty pounds for suffering a conventicle at his house, in the parish of Blyth, came to appeal for justice. The witness produced against him, said, 'I was there on that day, and there were several people met, but were all silent, and no words spoken amongst them ; but I did not see John Sayton there.' And that the said John Sayton was above sixty miles from home the same day, for which he was fined twenty pounds, was made to appear in open court by substantial evidence. Then the counsel for the appellant said, in the first place, forasmuch as there was neither preaching, praying, nor reading, as their own witness doth testify, therefore it was no conventicle. Secondly, being they cannot prove he was there, therefore how can it be judged, that he did either wittingly or willingly consent to that meeting, if they could make it a conventicle ? To this the informer's counsel objected, that although there was neither preaching, praying, nor reading, yet it was evident enough that they met under a pretence of religious exercise ; and seeing there were more than five, and not of John Sayton's family, therefore it must needs be a conventicle. And as to the second, seeing they cannot prove he was there, we must leave it to the consciences of the jury, whether he did willingly consent to that meeting or no. After the counsel had spoken on both sides, Peniston Whaley, one of the justices, who sat in the chair as judge of the court, stood up, and said to the jury, 'Although there was no visible exercise that can be proved, yet the Quakers say, they worship God in spirit and truth ; and we know their manner is to sit sighing and groaning,' &c. The jury returning, and being asked by the court, 'Do you find it for the king, or for the appellant,' answered, 'For the appellant.' This so displeased the said justice Whaley, that he bid them go forth again. But one of the jurymen saying, they were agreed, and they had considered the thing very well, he thereupon fell into such a rage, that he said, 'You deserve all to be hanged ; for you are as ill as highwaymen.' Perhaps he himself was either an informer, or a special friend to such, and therefore was sorry that the jury deprived him of the booty, or a share of it.

There was now great persecution in all parts of England, neither did it go better in the principality of Wales. Nine persons being taken prisoners, and brought this summer to the assizes held for the county of Merioneth, in the town Bala, upon an indictment for not resorting to their parish churches, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to them, Kernick Eyton, and Thomas Walcot being judges ; and



upon their refusal of taking these oaths, the said judges declared it as their opinion in open court, that in case the prisoners would refuse the oaths the second time, they should be prosecuted as traitors, the men to be hanged and quartered, and the women to be burnt. But this threat could not make them afraid; for at the next assizes the oaths being tendered them again, they continued in refusing, though they solemnly acknowledged allegiance to the king as supreme magistrate; and thereupon were remanded to close imprisonment, where Edward Rees, one of them, being above sixty years of age, and not able to bear the cold, died about the height of the frost, not having been allowed the use of fire.

Sometime before, it happened within the corporation of Pool, in Montgomeryshire, that the justice, David Maurice, coming into a house where a small number of people were peaceably met, and all silent required them to depart. Hereupon Thomas Lloyd, one of the company, began to speak a few words, by way of defining true religion, and what true worship was; and what he said was so reasonable, that the said justice approved of it as sound, and according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet notwithstanding he fined the said Thomas Lloyd in twenty pounds for preaching.

This year died in prison John Sage, being about eighty years of age, after having been in prison at Ivelchester in Somersetshire, almost ten years, for not paying of tithes. And it appeared that since the restoration of king Charles, above two hundred of the people called Quakers, died in prisons in England, where they had been confined because of their religion. I could relate abundance of occurrences this year, if I had a mind to extend my work, but I study brevity; yet cannot omit to mention, that in this year, in the island of Barbadoes, in the West Indies, a law was made to prevent negroes coming into the meetings of the Quakers, which was of this tenor:

‘Whereas of late, many negroes have been suffered to remain at the meetings of the Quakers, as hearers of their doctrine, and taught in their principles, whereby the safety of the island may be much hazarded: Be it enacted, that if at any time after publication hereof, any negro, or negroes, be found with the people called Quakers, at any of their meetings, as hearers of their preaching, he or they shall be forfeited, one half to such as shall seize, or sue for him or them, if belonging to any of the Quakers, and the other moiety to the public use of the island; Provided that if he or they be seized, such as seize, shall bring their actions upon this statute, within three months, against the owner of the negro, or negroes; wherein the defendant having ten days summons, shall appear, plead, and come to trial at the first court after summons, or judgment to be given by *nihil dicit*, and execution immediately to issue. And if such negro, or negroes, do not belong to any of the persons present at the same meeting, any person or persons may bring an action upon this statute, against any of

the persons present at the said meeting, at the election of the informer, and so recover ten pounds for every negro, or negroes, present at the said meeting as aforesaid, to be divided as aforesaid, and in such actions proceedings to be as aforesaid. And no person whatsoever, shall keep any school, to instruct any child in any learning, unless within one month after the publication hereof, he first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, before some justice of peace of the parish where the party lives, and have a certificate thereof, or have a special license from the governor, on pain of three months' imprisonment, and forfeiture of 3000 lbs. of Muscovado sugar, the one moiety to the informer, and the other to the public use of the island, to be recovered as aforesaid. And no person whatsoever, who is not an inhabitant and resident of this island, and hath been so for twelve months together, shall hereafter publicly discourse, or preach at the meeting of the Quakers, on pain of six months imprisonment, and forfeiture of 1000 lbs. Muscovado sugar, the one moiety to such as sue for it, the other to the public use of the island, to be recovered as aforesaid : provided that all actions upon this statute, be brought within six months after the offence.

'Read, and passed the council the 21st of April, 1676, and consented to by his excellency [the governor] the same day.

EDWYN STEED, *Deputy-Secretary.*'

Although in the beginning of this statute, the instructing of the negroes in the doctrine of the Quakers, is represented as a thing whereby the safety of the island might be much hazarded, yet the sequel shows that this was not the matter, but that it was endeavored to deprive the Quakers of their due liberty. What was the issue hereof I am unacquainted with.

This year Robert Barclay wrote a letter to the Herr Adrian Paets, with whom he had some discourse when the said Herr returned from Spain, where he had been ambassador for the States of the United Provinces. This Paets having a strange opinion of the doctrine of the Quakers, had a good while ago wrote a letter\* to Christian Hartzoeker, at Rotterdam, about their doctrine; and having afterwards discoursed with Barclay concerning the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God, this induced Barclay to write a letter on the said subject in Latin, to the aforementioned Herr, wherein he made a more large reply to his arguments, than he had done by word of mouth. This letter being sent over from Scotland to Holland, was delivered by Benjamin Furly at Rotterdam, to the said Herr Paets, with a desire that he might be pleased to return an answer to it, which he promised he would. But he continuing deficient in the case, Furly at last published the said letter in print,

\* To be found in the book called *Præstantium ac eruditiorum virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ & Theologicæ*. Amstelodami apud Franciscum Halman. 1704.

but without mentioning the name of him to whom it was written, only his character, viz. *Cuidam legato*.\*

In this letter was set down first the objection of the Herr Paets, to wit, that since the being and substance of the Christian religion consisteth in the knowledge of, and faith concerning, the birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ Jesus, he considered the substance of the Christian religion as a contingent truth; which contingent truth was matter of fact. And matter of fact could not be known but by the relation of another, or by the perception of the outward senses; because there are naturally in our souls no ideas of contingent truths, such as are concerning necessary truths, viz. that God is, and that the whole is greater than the part. And since it might without absurdity be said, that God cannot make a contingent truth to become a necessary truth; neither can God reveal contingent truths or matters of fact, but as contingent truths are revealed; and matters of fact not being revealed but by the outward senses, the conclusion drawn thence is, that men are not obliged to believe God producing any revelation in the soul concerning matter of fact, whether of a thing done, or to be done, unless there be added some miracles obvious to the outward senses, by which the soul may be ascertained that that revelation cometh from God. All these arguments Barclay answered very circumstantially, premising first, that it was falsely supposed that the essence of the Christian religion consisted in the historical faith and knowledge of the birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. That faith and historical knowledge is indeed a part of the Christian religion, but not such an essential part as that without which the Christian religion cannot consist; but an integral part, which goes to the completing of the Christian religion, as the hands or feet of a man are the integral parts of a man, without which nevertheless a man may exist, but not an entire and complete man. Yet he agrees, that the historical knowledge of Christ is commonly manifested to us by the Holy Scripture as the means; but nevertheless he asserts, that God could without such an outward means manifest the said historical knowledge to our minds: and also, that a contingent truth may be known by a supernatural knowledge. And he saith, that when God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by divine immediate revelation, he then speaks as to the ear of the heart of the inward man. And, that as when any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it; so also when a supernatural idea is raised, we clearly know that whereof it is the idea. He also holds forth, what properly is the inward supernatural sense in man; and then he distinguisheth between contingent and necessary truths, and shows how a divine revelation may be known to be such, saying that natural and spiritual senses are distinguishable by their objects, and demonstrating how godly men may know they are in the favor of God, and how the wicked feel the wrath of God as fire. He also

\* To a certain ambassador.

relates after what manner the spiritual senses distinguish the good and the evil ; and he confesseth there is in all men, as well the godly as the ungodly, some sort of idea of God, as of a most perfect being : but he asserts, that the supernatural idea of God differeth much from the natural ; and that in all men there is a supernatural idea of God. He also shows, wherein the motions of the mind differ from those of the body ; and that there are ideas as well of supernatural, as of natural things. And showing whence the errors of false likenesses of reason proceed, he says, that the natural reason cannot perceive supernatural things. He also asserts, that the revelations of the prophets were by inward inspirations in their minds ; and that they were most certainly persuaded that they were divinely inspired, even without any outward miracle ; and that it is by the inspiration of the same divine Spirit, by which the prophets prophesied, that we do believe their words and writings to be divine, concerning contingent truths, as well past as to come. Moreover he inquires, whether faith comes by outward hearing, and he shows how the outward senses may be deceived ; nay, that often they are vitiated both by outward casualties and natural infirmities, whereunto the godly are no less subject than the wicked.

All this is treated at large by Barclay, as may be seen in the said letter, and several years after, when the Herr Paets was at London, being one of the commissioners for the Dutch East India company, Barclay spoke with him again, and so represented the matter, that he readily yielded that he had been mistaken in his notion of the Quakers ; for he found they could make a reasonable plea for the foundation of their religion. And thereupon R. Barclay translated the said letter into English as follows :

*‘ My Friend,*

*‘ Albeit I judge I did fully answer to all thy arguments in that conference we had, concerning the necessity and possibility of inward immediate revelation, and of the certainty of true faith thence proceeding ; nevertheless, because after we had made an end, and were parting, thou wouldst needs remit to my further consideration the strength of thy argument, as that in which thou supposedst the very hinge of the question to lie : that I might satisfy thy desire, and that the truth might more appear, I did further consider of it, but the more I weighed it, I found it the weaker. And therefore that thou thyself mayest make the truer judgment of it, I thought meet to send thee my further considerations thereon ; (which I had done ere now, had not I, both at London and elsewhere, been diverted by other necessary occasions,) wherein I doubt not, but thou wilt perceive a full and distinct answer to thy argument. But if thou canst not as yet yield to the truth, or thinkest mine answer in any part to be defective, so that there yet remains with thee any matter of doubt or scruple ; I do earnestly desire thee, that as I for thy sake, and out of love to the truth, have not been wanting to examine thy*

argument, and to transmit to thee my considerations thereon ; so thou mayest give thyself the trouble to write and send me what thou hast further to say : which my friend, N. N., who delivers thee this, will at what time thou shalt appoint, receive from thee, and transmit to me thy letter ; that at last the truth may appear where it is.

‘ And that the whole matter may the more clearly be understood, it will be fit in the first place, to propose thy argument, whereby thou opposest the immediate revelation of God in the saints : thence concluding thou hast fully overturned the foundation of the people called Quakers. Which argument of thine is ;

‘ That since, (as thou judgest,) the being and substance of the Christian religion consisteth in the knowledge of, and faith concerning the birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ Jesus, thou considerest the substance of the Christian religion as a contingent truth ; which contingent truth is matter of fact. Whence thou reasonest, that :

Matter of fact cannot be known but by the relation of another, or by the perception of the outward senses ; because there are naturally in our souls no ideas of contingent truths, such as are concerning necessary truths : to wit, that God is ; and that the whole is greater than the part. And since it may without absurdity be said, that

God cannot make a contingent truth to become a necessary truth ; neither can God reveal contingent truths or matters of fact, but as contingent truths are revealed : but matters of fact are not revealed but by the outward senses. From whence thou concludest, that

Men are not even obliged to believe God producing any revelation in the soul concerning matter of fact, whether of a thing done, or to be done, unless there be added some miracles obvious to the outward senses, by which the soul may be ascertained, that that revelation cometh from God,

‘ And this thou endeavorest also to prove from the Scripture, Rom. x. where the apostle saith, “ Faith cometh by hearing ;” and because the apostle speaketh afterwards of those who were sent in the plural number ; thence thou concludest that to be spoken of outward preaching by the ministry of men : and since the apostle uses a question, saying, “ How shall they believe unless they hear,” thou gatherest from the induction and connexion of the text, that the apostle treats only of outward hearing ; thence concluding, that without outward hearing, faith cannot be produced : and therefore, that there can be no immediate revelation by the simple operation of the Spirit in the mind, unless there be somewhat proposed to the outward senses.

‘ Before I proceed to a direct answer to this argument, some things are necessary to be premised :

‘ First then ; That it is falsely supposed, that the essence of the Christian religion consists in the historical faith and knowledge of the birth,

death, life, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. That faith and historical knowledge is indeed a part of the Christian religion ; but not such an essential part, as that without which the Christian religion cannot consist : but an integral part, which goes to the completing of the Christian religion ; as the hands or feet of a man are integral parts of a man, without which nevertheless a man may exist, but not an entire and complete man.

‘ Secondly, If by immediate revelation be understood such a revelation of God, as begets in our souls a historical faith and knowledge of the birth of Christ in the flesh, without the means of the Holy Scripture, we do not contend for such a revelation, as commonly given, or to be expected by us, or any other Christians. For albeit many other evangelical truths be manifested to us by the immediate manifestation of God, not using the Scripture as the means ; yet the historical knowledge of Christ is not commonly manifested to us, nor to any others, but by the Holy Scripture, as the means, and that by way of a material object : even as when we see the person of Peter or Paul to our visive faculty immediately, yet not without the medium of that person concurring as a material object to produce that sight ; while the light of the sun concurs, as the formal object of that vision or sight. So that when we livingly and spiritually know the history of the birth of Christ in the flesh ; the inward revelation or illumination of God, which is like the sun’s light, proceeding from the divine sun, doth shine into the eye of the mind, and by its influence moves the mind to assent unto the historical truth of Christ’s birth, life, &c., in the reading or hearing the Scripture, or meditating therein.

‘ Thirdly, Nevertheless we do firmly assert, that God can most easily, clearly, and certainly, manifest to our minds the historical truths of Christ’s birth, &c., when it so pleaseth him, even without the Scripture, or any other outward means. And because this argument seems to be formed against the possibility of such a revelation, therefore I shall proceed to discuss it : but first thou mayest mind, that the prophets who foretold Christ’s coming in the flesh, and being to be born of a virgin, and afterwards to suffer death, did know these truths of fact by the inward inspiration of God, without outward means : for which see 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. Now that which hath been may be.

‘ Fourthly, This argument doth at most conclude, that we cannot know naturally any truth of fact, but by the relation of another without us, or by the perception of the outward senses : because there are naturally in our minds no ideas concerning contingent truths, (and every truth of fact is a contingent truth,) as there are of necessary truths. This then proveth, that we cannot naturally know any contingent truth, but by the relation of another, or perception of the outward senses : but that hindereth not, but we may know a contingent truth by a supernatural knowledge, God supplying the place of an outward relater ; who is so true, that he may, and ought to be believed, since God is the fountain of truth.

‘Fifthly, When God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by divine immediate revelation or inspiration, God speaking as to the ear of the heart of the inward man, or as by his finger writing therein, two things are to be considered in such an immediate revelation.

*Tò Materiale*, The matter of fact, or thing revealed, which is contingent.

*Tò Formale*, The form or mode, how the revelation is made: which form is an inward, divine and supernatural revelation, which is the voice or speech of God, inwardly speaking to the ear of the inward man or mind of man, or a divine writing supernaturally imprinted therein. Now as to the material part, or the thing and matter revealed, this is indeed a contingent truth, and of itself is not manifest to the mind; but because of the form, that is, because of the divine mode, and supernatural inward operation, the matter is known to be true. For that divine and supernatural inward operation, which the mind doth feel and perceive in itself, is the voice of God speaking unto man, which by its nature and specific property is as clearly distinguished and understood to be the voice of God, as the voice of Peter or James is known to be the voice of such men. For every being as a being is knowable, and that by its own specific nature, or property proceeding from its nature; and hath its proper idea, by which it is distinguishable from every other thing, if so be its idea be stirred up in us, and clearly proposed to us.

‘Sixthly: Now as some beings are natural, some supernatural, so some ideas are natural, some supernatural: and as when any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it; so also when a supernatural idea is raised, we clearly know that, whereof it is the idea. But the voice of God speaking to the mind of man, is a supernatural being, and stirreth up in us a supernatural idea, by which we clearly know that inward voice to be the voice of God, and not the voice or operation of another, or of any evil spirit, or angel, because none of these have a supernatural idea, as the voice of God, and his divine operation hath; for it is full of vigor, virtue, and divine glory, as saith the psalmist, who had often experience of it; and we also in our measures are witnesses thereof, for the voice of God is known to be his by its divine virtue.

‘Seventhly: The senses are either outward or inward; and the inward senses are either natural or supernatural; we have an example of the inward natural sense in being angered or pacified, in love and hatred; or when we perceive and discern any natural truth, such as the natural maxims, to wit, that the whole is greater than the part, &c., or when we deduce any conclusion by the strength of natural reason, that perception also in a larger sense, may be called an inward sense. But an example of an inward supernatural sense is, when the heart or soul of a pious man, feels in itself divine motions, influences, and operations, which sometimes are as the voice or speech of God, sometimes as a most pleasant and glorious illustration or visible object to the inward eye, sometimes as a most sweet savor or taste, sometimes as a heavenly and divine warmth,



or, (so to speak,) melting of the soul in the love of God. Moreover, this divine and supernatural operation in the mind of man, is a true and most glorious miracle ; which when it is perceived by the inward and supernatural sense divinely raised up in the mind of man, doth so evidently and clearly persuade the understanding to assent to the thing revealed, that there is no need of an outward miracle : for this assent is not because of the thing itself, but because of the revelation proposing it, which is the voice of God. For when the voice of God is heard in the soul, the soul doth as certainly conclude the truth of that voice, as the truth of God's being, from whom it proceeds.

' These things being thus premised, I now proceed to a direct answer. For what is said, that God cannot make a contingent truth to become a necessary truth, I agree ; but when any contingent truth is manifest to us by the immediate revelation of God, there is in it two things to be considered, to wit, the thing revealed, which is contingent ; and the revelation itself : which upon the supposition that it is a divine revelation, is no contingent truth, but a most necessary truth. And this all mankind will say, that this proposition, every divine revelation is necessarily true, is as clear and evident, as that proposition, that every whole is greater than its part.

' But thou wilt say ; how knowest thou that a divine revelation is a divine revelation ? I answer, how knowest thou that a whole is a whole, and a part is a part ? Thou wilt say, by the natural idea excited in me of a whole, and of a part. I answer again ; even so a divine revelation is known to be such by a supernatural idea of divine revelation, stirred up in us, and that by a divine motion, or supernatural operation. But it is no wonder that men, who have no experience of supernatural ideas, or at least do not heed them, do deny them ; which is, as if a man naturally blind denied light or colors ; or a deaf man sounds, because they experience them not. Therefore, we cannot dissemble, that we feel a fervent zeal even divinely kindled in us against such an absurd opinion, as affirms, that God cannot ascertain us of his will in any contingent truth, but by proposing it to the outward senses. This opinion does in a manner turn men into brutes, as if man were not to believe his God, unless he propose what is to be believed to the outward senses, which the beasts have common with us ; yea, it derogates from God's power, and imputes weakness to him, as if he could not do that, which not only both good and evil angels can do, but which the meanest creatures can do, and the most insensible. As for instance : the heat of the fire, the coldness of the air and water worketh upon us ; yea, if a pin prick us, we feel it, and that by the outward sense ; because the objects are outward and carnal ; but since God is a most pure and glorious Spirit, when he operateth in the innermost parts of our minds by his will, shall not he and his will be clearly felt according to his nature, that is, by a spiritual and supernatural sense ? For as the nature of God is, so is the nature of his will, to wit, purely spiritual, and therefore requireth a spiritual sense to discern it ; which spiritual sense, when it is raised up



in us by a divine operation, doth as clearly and certainly know the voice or revelation of the will of God, concerning any thing which God is pleased to reveal, however contingent, as the outward sense knows and perceives the outward object. And it is no less absurd, to require of God, who is a most pure Spirit, to manifest his will to men by the outward senses, else not to be credited, as to require us to see sounds, and hear lights and colors. For as the objects of the outward senses are not to be confounded, but every object is to have its proper sense ; so must we judge of inward and spiritual objects, which have their proper sense, whereby they are to be perceived. And tell me, how God doth manifest his will concerning matters of fact, when he sends his angels to men, since angels, (as is commonly received,) have not outward senses, or at least not so gross ones, as ours are ? Yea, when men die, and appear before the tribunal of God, whether unto eternal life or death, how can they know this, having laid down their bodies, and therewith their outward senses ? And nevertheless this truth of God is a truth of fact, as is the historical truth of Christ's birth in the flesh. And which is yet more near : how do good and holy men even in this life most certainly know, that they are in the favor and grace of God ? no outward revelation doth make this known unto them ; but the Spirit, as saith the apostle, beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God. For the mere testimony of a human conscience, without inward testimony of the holy Spirit, cannot beget in us a firm and immovable testimony of our sonship, because the heart of man is deceitful ; and if the testimony thereof were true, at most it is but a human testimony, which begetteth in us only a human faith : but that faith by which holy men believe they are the sons of God, is a divine faith, which leans upon a divine testimony of the holy Spirit, witnessing in them that they are the sons of God. Moreover, when a good man feels in himself that undeclarable joy of the holy Spirit, concerning which the Holy Scripture speaks, and which is the common privilege of the saints, how or whence feels he this joy ? Truly, this argument concludes no less against this heavenly spiritual joy, which is begotten in the souls of the saints by the holy Spirit, than it does against the immediate revelation of God : for there is no natural idea of this spiritual joy, else mere natural men, yea, such as are profane and ungodly, would feel it as much as the godly : but because it is a supernatural thing, therefore it can have no true idea but what is supernatural. Moreover, whence is it that profane men feel sometimes in themselves the wrath of God as fire, when all things, as to the outward, go as prosperously with them as with the godly, and oftentimes more prosperously ? For there is no natural idea in men of this inward wrath of God. There is also an inward grief oftentimes raised up in wicked men from the sense of this wrath of God, which very much vexeth and tormenteth their minds ; and nevertheless this grief hath no natural idea in us : for oftentimes wicked men feel not this sorrow ; for God sometimes is, as it were, silent, while the wicked sin, as in Psalm l.

‘All which things do most clearly demonstrate, that there are in men supernatural ideas of supernatural beings; which ideas are nevertheless not perceived by us, unless they be stirred up by some supernatural operation of God, which raiseth up in us supernatural and spiritual senses, which by their nature are as distinguishable from the natural senses, whether inward or outward, as the natural senses are distinguished one from another by their specific difference. Of which spiritual senses the Scripture speaks frequently, as Heb. v. and xiv. where is spoken of the spiritual senses in general, by which the spiritual man hath the discerning of good and evil: which good is of a spiritual nature, and conduceth to feed in us a spiritual and divine life; and the evil is of that kind, by which the spiritual life is in us hurt; to wit, sins, whether carnal or spiritual; all which cannot be discerned but by such who have spiritual senses stirred up in them, as saith the apostle. In other places the Scripture also speaketh of these spiritual senses in particular; as of the spiritual seeing, Psalm xxxiv. 9. Of the spiritual hearing, Psalm lxxxv. 9. Of spiritual tasting, Psalm xxxiv. 8. Of spiritual smelling, Cant. i. 3. Of Spiritual touching, Acts xvii. 8, and in many other places of Scripture we read of those spiritual senses in particular. Yea, it is the promise of the gospel, that the glory of God shall be seen of holy men, such as are clean of heart, even in this life: Isaiah xxxiii. 17; Mat. v. 8. Which were fulfilled in the primitive Christians, see John i. 14; 1 John i. 2, 3, 4; 2 Cor. iii. 18, and chap. iv. 6. But what is this vision of God and divine glory, which the souls of the saints enjoy in this life, which is only as the earnest or first-fruits of that more abundant glorious vision in the life to come, concerning which the Scripture so much declareth, which is the highest happiness of the immortal soul.

‘For this argument seemeth to do no less injury to the saints than to rob them of this most glorious treasure both in this life, and that to come. For there is in us no natural idea of this divine glory, as there is not of God himself which is any ways proportionable unto so great happiness, which the Scripture so much declareth of, by which the godly are rewarded partly in this life, and plenarily in that which is to come. We confess indeed, there is in all men, as well the godly as ungodly, some sort of idea of God, as of a most perfect being; and that therefore this proposition, there existeth a most perfect being, doth as clearly appear to human understanding, as that the whole is greater than the part: and therefore this proposition, that a most perfect being existeth, ought to be numbered among the principles that of themselves are manifest. But this idea of God is as manifest to ungodly, as to godly men: yea, it is clearly perceived by the devil, as by the most holy angels: for all the devils know that God is; but yet how blind is the devil, and all wicked men, as to the vision of God, which is the chief reward of the saints.

‘There is then either no such vision of God, neither in this life, nor in that to come; or there is a supernatural idea of God in us, by which we are made capable of this vision; which supernatural idea of God

differeth much from that natural idea of God, which Cartesius and his followers so much talk of, (albeit others long before Cartesius did observe this natural idea of God, and spoke of it.) But the happiness of the saints consists not in contemplating this natural idea of God, else the wicked would be as happy as the godly; yea, the very devil as the most holy angel: since, as is said, both the devil and most wicked men do as clearly perceive this natural idea of God, as the most holy men or angels.

‘If the Scripture then be true, there is in men a supernatural idea of God, which altogether differs from this natural idea: I say, in all men; because all men are capable of salvation, and consequently of enjoying this Divine vision. Now this capacity consisteth herein, that they have such a supernatural idea in themselves: for if there were no such idea in them, it were impossible they should so know God. For whatsoever is clearly and distinctly known, is known by its proper idea; neither can it other-ways be clearly and distinctly known: for the ideas of all things are divinely planted in our souls; for they are not begotten in us by outward objects, or outward causes, as the better philosophy teacheth, but only are by these outward things excited or stirred up. And this is true not only in supernatural ideas of God, and things divine, and in natural ideas of the natural principles of human understanding, and conclusions thence deduced by the strength of human reason: but even in the ideas of outward objects, which are perceived by the outward senses; as that noble Christian philosopher Boetius hath well observed; to which also the Cartesian philosophy agreeth. For when I see any outward object, whether it be a man, or horse, or bird, the outward object does not treat in my eye, nor yet in my mind the idea of those things; for the outward object does nothing but imprint in our sensible organs a corporeal motion. Now there is nothing in a corporeal motion that can form in us the ideas of those things; for all ideas are of a spiritual nature: now nothing that is corporeal can produce that which is spiritual, because the less excellent cannot produce the more excellent, else the effect would exceed its cause: which is against all sound reason, that it should bring forth what were of a higher and more excellent kind. Therefore all ideas, whether of natural or spiritual things, are divinely implanted in our minds; which nevertheless do not always appear, but sometimes appear, and sometimes are as it were hid in us, and sometimes are stirred up in us by causes outward or inward, and again do as it were sleep and shun our observation, and seem not to be otherways distinguished by our minds, but as thoughts and perceptions of the mind from the mind itself; that is, as the mode from the subject, or as a bodily motion from the body, whereof it is the motion: for as is the relation of a bodily motion to a body, so is the relation of a thought or perception of the mind to the mind. In this nevertheless they differ, that the mind can move itself, and operate in itself: which a body cannot do: but as a body can be moved by another, so also can the mind

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after this manner be moved by another, and that both by outward and inward causes, but chiefly by God himself, in whose hand all souls and creatures are. But of these things there is enough said at present ; and I hope, I have not thus far impertinently philosophized.

‘ As there are then natural ideas concerning the things of the natural world ; as for instance, ideas of light and colors, ideas of voice and sound, ideas of savoring and smelling, ideas of tasting and feeling, as of heat and cold, of grief and joy ; it follows also, that there are ideas of supernatural things, concerning the divine and supernatural things of the divine and supernatural world ; as ideas of those things above-mentioned in the spiritual world. And as the natural ideas are stirred up in us by outward and natural bodies, so those divine and supernatural ideas are stirred up in us by a certain principle, which is a body in naturals, in relation to the spiritual world, and therefore may be called a divine body ; not as if it were a part of God, who is a most pure spirit ; but the organ, or instrument of God, by which he worketh in us, and stirreth up in us these ideas of divine things, This is that flesh and blood of Christ, by which the saints are nourished ; which is a mystery to all unregenerated and mere natural men, never to be reached by them, while they remain in that state.

‘ Now if there be such supernatural ideas, there are also senses, or perceptive faculties by which those ideas are perceived ; for those are two relatives that suppose and infer one another : but in wicked men those senses or faculties do as it were sleep, as the visive faculty of a blind man ; but in the godly they are stirred up. Now by these divine and spiritual senses, which are distinct and distinguishable from all the natural faculties of the soul, whether of imagination, or natural reason, spiritual minded men do behold the glory and beauty of God, in respect whereof, and for which, all the glory of this world is despicable to them ; yea, even as dross and dung. And they also hear God inwardly speaking in their souls, words truly divine and heavenly, full of virtue and divine life ; and the savor and taste of divine things, and do, as it were, handle them with the hands of their souls. And those heavenly enjoyments do as really differ in their nature from all false similitudes, and fictitious appearances of them, which either the mind of man by its own strength can imitate, or any evil spirit to deceive man can counterfeit ; as a true man differs from the dead image of a man, or true bread, honey, wine, or milk, doth from the mere picture of those things. And albeit either the imagination of man, or subtilty of the devil, may counterfeit false likenesses of these enjoyments, by which men may be deceived ; and no doubt many are deceived ; that doth not hinder, but that those divine enjoyments are clearly perceived in such, in whom the divine and spiritual senses are truly opened, and the true supernatural ideas of those things truly raised up.

‘ And if there be at any time a mistake, the divine illumination is not the cause of that mistake, but some evil disposition of the mind ; as

happeneth in those things relating to natural reason. For there are many false appearances of reason, which differ as much from true reason, as those false and pretended revelations, and diabolical inspirations from such as are truly divine. Now, how many men who would be esteemed philosophers, are miserably deceived by those false likenesses of reason, judging their false reasons to be the true similitudes of things and solid ratiocinations; which nevertheless moveth no man of sound reason, to reject sound and solid reason, as doubtful and uncertain? For even sound natural reason is an excellent gift of God, and very useful to mankind, when used in its proper place: but let none think to comprehend by their natural reason things that are of a divine and supernatural kind. And as we use to do, when any one is deceived by false appearances of reason, we endeavor to reduce them to contemplate the first natural ideas of natural things, and to meditate therein, which is as a test or touchstone, by which all the appearances and likenesses of reason are to be examined; if they contradict them, to be rejected; so also when any one is deceived by his own imagination, or the cunning of satan, thinking any evil inspiration of the devil to be a true divine revelation, he that is so deceived, is to be reduced to the natural ideas of things, (if so be that pretended revelation doth contradict them, for no true divine revelation can contradict the true natural ideas,) or to the supernatural ideas of divine things, which are most simple, clear, and obvious to the minds of men, if they will turn their minds to the divine seed in them; or at least those ideas are readily and easily stirred up. For as in natural ideas, so in supernatural, some are more easily raised than others: for there is a certain order both of natural and supernatural ideas, whereby they are gradually excited: nor is there any mortal man, in whose mind at some time or other there is not stirred up some idea that is truly supernatural and divine, and who hath not felt in himself both the wrath and judgment of God for his sins; and also some tender and gentle taste of God's love and goodness, by which wicked men are invited to repentance. Now that which is thought to be a divine revelation, and is felt to contradict any divine and supernatural idea, which is clearly perceived in the soul, it is a manifest token that it is not a divine revelation, but either a false imagination, or the wicked suggestion of some evil spirit.

‘But to proceed: if we will hear the Scripture, (as all Christians ought,) it testifies to us, that God hath declared his mind and will even concerning contingent truths to come, in the prophets; as that of the first to the Hebrews doth evidently declare: “God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners spoke to our fathers in the prophets.” Yea, let us hear the prophets themselves; Hosea, chap. i. saith plainly, “That the word of the Lord was made in him,” as it is in the Hebrew. Habakkuk also says, As he was standing on his watch, to see what Jehovah would speak in him. And it is so manifest that the most heavenly revelations are by inward illustrations and inspirations in the very minds

of the prophets, that it is strange how any that believe in the Scripture should doubt of it. And if it happened at any time, such revelations were made in the natural imaginations of the prophets, or any of their inward natural senses, then it may be confessed, they could not be infallibly certain they came from God ; unless they also felt God in the divine and supernatural senses, by which they did most nearly approach to him, from these superior and most inward senses, working upon the lower and less noble faculties of the mind. But whichever way the prophets were certain, that they were inspired of God, even when they foretold contingent truths to come, it is without doubt, they were most certainly persuaded, that they were divinely inspired, and that frequently without any outward miracle. For John the Baptist did no miracle ; and many prophesied, where there appeared no miracle : as in the Scriptures may be often observed. And we also by the inspiration of the same Divine spirit, by which the prophets prophesied, do believe their words and writings to be divine, concerning contingent truths, as well passed as to come ; else that faith, by which we believe the Scripture, would not be divine, but merely human. And thence we need no outward miracles to move us to believe the Scriptures ; and therefore much less were they necessary to the prophets who wrote them. For we see in many places of the prophets, where they declare prophecies as revealed to them of God, there is not a word mentioned of any outward miracle, as that by which alone they were certain of it.

‘Moreover, the falseness of this argument doth appear, in that the Scripture doth declare many contingent truths to have been revealed to the prophets in dreams. Now as natural and wicked men do not see what they dream by a real perception of the outward senses, but by inward ideas which are presented to the mind, and perceived by it, so it is also in divine revelations of this nature. Of which we have a clear example in Joseph, the husband of the blessed Virgin, who, when he observed his wife with child, was told in a dream, that she had conceived by the Holy Ghost : now I would know, to which of Joseph’s outward senses was this revealed ? or what miracle had he to induce him to believe ? which could neither be proved, so as to make an infallible application to Mary, by the testimony of the Scripture ; and which being against the order of nature, did choke his reason. The Scripture mentions no miracle in this matter ; and yet no doubt Joseph had highly sinned had he not believed this revelation, and notwithstanding, rejected his wife as an adulteress. But if thou sayest, that according to thy hypothesis there must have been a miracle ; that is only to beg the question : and how false this hypothesis is, the apostle shows clearly, 1 Cor. ii. 14, the natural or animal man knoweth not, receiveth not, the things of God. Now divine revelations are of this nature ; if either chiefly or only those things were to be judged by the outward senses, it would contradict the apostle. For natural men, yea, the most wicked, have the use of the outward senses as true and exact as the most godly. And whereas the

apostle adds, "For they are spiritually discerned, it puts the matter out of all question : for thence it abundantly appears, that this discerning is not by the outward senses according to the following verse ; for the apostle saith, The spiritual man judgeth all things : this then must be done by some senses or properties peculiar to the spiritual man, and in which he excels the natural man, which is not in the outward senses, as all do know. Therefore the perception of spiritual things cannot be by the outward senses, either as the chief or only means as is falsely contended for.

'Now as to these words of the apostle, Rom x. That faith comes by hearing ; Zuinglius observed well, that the apostle intended not to affirm faith to come by the hearing of the outward word ; neither do the following words prove it, "How shall they believe, unless they hear ? and how shall they hear without a preacher ? and how shall they preach, unless they be sent ?" for the apostle uses these words, not as his arguments, but as objections which might be formed ; as the same apostle uses in other places ; to which objections he answers in the same chapter, as appears verse 18. "But I say, have not they all heard ? yes, truly their voice went into all the earth : " that is, of the Father and Son, or the Father in the word ; which word is not only near us, but according to the same apostle in the same chapter, in our mouths, and in our hearts. But further thou canst conclude nothing from this, but that faith is begotten by outward hearing only, and no otherwise : for this is the strength of thy argument, that since faith cannot be without outward hearing, therefore nothing can certainly be believed, but where somewhat is proposed to the outward hearing. For if thou acknowledge faith can be begotten any otherwise than by hearing, thou losest the strength of thy argument : and if that argument hold, that faith comes only by outward hearing, thou destroyest the whole hypothesis. For having before affirmed, that outward miracles are sufficient to render one certain of the truth of any revelation ; those miracles, whether it be the healing of the sick, or the raising of the dead, would avail nothing, because those, (as for the most part all miracles,) are obvious to the sight, not to the hearing : and if it be not by outward hearing only, thou canst conclude nothing from this place.

'But I the more wonder thy using of this argument considering the discourse we had together before we entered upon this debate : for when we were speaking of the opinion of a certain person, who denied the certainty of every thing, but what was discerned by the outward senses, thou condemnedst it as most absurd ; but why, I cannot conceive, since there is no great difference betwixt these two opinions : the one saith there can be no great certainty concerning any truths, whether they be necessary or contingent, but by the perception of the senses : the other affirms the same of contingent truths, though not of necessary truths. But among the number of contingent truths thou esteemest what belongs to Christian religion, for thou reckons the necessary truths only to belong to natural religion. This then is all the difference, that that other person

says, there is no certainty of any religion, neither natural nor Christian, but by the perception of the outward senses : but thou sayest though thou esteemest the certainty of natural religion to be without them, yet not of the Christian religion. But again, since thou esteemest that not natural religion but the Christian religion is necessary to salvation, thou must necessarily conclude, that those truths which are necessary to salvation, are only known and believed by the benefit of the outward senses ; in which conclusion, (which is the sum of all,) thou yieldest the matter to that other person.

‘ But lastly : if all the certainty of our faith, hope, and salvation, did depend upon the infallibility of outward senses, we should be most miserable ; since these senses can be easily deceived, and, by many outward casualties and natural infirmities, whereunto the godly are no less subject than the wicked, are often vitiated ; and there are, (as the Scripture affirms,) false miracles, which, as to the outward, cannot be distinguished from the true ; of which we cannot infallibly judge by the outward senses, which only discern what is outward.

‘ There is a necessity then to have recourse to some other means.

‘ From all which it does appear, how fallacious and weak this argument is : but thanks be unto God, who would not that our faith should be built upon so uncertain and doubtful a foundation. And whoever hath known true faith, or hath felt the divine testimony of God’s spirit in his soul, will judge otherwise, neither will be moved by such reasonings. I pray God therefore to remove these clouds, which darken thy understanding, that thou mayest perceive the glorious gospel of Christ ; this is that saving word of grace which I commend thee unto ; and that God may give thee a heart inclinable to believe and obey the truth, is the desire of

Thy faithful friend,

R. BARCLAY.’

*From the prison of Aberdeen, in Scotland,  
where I am confined for the sake of the  
testimony of Jesus. November 24, 1676.*

This letter, a year ago, at the desire of my friend R. B. I delivered into the hands of the afore-named ambassador, desiring his answer in writing, which he then promised ; but not having as yet done, it was seen meet to be published. B. F.

Rotterdam, the 28th of March, 1678.

*A brief and distinct Solution of the Argument which the Ambassador aforesaid useth against Robert Barclay’s Thesis, whereby he attempts to evince, that not the inward revelation of the Holy Spirit, but the outward by the Scripture, is the principal rule, and foundation of our faith : at least to us Europeans, who have the Scriptures.*

As to his argument, as it was transmitted to us, if he considers the strength and substance of it, thus it stands : ‘ The history of the outward



coming, nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, is either necessary to their salvation, to whom the Scriptures came, or it is not necessary, viz: to be known and believed. If we say the second, namely: that that history is not necessary to be known and believed in order to the salvation of us Europeans who have the Scriptures, then it will follow that we are not Christians, because we deny that true, essential and constitutive character of the Christian religion, which consists in believing that Christ was sent into the world, born of the Virgin Mary, dead and buried, rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, &c. But if they say the first, viz: That the knowledge and faith of the history are necessary to our salvation, then it will follow, that the Scripture, and not the inward revelation of the holy Spirit, is the principal rule and foundation of that historical faith and knowledge.

Now this he endeavors to prove, both from some other principles of the Quakers, so called, and from R. B's sixth Thesis, after this manner:

That, said the ambassador, is the principal rule and foundation of our faith, which is the only medium or mean, whereby that historical knowledge and faith are brought unto us, but, according to the Quakers, and the sixth Thesis, the Scripture is the only medium or mean, whereby that historical knowledge and faith are brought unto us: therefore, according to the Quakers, and the sixth Thesis, the Scripture is the principal rule and foundation of our faith.

The minor he proves thus: the author of the Thesis, (says he,) confesseth in his sixth Thesis, that there is a people to whom God, by some inevitable accident, hath made that historical knowledge and faith impossible: and the reason why that historical knowledge and faith are impossible to that people, is because they are destitute of the Scriptures, and live in those corners of the world, whereunto the outward preaching of the history never came; from which argument it will follow, that the Scriptures are the only medium or mean, whereby the historical knowledge and faith of Christ came to any people.

For the clearer understanding the solution of this argument, some things worthy of observation are to be considered:

1. First then observe, That the force of this argument at most intends to prove this, viz: That the Scripture is the principal rule and foundation of historical faith and knowledge; but we with good reason distinguish between historical and saving knowledge, and between historical and saving faith; because many may have a historical knowledge and faith, who have not that which is saving. Yea, it is possible, that a man, by the inward revelation of the holy Spirit, may have a historical knowledge and faith, who yet may not have that faith which is saving; because saving faith hath regard to God, not precisely as revealing some

outward history concerning God and Christ but as revealing very God and Christ by his grace, goodness, mercy and power, ready and willing to save us, according to his unspeakable good-will towards us: by which saving faith we rest upon God through Christ, our light and life, as upon our most merciful Father; which faith can neither exist, nor be conceived without love to God, humility before God, denial, and diffidence of self; and therefore such a faith is saving. But historical faith, though wrought in the hearts of men by the inward revelation and operation of the holy Spirit, may be without that divine love, humility and self-denial: wherefore precisely considered in its own nature, it is not saving. It was this kind of knowledge and faith which wicked Balaam had, who saw and knew many historical futurities, and believed them, but had not saving faith.

2. Observe, secondly, That the knowledge and faith necessary to salvation, are to be understood two ways, either by a necessity antecedent, or in way of priority, or by a necessity consequent, or in way of posteriority. Necessity antecedent, or in way of priority, is, when something is absolutely necessary to our salvation, that we both know and believe it; and because it is necessary, God doth therefore reveal it to us; of which sort are such principles as these, viz. That God follows men with his love and good-will; that he invites and persuades them to come unto him; that he is ready to show favor unto men, and pardon their sins, if they sincerely repent themselves of their past mis-spent life, and lead a new one for the time to come; that God hears the prayers of those that are truly humble and suppliant; that he is a glorious rewarder of all that live soberly, righteously, and godly; that he is a most just avenger against all those who despise his grace and love, and repent not of their sins, &c. All which, in some degree, are to all men, even to those who are destitute of the Scriptures, revealed by that inward evangelical light, which enlightens all men. Necessity consequent, or in way of posteriority, is, when something is not absolutely necessary to our salvation, but after a certain sort, or under some respect, condition, and limitation; of which kind are those things which are not revealed, because they are necessary; but because they are revealed, they are necessary to be believed by us; for example: if God should reveal to any man, that it was his will and command, he should go to Rome to reprove tyranny and superstition; certainly this revelation were necessary to be believed to that man's salvation, by a necessity consequent, because that faith is an act of obedience; and to obey God is necessary to salvation.

3. Observe in the third place, That among those things that are necessary to be believed to salvation by a necessity consequent, there are some things, though not absolutely necessary, yet are they very profitable and conducive means to our salvation; of which sort are the historical knowledge and faith concerning God, the creation and government of the world, Christ's

taking flesh, and dying therein for our sins, &c., whether that historical knowledge come to us, either by the sole inward revelation of the holy Spirit, without the medium or mean of Scripture, or also by both, to wit, both by the inward inspiration of the holy Spirit, and by the Scriptures; which two mediums or means do sometimes concur in producing in men historical knowledge and faith concerning God and Christ, as is said before, but in a different manner. The outward revelation, (as it is called,) of Scripture, is a medium or mean, by way of material object, in producing that historical knowledge and faith: but the inward inspiration and revelation wrought in the hearts of men by the holy Spirit, are a medium or mean by way of formal object, in producing the same historical knowledge and faith. By the material object we understand that which is believed; and therefore the Scriptures which are believed, are the material object of historical knowledge and faith. By the formal object we understand the principal motive in respect to the object, for which the Scriptures are believed. But the principal motive in respect of the object, is not the Scripture itself, but that inward testimony of the holy Spirit, which when we hear or read the Scriptures, when it pleaseth the most good and great God to inspire the hearts of men, works an assent in us, whether it inclines us to assent to the historical truths hitherto declared in the Scriptures or no: wherefore we do not affirm that the holy Spirit doth ordinarily and commonly speak in us something that is new, or declare to our inward hearing those particular histories of God and Christ, (though God may, if he shall please, do it at this day;) but we say, that God doth by his holy Spirit, through his sensible and perceptible motions and operations objectively representing themselves, move and incline us to assent unto, and believe the Scriptures, and the historical truths declared of in the Scriptures.

These things considered, we affirm, that though the Scriptures are ordinarily and commonly a certain medium or mean, by way of material object or condition, for the producing of historical knowledge and faith in us; and that, commonly speaking, a necessary mean too, as being that without which God doth not ordinarily reveal the outward history of God and Christ; yet we utterly deny that in true Christians the Scripture, or outward history in the Scriptures, is the principal motive, foundation, or principal rule of that historical faith, much less of saving faith, to the producing of which the letter of the Scripture doth very frequently, (as to many of its acts, if not all,) not concur or co-operate, either as a material object, or as a necessary condition, which is wont commonly to be called in the schools, *Causa sine quâ non*, or a cause or condition without which a thing cannot be done, though it doth not influence the effect.

Now for a direct solution of the argument aforesaid, we answer, that the historical knowledge and faith concerning Christ's being born, dead, buried, &c., to us Europeans, who have the Scriptures, are necessary to salvation, that is to say, by a necessity consequent, or in way of posteriority, (as was before explained,) which assertion of ours nevertheless militates not

against the sixth Thesis, which granteth, that that historical knowledge and faith are impossible to those who live in those corners of the world, where the knowledge of the history is wanting: which impossibility is not absolutely to be understood, but after a sort, and in some respect; because, without doubt, God doth ordinarily communicate that historical knowledge unto men, by the medium or mean of the Scriptures; yet not as by the principal medium or mean, much less as by the only one: because certainly that inward motion of the holy Spirit wrought in our hearts, moving and inclining us objectively to assent unto, and believe the Scriptures, is the principal motive in respect of the object, for which we believe the Scriptures, and therefore is the foundation and principal rule of our historical faith also.

Wherefore we answer unto the minor proposition of the last syllogism, by plainly and directly denying that minor proposition, viz. That the Scriptures are the only medium or mean for attaining to the knowledge of the history: they are indeed one certain medium or mean, and that necessary; but they are not the only or principal. An example for the illustration hereof, occurs in natural and outward vision; for when I see a white or red rose, that white or red rose is the material object of my sight, and one necessary medium for the producing of that sight; yet that rose is not the only medium or mean; for the light is another, no less necessary, concurring to produce my sight, by way of formal object, by means of which I see that rose represented under such or such a color and figure. Moreover, in that he asserts, these inward motions wrought by the holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, are so undiscernible by us, that believers cannot clearly and infallibly distinguish them from their own private and proper motions; this he supposes but proves not. And therein he is deceived, either through his inexperience, or want of that due waiting, and attention to those motions in the divine illumination of Christ, wherewith he hath enlightened both him [the ambassador] and all men coming into the world. But our experience, together with the experience of the holy prophets and apostles, is a stronger motive to induce us to believe, that divine inward revelation is sufficiently clear and convincing by its own light and evidence, than his own bare and jejune supposition to the contrary, by reason of his want of experience or attention.

As to the Latin, we have not been very curious in this writing, by reason of haste; yet have briefly answered the argument as a friend communicated it to us by letter; if he hath omitted any thing in this transmission, or we may seem not to have understood, or touched the strength of the argument, let it be remitted to us; and we, through divine assistance, shall answer it at large.

GEORGE KEITH, and  
ROBERT BARCLAY.

This solution was delivered to the said ambassador, not long before the epistle cited page 537, and at page 17, in the Appendix to Sewel's Dutch History.

*A brief Enodation of an Argument proposed by another person.*

Moreover as to what relates to another person's argument against that part of R. B's second Thesis, which asserts, that divine inward revelation is that which is evident and clear of itself, moving the well-disposed understanding by its own evidence, &c. to the end of the Thesis.

The argument is thus formed : Such an evidence as is asserted in the Thesis, is destructive of faith, because it is not the evidence of faith. He proves the antecedent by the words of the Apostle, "Faith is the evidence of things not seen." Heb. xi. 1. By which words the apostle seems to intimate, that faith hath not this kind of evidence ; for if it were of things seen, it would contradict the apostle.

The solution of this argument is easy ; for evidence is three-fold.

The first is the evidence of things sensible, appertaining to the outward senses.

The second is the evidence of things intellectual, but natural, appertaining to natural reason.

The third is the evidence of things spiritual and supernatural, as they are proposed to the understanding by the inward illumination and revelation of the Holy Spirit.

The first evidence may be called the evidence of sense, or animal evidence.

The second, the evidence of reason, or rational evidence.

The third, the evidence of faith, or spiritual evidence.

But faith is the evidence of things not seen, that is, neither visible by the outward senses, or by natural reason ; yet these things hinder not, but that faith may be the evidence of things not seen by the understanding of a man, not as operating in its own natural way, but as divinely elevated and assisted by the inward illumination and operation of the holy Spirit. Wherefore, though things appertaining to faith may be very obscure, and as it were mere darkness, both to the outward senses, and natural reason ; yet they have their evidence, if duly proposed to an understanding divinely enlightened. Is it not said in the same chapter to the Hebrews, concerning Moses, that by faith he saw God ? That is to say, not by the outward eye, nor by the eye of natural reason, but by the eye of faith.

The curious may see the original Latin, from which the preceding are translated, in the Appendix to William Sewel's Dutch History of the Quakers.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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THE TENTH BOOK.

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THE year 1677 was scarce begun, when G. Fox, though the roads were yet covered with snow, travelled again. After he had passed many places, and preached in the meetings of his friends, he came to York, and going thence to Nottingham, went to the house of John Reckless, who was sheriff there when G. Fox preached the first time in that town, and was imprisoned on that account: but he taking G. Fox into his house, had been so reached by what he spoke, that he embraced the doctrine he held forth, and never departed from the profession thereof. Thence G. Fox passed through Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, where he met with William Dewsbury, and so came again to London, where having assisted at the annual meeting, he, with William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, &c. went over to Holland, to see his friends there, and to edify them with his gift. William Penn and Robert Barclay travelled up into Germany, and since R. Barclay the year before had spoken with the princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate, daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and sister of Sophia, late duchess of Hanover, mother of George, king of Great Britain, W. Penn had also written two letters to her from England, which she answered by this following:

*Herford, May 2, 1677.*

‘This, friend, will tell you that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Savior Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples is not so much as a cup of cold water: it affords them no refreshment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the duchess of L. as I have expressed at the same time unto B. F. But since R. B. desired I should write it, I could not refuse him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty,

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though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

Your affectionate friend,  
ELIZABETH.'

G. Fox also from Amsterdam wrote a letter to this virtuous princess, wherein he commended her modest and retired life, and exhorted her to piety and godliness: to which she answered with this letter:

'*Dear Friend,*

'I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him: therefore your letter, and your friend's visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still

Your loving friend,  
ELIZABETH.'

Herford, the 30th of August, 1677.

This correspondence gave occasion to William Penn and Robert Barclay, to pass towards Herford, a town on the frontiers of Paderborn, and to give the said princess, who resided there, a visit. With her lived Anna Maria, countess of Hornes; and in one of the chambers of the princess, William Penn and Robert Barclay had a meeting with the princess, the countess, and several others, to their great satisfaction. And the countess, who was one of Labadie's adherents, signified to William Penn, that she wished a meeting might be had where the inferior servants might freely appear. William Penn not refusing this, the princess consented to it; and after the meeting, (where she was not present, that so her servants might have a more free access,) she expressed much satisfaction in having had that good opportunity. And then so earnestly invited William Penn and Robert Barclay, (who lodged at an inn,) to sup with her, that they not being well able to refuse the invitation, yielded to it. There was then with her a French woman of quality, who having had before a very slight opinion of the Quakers, now became deeply broken, and very affectionately kind and respectful to William Penn and Robert Barclay. The next day was the first of the week; and it being agreed with the princess to have another meeting, William Penn desired that not only as many of her own family, but as many of the town as would willingly be there, might be admitted. To this she yielded. And thus William Penn and Robert Barclay had a large opportunity to preach effectually, and to discharge themselves. After the meeting was done, the princess came to William Penn, and taking him by the hand, she spoke to him of the sense she had of the power and presence of God that had been among them; and thus going

on she broke forth into an extraordinary passion, crying out, 'I cannot speak to you, my heart is full,' clapping her hand upon her breast. This affected William Penn not a little, yet he spoke a few words to her by way of admonition; and then taking his leave of her, she said, 'Will you not come hither again? Pray call here as ye return out of Germany.' To this he returned, 'We are in the hand of the Lord, and being at his pleasure, cannot so fully dispose of ourselves.' Solemn leave then being taken, Robert Barclay returned to Amsterdam, and William Penn went to Paderborn, and so by the way of Cassel, (where he spoke with the aged and learned Dureus,) to Frankfort. Here he found several persons of note, with whom he had several times a meeting, and once at the house of a young gentlewoman, noble of birth, called Johannah Eleonora Merlane, who said to him, 'Our quarters are free for you, let all come that will come; and lift up your voices without fear.'

Departing thence William Penn came to Chrisheim, a village near Worms, where then lived some of his friends who afterwards went to Pennsylvania, and settled themselves there. Whilst William Penn was in the Palatinate, he wrote an exhortatory epistle\* to Elizabeth princess Palatine, and Anna Maria countess of Hornes; and then went to Heidelberg, the chief city of the Palatinate, to speak with the prince Elector, Charles Ludowick, brother of the said princess Elizabeth; but the said prince then happened to be out of town: and since his chief message was to desire the prince that the Quakers at Chrisheim might be treated more mildly, (for tithes were exacted from them not only by the parson of the village, but also by the popish priests of Worms; and the vaught, or mayor of the town, endeavored to restrain their due liberty of religious meeting together,) he thence took occasion to write a letter in their favor to the said prince,† because he had not been able to speak to him. Returning afterwards to Chrisheim, and preaching there in a meeting of his friends, he was overheard by the vaught, or chief-officer, who stood at the back-door that he might not be seen, who was so well pleased with what he heard, that he afterwards told the parson, that it was his work, if the Quakers were heretics, to discover them to be such: 'But for my part,' continued he, 'I heard nothing but what was good, and therefore I will not meddle with them.' For the parson had busied himself to persuade the vaught that it was his duty to suppress heresy: but the vaught made it appear that he had no mind to persecute for religion's sake. W. Penn having now cleared his conscience, returned by way of Frankfort, Cologne, Cleves &c., to Amsterdam, where at Cologne he received a letter from the princess Elizabeth, in answer to that he had written to her from the Palatinate: the said letter was as followeth:

' *The 1<sup>st</sup> of September, 1677.*

' *Dear Friend,*

' I have received your greetings, good wishes, and exhortations, with much joy, and shall follow the latter as far as it will please our great

\* See Penn's *Travels in Holland, &c.*, 3d impression. p. 77.

† Ibid. p. 84.



God to give me light and strength. I can say little for myself, and can do nothing of myself; but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end, and that I shall not shrink for his fire. I do long for it; and when he assures my ways I hope he will give me power to bear the cross I meet therein; I am also glad to hear the journey hath been prosperous, both in the constitutions of your bodies to withstand the badness of the weather, and in the reception you had in Cassel, Frankfort, and Chrisheim. Nothing surprised me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect so much ingenuousness, having lately written a book, entitled, *Le véritable Chrétien*, that doth speak in another way. I wish to know what reception you have had at Fredericksburg, and if this find you at Cleves, I wish you might take an occasion to see the two pastors of Mulheim, which do really seek the Lord, but have some prejudice against your doctrine, as also the countess there. It would be of much use for my family to have them disabused; yet God's will be done in that, and all things else concerning

Your loving friend in the Lord Jesus,

ELIZABETH.'

Whilst William Penn made this journey into Germany, George Fox was gone to Hamburg and Frederickstadt, to visit his friends there; and Penn being returned to Amsterdam, went thence to Friesland, and met George Fox as he was coming back to Holland, at Leewarden; whence he made a step to Wiewart, where a society of the Labadites dwelt. Here he spoke with the famous Anna Maria Schurman, the gentlewoman Somerdykes, the French pastor Peter Yvon, and others. After some discourse from both sides, when Yvon had given a relation concerning John de Labadie, how he was bred among the Jesuits, and deserted them, and embraced the Protestant religion, and how becoming dissatisfied with the formal Protestants, he with some that adhered to him, had separated themselves from the vulgar assemblies, Anna Maria Schurman began to speak, and gave an account of her former life, of her pleasure in learning, and her love to the religion she was brought up in, but confessed she knew not God or Christ truly all that while. And though from a child God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke, as by the ministry of John de Labadie: and then she saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death; and therefore resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herself with this little family, that was retired out of the world. This and much more she spoke in a sensible frame, and with a serious mind, not without some trembling. And then one of the Somerdykes gave also an ample relation, concerning her inward state, and how she had been reached by the preaching of Labadie; and how before that time she had mourned because of the deadness and formality of the vulgar Christians, and said within herself, 'O the pride, the lusts, the vain pleasures in which Christians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is

this the way to glory? Are these followers of Christ? O no! O God where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family that will live entirely to thee, that will follow thee? Make me one of that number.' Then she told how being pricked to the heart, when she heard Labadie preach, she had resolved to abandon the glory and pride of this world; and further said, that she counted herself happy to have joined with this separated family. After some others had likewise given an account of their change, William Penn also gave a circumstantial relation, how he had been gradually drawn off from the vanity and pride of life; what adversities he had met with in the university at Oxford, because of his not joining with the debauchery committed there; and how, after having lived some time in France, he had been convinced by the effectual ministry of Thomas Loe, and so came to be joined with the despised Quakers. This his relation he concluded with a serious admonition how they ought to go on, and to grow in the true fear of God. At parting, one of the pastors asked him if the truth rose not first amongst a poor, illiterate and simple sort of people. 'Yes,' answered William Penn: 'and it is our comfort that we owe it not to the learning of this world.' To which the pastor returned, 'Then let not the learning of this world be used to defend that which the Spirit of God hath brought forth; for scholars now coming among you, will be apt to mix school learning amongst your simpler and purer language, and thereby obscure the brightness of your testimony.' W. Penn having answered to the purpose, took his leave, and travelled by way of Groningen to Emden, where the Quakers at that time were persecuted severely with imprisonments and banishments: but I waive the relation thereof, because it hath long ago been published in print, and the magistrates there, being afterwards moved to pity by the persecution the Protestants suffered in France, came to a better resolution, as may be mentioned in the sequel.

When W. Penn came to Emden, he went to speak with the burgo-master André, at his house, and asked him if he and the senate had not received a letter in Latin\* from an Englishman about two years since,

\* Which being translated into English, runs thus, and deserves the serious consideration of all magistrates.

TO THE COUNCIL AND SENATE OF THE CITY OF EMDEN.

*The King of kings, and Lord of lords, who is God of all the families of the earth, incline your hearts to justice, mercy and truth.*

The noise of your severe treatment of several persons that are inhabitants of your state, reproachfully termed Quakers, hath reached these parts, and filled several with compassion and surprise; compassion to hear of the\* miseries of men innocent and upright, against whom you have nothing to object, but the pure exercise of their conscience to God; surprise,

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\* Our account says, some were cruelly beaten by order; others banished; some put in a dungeon, and fed with bread and water only; several fined greater sums of money, it is thought, than they had to pay.

concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers? The burgo-master said he had. W. Penn then replied, 'I am that man, and am constrained in conscience to visit thee on their behalf;' &c. The

that you, a Protestant state, should employ your civil power to deter, punish, and grievously afflict men for answering the convictions of their consciences, and acting according to the best of their understanding. Methinks you should not be oblivious of your own condition in the loins of your ancestors, who, you think, with great reason and justice, strenuously advocated the cause of liberty of conscience against the pope's bulls and the Spanish Inquisition; how did they anti-christian all force on conscience or punishment for non-conformity? Their own many and large apologies, and particularly their demands at the diets of Nuremberg and Spire, are pregnant proofs in the case; and your practice doth not lessen the weight of their reasons; on the contrary, it aggravates your unkindness, let me say, injustice.

Protestants, (and such you glory to be thought,) got their name by protesting against imposition; and will you turn imposers? They condemned it; and will you practice it? They thought it a mark peculiar to the beast; and can you repute it the care of a Christian magistracy? I mean, that persons must not live under your government, unless they receive your mark in the forehead or right hand? Which in plainer terms is, to submit their consciences to your edicts, and to ask your leave what religion they should be of. Remember, that faith is the gift of God; and, that what is not of faith is sin: nothing can be more unreasonable, than to compel men to believe against their belief, or to trouble them for practising what they believe, when it thwarts not the moral law of God.

You doubtless take yourselves to be Christians, and would esteem it no little injury to be otherwise represented; yet what more unchristian, than to use external force to sway the consciences of men about the exercise of religious worship.

Christ Jesus, the Lord and author of the Christian religion, censured his own disciples, that would have had fire from heaven to destroy those that conformed not to what their blessed Master taught: are you surer of your religion? Are you better Christians? Or, have you more Christian authority, than they that were the chosen witnesses of Jesus? However, remember, they called but for fire from heaven; and can you kindle fire on earth to devour them? Them, I say, that are of your own people, merely for their religious dissent from you? Doubtless, if that was then thought no fit argument to induce men to conformity by him that was wiser than Solomon; it reflects greatly upon your modesty and prudence, that you should find out new ways, or rather old exploded ones to effect so ill a design. Besides, you do not say you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing further to be revealed; have a care therefore, that you persecute not angels, by being harsh to that which you call strange; think not ill, much less speak, and least of all act, that which is so against what you do not perfectly understand. I am well persuaded, that those you inflicted such severe penalties upon, mean well in what they believe, (to be sure much better than you think they do, or else you are extremely to blame,) and that the reason of their present distance from you, is not to introduce or insinuate dangerous or exotic opinions, but to live a life of more holiness, purity and self-denial, than before: they do not think that you walk up to your own principles; and have reason to believe that the power of godliness is much lost among you: and having long lain under a decay and languishing of soul for want of true spiritual nourishment, they have now betaken themselves to that heavenly gift and grace of God in themselves for divine satisfaction, even that holy anointing that is able to teach them all things necessary for them to know; as the blessed apostle speaks; and they find the joys of the Holy Ghost in so doing; and I am persuaded they are not less peaceable, sober, just and neighborly than formerly, and altogether as consistent with the prosperity of civil society; and I am sure it is both found and confessed among us here by some men of quality, learning and virtue. Further, be pleased to consider with yourselves, that you justify the ancient persecutions of the Christians and first reformers, whose superiors thought as ill of them, as you do of these men; nay, you show the Papists what to do in their dominions to your own brethren. Do as you would be done by: if you would have liberty, give it; you know that God's witness in your hearts dictates this to you as an immutable law.

Could you give faith, it were more excusable for you to punish such as should resist; but since that is impossible, the other is unreasonable; for it is to afflict men for not being what

burgomaster deported himself with more kindness than was expected, and gave some faint hope of alteration ; but it appeared sufficiently that the senate was not as yet so disposed, for persecution continued there yet a long while.

they cannot be unless they turn hypocrites : that is the highest pitch your coercive power can arrive at ; for never did it convert or preserve one soul to God ; instead thereof it offers violence unto conscience, and puts a man either upon the denial of his faith and reason, or being destroyed for acting according to them : but what greater disproportion can there be, than what lieth between the intellect of man, and prisons, fines and banishments ? They inform no man's judgment, resolve no doubts, convince no understanding : the power of persuasion is not to be found in any such barbarous actions, no more than the doctrine of Christianity. This course destroys the bodies and estates of men, (and property which they repute themselves guardians of, is hereby lost,) instead of saving their souls : were they in the wrong, it would become you to use God's weapons, his sword of the Spirit, that saveth the creature ; and slayeth the evil in him ; this course tends to heart-burnings and destruction ; I am sure it is no gospel argument.

I beseech you for the sake of that Lord Jesus Christ, that suffered so patiently for his own religion, and so sharply prohibited making other men to suffer for theirs, that you would have a care how you exercise power over men's consciences. My friends, conscience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative : it is to usurp his authority, and boldly ascend his throne, to set lords over it. Were their conversation scandalous, and destructive to the good of your state, you were to be held excusable ; but verily, no man of mercy and conscience, can defend your practice upon poor men so peaceable and inoffensive. Gamaliel will rise up in judgment against you, if you persevere in this course. Do not you help to fill the catalogue of persecutors, in much love I entreat you ; but as becomes Christian men and true Protestants, leave men to their particular persuasions of affairs relative of the other world, which have no ill aspect on the affairs of this : but vice hath an evil consequence as to both : therefore punish vice, and affect truth and righteousness, and bend not your civil power to torment religious dissenters, but to retrieve good life, lamentably lost amidst the great pretences that are made to religion. Doubtless magistracy was both ordained of God, and elected by men, to be a terror of evil-doers, and not to them that do well, though of different judgments. You oppugn the Roman church for assuming infallibility to herself, and yet your own practice maketh you guilty of the same presumption or worse ; for either you do exercise that severity upon an infallible knowledge, or you do not ; if you do, you take that to yourselves your principle denies to any church whatever, which is a contradiction ; if you do not, you punish people for not conforming to what you yourselves deny any certainty about : and how do you know but you compel them to that which is false, as well as that which is true ? Verily, this dilemma is not easily avoided, as well as that this inhuman practice will stain your profession, infame your government, and bring a blot upon your posterity.

Remember that they are men as well as yourselves, born free, and have equal plea to natural and civil common privileges with yourselves : the different persuasion of their consciences about things relating to another life, can no ways render them unfit for this ; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the same right to their liberty and property as ever, having by no practice of theirs in the least forfeited any of those human advantages, the great charters of nature and Scripture have conferred upon them : and the opulency of your neighbors and prosperity of their affairs, prove to you that indulgence is not inconsistent with policy ; howbeit, you have now tried the sincerity of their procedure by what you have already inflicted, and they sustained ; let the time passed suffice, and make them not sacrifices for their conscientious constancy. If they are in the wrong, it is more than they know ; will you persecute men for being what they must be, if they will be true to themselves ? this were great violence ; rather commiserate than thus violently compel them. I beseech you, seek some cheaper way to accommodate yourselves, than by their destruction, who are so very remote from seeking yours. Oh ! the day will come, wherein one act of tenderness about matters of conscience, shall find a better reward, than all the severity by which men use to propagate their persuasions in the world ; and there is great reason for it, since the one flows from the Savior, the other from the destroyer of men. In fine, let your moderation be

After W. Penn had staid some time at Emden, he took a turn again to Herford, where he was received very kindly by the princess Elizabeth, and the countess of Hornes; and more than once he had a meeting in her chamber; and the princess was so reached and affected by his speaking, that she said, 'I am fully convinced; but oh my sins are great!' this gave occasion to W. Penn to speak to the princess and the countess apart, with respect to their particular conditions; which made a deep impression on their minds, especially the countess.' Being much pressed by the princess to stay and sup with her, he yielded: and the countess from a serious sense of her compliance with the world, told him, '*Il faut que je rompe, il faut que je rompe,*' i. e. 'I must break off, I must break off.' And at another time with a weighty countenance she cried out, 'O the cumber and entanglements of this vain world; they hinder all good.' Once the princess said to them, 'It is a hard matter to be faithful to what one knows. I fear that I am not weighty enough in my spirit.' At another time she told him, 'Among my books I have records that the gospel was by the English first brought from England into Germany; and now it is come again.' Thus this excellent princess signified how highly she valued the preaching of the gospel to her by W. Penn, and how much she esteemed his labor and ministry. When he took his leave of these eminent persons, having taken the princess by the hand, which she received with a weighty kindness, being much broken in spirit, he wished the blessing and peace of Jesus with and upon her; and then exhorting the countess, she frequently besought him to remember her, and implore the Lord on her behalf.

Next taking wagon for Wesel, thence he travelled to Duisburgh, Dusseldorf, and Cologne, and then back again to Dusseldorf, to see if he could get an opportunity at Mulheim, to speak with the countess of Falkenstein, who was reported to be a very religious person, and there-

known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand, whose reward is with him; and he will recompense every man, family, state, kingdom and empire, according to the nature of their works committed in this mortal body; at whose bar it shall never be laid to your charge, that out of fear of taking God's office out of his hands, and being unmerciful to tender consciences, you admitted men of differing judgments to dwell quietly among you: truly, you cannot be too tender in this point.

Imitate the God of nature and grace, by being propitious to all; his sun shineth on all; his rain falls on all, he gives life and being to all; his grace visits all, and in times of ignorance he winketh: and though such you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who, make such broad tokens of your displeasure. Oh! how forbearing and merciful is he towards you? Have you so lately escaped the wrath of enemies, and can you already thus sharply treat your friends? Had he entered into judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his goodness to you prevail with you, to express clemency to others, that so the great God of the whole earth, even the God of the spirits of all flesh, who respects not the persons of the rich, poor, or powerful in judgment, may show you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments. Amen.

Your friend with the greatest integrity in the

Universal principle of love and truth

W. PENN.

London, December 14, 1674.

fore in his former journey he had endeavored to visit her, but in vain; for the count of Bruch and Falkenstein, her father, kept her as it were under a confinement, because she was of a religious temper; and therefore he called her a Quaker, though she did not at all converse with any of the Quakers. He had also used W. Penn very roughly, when, being necessitated to pass by his castle, he being lord of that country, asked him and his friends whence they were, and whither they went? to which they answered, that they were Englishmen come from Holland, and going no further in those parts than his town Mulheim: but they not pulling off their hats, the count called them Quakers, and said, 'We have no need of Quakers here. Get you out of my dominions; you shall not go to my town.' And he commanded some of his soldiers, to see them out of his territory. Thus W. Penn, and those with him, were necessitated to lie that night in the open air. But the next day he wrote a letter to the said count, and therein told him, 'For thy saying, we want no Quakers here, I say, under favor, you do; for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh out his salvation with fear and trembling.'

W. Penn being come to Mulheim, could now no more find opportunity to speak with the countess than the first time he was in those parts; and therefore he went to Duisburgh, Wesel, and Cleves, where having had conferences with some religious people, he returned by way of Utrecht to Amsterdam, where G. Fox was also come back again.

Here W. Penn and G. Fox had a conference and dispute with Dr. Galenus Abraham, an eminent Baptist teacher, and some of that persuasion. Galenus asserted, that nobody now-a-days could be accepted as a messenger of God, unless he confirmed his doctrine by miracles. W. Penn wanted no arguments to contradict this, since the Christian religion had been once already confirmed by miracles, and that therefore this now was needless among Christians. G. Fox now and then spoke also something to the matter; but he being somewhat short breathed, went several times away, which some were ready to impute to a passionate temper; but I well know that therein they wronged him. This dispute was indeed a troublesome business; for the parties on both sides were fain to speak by an interpreter, which generally was performed so imperfectly, that at last the conference was broken off, without coming to a decision, although many weighty arguments were objected against the position. Certainly it cannot be denied that John the Baptist was sent of God to preach repentance; and yet in sacred writ it is said positively, John did no miracle; and yet many believed in him. And although there were some among the prophets that wrought miracles, yet we do not find in the Holy Scriptures that Jonah, who was indeed a notable preacher of repentance, did any miracle, and nevertheless the Ninevites believed him, and deprecated those judgments he denounced, unless they repented. Of several other true prophets we find not the least mention of any miracles they did; but on the contrary, the Scrip-

tures signify, that possibly false prophets might arise, and give signs or wonders; and that the doing of miracles could not always be a proof, or sure evidence, that any one was sent of God, appears plainly from what our Savior himself said, viz. that among those to whom he should one day say, "Depart from me," would be such that should say, "Have we not in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works?" And what shall we think of the sorcerers of Egypt; did not they seem to do the same wonders as Moses and Aaron did? And yet those wonders wherewithal they deceived Pharaoh and his men, were in no ways wrought by a divine power. Now, since it appears plainly from the holy Scriptures, and Christ himself said, "There shall arise false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders," we might with good reason suspect the doctrine of one, who now-a-days wrought miracles, on purpose to make what he denounced, pass for truth.

This being duly considered, it seems to be very absurd, to require miracles again for confirmation of the same gospel which once hath been confirmed by miracles; and to desire that the truth of what once hath been declared by the apostles, and strengthened by wonderful works, should be sealed anew with outward wonders. But it would indeed have been another case, if a new gospel was preached, and that any pretended to give forth new Holy Scriptures; for then it might be said with some reason, that it was necessary that this new gospel, should be made credible, and confirmed by visible miracles. But where no other gospel is preached, than what hath been once delivered to the Christians by the first promulgators of the Christian religion, and where this is not done amongst heathens, but amongst Christians, or at least such as bear the name, there it cannot in justice be required to confirm this doctrine once more with miracles, the rather because, as hath been shown already, the doing of miracles may not always pass for an irrefragable proof of one's being really pious and godly. To this may be added, that the miracles which Christ and his apostles wrought, to give credit to the appearing of the Son of God in the flesh, may be considered as types and figures of those spiritual wonders which should be wrought in the souls of people, when Christ was to be seen the second time, and to appear by his spirit, to the salvation of those who wait for him; for the eyes of the mind being blinded, must be opened and enlightened by him; and many that are dead in sin and trespasses, shall by him be raised, and made alive. This I think may suffice to show, that the position of Dr. Galenus could not stand the test; but whatever was objected, he continued to maintain his opinion.

Not long after this dispute, G. Fox and W. Penn returned to England, where, having sustained a violent tempest at sea, they arrived safely at Harwich: passing thence to London, W. Penn there received the following letter from the princess Elizabeth, in answer to his:

*Herford, Oct. 29 1677.*

*'Dear Friend,*

*'Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow it as much as lies in me, but God's grace must be assistant, as you say yourself; he accepts nothing that does not come from him. If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires most, I mean to do all in and by his Son, I shall be in no better condition than at this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God myself. Remember my love to G. F. B. F. G. K. and dear Gertrude.\* If you write no worse than your post-script, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening; I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man; I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,*

*Your true friend,*

*ELIZABETH.'*

*'P. S. I almost forgot to tell you, that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osnaburgh, to return to Amsterdam. There is also a Drossard of Limburg near this place, (to whom I gave an exemplar of R. B's apology,) very desirous to speak with some of the Friends.'*

Yet another letter W. Penn received from the said princess, in answer to one he wrote from the Briel, on his passage towards England, which was as followeth:

TO THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH,

Salvation in the Cross, Amen.

*'Dear and truly respected Friend,*

*'My soul most earnestly desireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which standeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as it is done in heaven. O dear princess, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteousness, "Not my will, but thine be done, O God!" Thy days are few, and then thou must go to judgment.† Then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement hast thou made? Let it prove and show its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all that love it, to God. O that thou mayest be able to give an account with joy!*

*'I could not leave this country, and not testify the sentiments I bear in my mind, of that humble and tender entertainment thou gavest us at thy court: the Lord Jesus reward thee: and surely he hath a*

\* This was Gertrude Dericks, who had visited the princess, and afterwards came to live in England, and was married to Stephen Crisp.

† She died about four years after.



blessing in store for thee. Go on, be steadfast, overcome, and thou shalt inherit. Do not despond: one that is mighty is near thee; a present help in the needful time of trouble. O let the desire of thy soul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him. O wait upon the Lord, and thou shalt renew thy strength! The youth shall faint, and the young men shall fail, but they that trust in the Lord shall never be confounded.

'I wish thee all true and solid felicity, with my whole soul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in his keeping, that thou mayest not lose, but keep in that divine sense, which by his eternal word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear princess, my sincere and Christian salutation: grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jesus.

'Thy business I shall follow with all the diligence and discretion I can, and by the first give thee an account, after it shall please the Lord to bring me safe to London. All my brethren are well, and present thee with their dear love; and the rest with thee that love Jesus, the light of the world, in thy family. Thou hast taught me to forget thou art a princess, and therefore I use this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifest; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou pleasest, the salutation of my dear love to A. M. de Hornes, with the enclosed. Dear princess, do not hinder, but help her. That may be required of her, which, (considering thy circumstances,) may not yet be required of thee. Let her stand free, and her freedom will make the passage easier unto thee. Accept what I say, I entreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and respect, in which I write so plainly to thee. Farewell, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am more than I can say,

Thy great lover, and

Respectful friend,

W. PENN.'

'I refer thee to the inclosed for passages. We visited Gichtel and Hooftman, and they us: they were at one or two of the meetings at Amsterdam. *Vale in æternum.*'

To this letter the princess returned the following answer.

'This 17 November, 1677.

'Dear Friend,

'I have received a letter from you that seemeth to have been written on your passage into England, which I wish may be prosperous: without date, but not without virtue to spur me on to do and suffer the will of our God. I can say in sincerity and truth, Thy will be done, O God, because I wish it heartily; but I cannot speak in righteousness, until I possess that righteousness which is acceptable unto him. My house and my heart shall be always open to those that love him. Gichtel has

been well satisfied with the conferences between you. As for my business, it will go as the Lord pleaseth, and I remain in him

Your affectionate friend,

ELIZABETH.'

G. Fox now being come to London, received there letters from New England, with an account of the cruel proceedings of the magistrates against his friends there : for persecution being hot in Old England, it made those in New England the worse ; insomuch that they did not only whip the Quakers that were there, but also some masters of ships that were no Quakers, only for bringing some of that persuasion thither. But about that time the Indians made an inroad upon the English, and slew three score of their men ; and having taken one of their captains, they flayed off the skin of his head, while he was alive, and carried it away in triumph.

Now since the people called Quakers were also much persecuted in Scotland, they drew up an account of their sufferings, and delivered it to the king in the beginning of this year ; but whether they got any ease thereby, I cannot tell.

In the latter part of this year, G. Fox travelled through many places of England. In the meanwhile I will again make some mention of the persecution there. At Plymouth about this time, those called Quakers were generally kept out of their meeting-house, and then performing their worship in the open street, as a duty they owed to God, and for the omission of which they judged no man could be dispensed with, they suffered exceedingly, not only in winter, by the sharpness of the weather, but also in summer ; for it was more than twelve months that they thus kept their meetings in the open street, being grievously abused, by the rabble and the soldiers ; for beating and punching seemed not sufficient ; fiery squibs and burning coals were thrown among them, and filthy excrements cast down upon them out of a window : besides, fines were extorted for their having been at the meeting, on the account of one Richard Samble, who was fined as preacher, for having been on his knees at prayer, which fine was laid upon four of them that were at the said meeting.

At Frenchay in Gloucestershire, the justice, John Merideth, behaved himself exceedingly furious in disturbing the Quakers' meetings ; for he himself did not only beat them, but more than once drew his knife to mark them, as he called it, had he not been restrained by his servants, who for all that could not prevent his taking some by the hair of the head, and pulling them away ; nay, the havoc and spoil which was made, was so extravagant, that from one Thomas Holbrow, an ancient blind man, they took his bed from under him, so that he and his wife lay about a quarter of a year on straw ; and when his friends provided him with some clothing against winter, part of that was also taken from him : for such plundering now went on with a full career ; and the basest men were

authorized to deprive others of their goods, if there was but a justice that favored such.

At Bayton, in Suffolk, Edmund Bally was by warrant from justice Burwel, despoiled of what he had, both within doors and without, his goods having been distrained five times ; and though he was fain to lie on straw, yet he was not left unmolested, for they came in the night, armed with pistols, and broke open his door, threatening to destroy him. It happened there also, that a poor blind widow, on her sick bed, was visited by some persons ; and this was made a conventicle, and they were fined, and warrants issued out by the aforesaid justice to make distress on their goods. In many other places things went no better : but I may not detain my reader with every particular.

This year died in prison William Dobson, of Brightwell in Berkshire, having been spoiled of his goods from time to time, during the space of thirteen years, and almost always in prison too, till his hard sufferings ended his life.

It was also in this year that William III. prince of Orange, came from Holland into England, and there entered into matrimony with the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, which in process of time made way for him to the throne of Great Britain. He accomplished his marriage there on the 4th of November, being his birth-day ; and not long after returned to Holland with his spouse.

About the beginning of the year 1678, G. Fox came to London, and the parliament sitting at that time, he and G. Whitehead presented to them an account of the grievous sufferings of their friends, by laws made against the Papists ; and they were not without hopes of obtaining some ease, because several of the members of that august assembly seemed to favor them ; but the parliament was suddenly prorogued, whereby a stop was put to their endeavors.

G. F. then travelling through many places, came home to Swarthmore in the latter part of the year ; and since many of his friends at this time were under great persecution, and in prison, he wrote the following epistle to them :

*‘ My dear Friends,*

*‘ Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus’ sake, and for the testimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold you, and support you in all your trials and sufferings ; and give you patience and content in his will, that ye may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting and destroying spirit, which makes to suffer, in Christ, (who bruises his head,) in whom ye have both election and salvation. And for God’s elect sake the Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world ; as may be seen throughout the Scriptures of Truth ; and they that touch them, touch the apple of God’s eye, they are so tender to him. And therefore it is good for all God’s suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him ; for they shall be as mount Zion, that*

cannot be removed from Christ, their rock and salvation, who is the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets and the apostles, and of God's people now, and to the end : glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all. Remember my dear love to all friends ; and do not think the time long, for all time is in the Father's hand, his power. And therefore keep the word of patience, and exercise that gift ; and the Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy Spirit of faith. Amen.

GEORGE FOX.'

Swarthmore, the 5th of the  
Twelfth month, 1678.

Persecution was now very hot in many places. At Bawnasse, in Westmoreland, it happened that those of the society called Quakers, being religiously met together, were much abused by the rude people ; and besides other insolencies that were committed, a dog being thrown among them, one John Thompson said to this wicked crew, that they ought to behave themselves civil and moderate ; and for saying so, he was informed against as a preacher, and on that account fined twenty pounds. Mary Tod, a poor ancient widow in Yorkshire, having had a meeting at her house, was also fined twenty pounds by justice Francis Driffeld : and when the informers told him that her goods were not worth so much, he ordered them to take all that they could find : this they did, and did not leave her a bed to lie on ; nay, took away all her clothes.

This year the ambassadors of the king of France, and those of the United Netherlands, with those of several other potentates, were met at Nimeguen, to treat about a general peace ; and therefore Robert Barclay wrote an epistle to them in Latin to exhort them to this good work : the epistle, together with his Apology for the true Christian Divinity, in Latin, was delivered to each of the said ambassadors, viz. a book for every one of them, and one for their principals. George Fox also wrote an exhortatory epistle to them, which being translated and printed in Latin, was also sent to them. And before this year came to an end, the peace was concluded.

In the meanwhile persecution went on in England, and those that were envious did not want a specious pretence to gild their malice ; for about this time a plot of the Papists being discovered, there seemed a necessity to watch against seditious assemblies ; insomuch that those who had no mind to persecute, were in a manner constrained to it ; of which an instance was seen in the year 1679, at Castle Dumington in Leicestershire : for John Evat having been fined for a meeting at his house, and goods enough to answer not being found, the constable, and three other officers were fined each five pounds, because they had been backward to take away the said Evat's goods. But the ecclesiastics showed themselves more covetous, to get what they pretended to be their due ; and one Michael Reynolds, at Farringdon in Berkshire, was this year despoiled of cattle, barley, and beans, for tithes, to the value of more than ninety-seven pounds, and all this only for one year.

Thus honest men were oppressed, which gave occasion to a certain writer of that time, (who in print gave many instances of this nature,) to say, 'Truly the Papists may laugh because of their victory; now they have got a law, whereby one Protestant fights against another.' This was chiefly levelled against conventicles; for thereby many families were impoverished, because often they were robbed of thrice as much as the fine amounted to; and the basest means that could be thought of, were used to enrich the persecutors with the spoil of the innocent; for it happened that four of those called Quakers travelling on the way, this was deemed a transgression, by adding a fifth to their number who was not of their society. And thus the informers, (some of whom were often whores, or wives of informers,) made a meeting of it, and this passed; so great was the power of these profligates; and on this account the goods of the said four persons were distrained. More abominable actions of that kind I could mention, if I did not think it might seem tedious. Such despoiling was permitted now to any naughty fellow, and this made them so insolent, that one John Hill, constable at Walsingham in Norfolk, when he was shown the injustice of the warrant he had, said, 'Justice or no, I will take it for all that.'

At Norwich lived one William Wat, who for several years had carried on the trade of informing, but whatever he got by it turned to no account; and often he was seized with such fits of weakness, that he could not stand on his legs; but this year, in October, the hand of God fell so heavy upon him, that it put a period to his life. He had supped at night, and was as well, according to his wife's relation, as ever; but on a sudden he sunk down to the ground, and his daughter crying aloud, he seemed to look at her, and so died without more ado: but what was looked upon as a very strange thing, his corpse stank so grievously, that none were willing to carry it, and the overseers of the poor were necessitated to hire four men to bear it to the grave.

Far otherwise was the exit of Isaac Pennington, an eminent minister and author among those called Quakers, and a man of an acute wit, and great endowments, who in the year 1658, on Whit-Sunday, so called, being in a meeting at the house of John Crook in Bedfordshire, was so reached by the preaching of G. Fox, that he, who before that time, had contradicted the Quakers with his natural wisdom, now embraced their doctrine as truth, and did not stick to make public confession of it, for which he afterwards several times suffered imprisonments during the space of many years; but he continued steadfast to the end without fainting, and died piously in October, at his house near Goodnestone in Kent, whence his corpse was carried to Buckinghamshire, where he formerly lived, and was honorably interred there.

Some time before, G. Fox had written some queries to the pope and the Papists, which being translated into Dutch, and printed, I was desired by him to translate into Latin, and to send them to Rome to the

pope.\* This I did at his desire, but never received or heard of any answer to them.

This year there was a great commotion in England about a plot carried on by the Papists against the life of the king, who made his

\* These queries in Latin, with what the author W. S. wrote to the pope on that occasion, are to be seen in the Appendix to the Dutch history, which being translated into English, the reader may take as follows.

TO INNOCENT XI. POPE OF ROME, S.

'GREAT PRELATE,

'Thou wilt perhaps at first sight admire that the writing inclosed should be sent to thee; but know it was done at the command of the author; and not undeservedly; for if thou rightly weighest and considerest the matter, thou must with us acknowledge, that it would be very unworthily done to keep this little treatise from thy view, which hath been already printed in the Dutch language, and carries the pope's name in the frontispiece. Nor wilt thou be able to deny, that thou art not only not injured hereby, but that we have also performed a duty that we owed thee, in transmitting these questions which properly belong to thee. But if thou pleasest to read them and return an answer, thou wilt both oblige the author, and also remove the suspicion of error from your religion, in the sight of all Christendom, provided thou canst give a clear answer to the objections, not only in word, but in deed also.

I write this at the request of certain

of my friends called Quakers.

W. SEWEL.'

Amsterdam, the 23d day of the  
month called April, 1679.

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*Some questions presented to the Papists, and the Pope of Rome, as the supreme head of their church, and commended to their consideration by George Fox.*

'FRIENDS,

'1. How comes it to pass, that the pope and cardinals grant not to the Protestants living in Spain, Italy, and at Rome, that liberty of meeting together for the right performing of divine worship, which ye yourselves enjoy in England, Holland and other places, where the Protestants have the chief power?

'Would not the pope and his ministers persecute, deliver to the inquisition and burn them, if they should at any time set up as many meetings in Spain, Italy, and at Rome, as ye yourselves enjoy in many places in Protestant countries?

'Is the royal law of God thus fulfilled, which teacheth, to do to all men whatsoever we would have done to ourselves? Matt. vii. 12. Would ye have those things done to you by Protestants, which ye have done to them? But if not, where then are the royal law and gospel among you? God forbid that we should deny liberty to any one that acknowledgeth God, and believeth in his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ. It seems therefore very strange to us, that the pope and Papists do deny the same liberty in the pre-mentioned places, which they themselves enjoy among the Protestants; because it is not only contrary to reason, but always to law and gospel; for the apostle affirmeth, "That he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit." Gal. iv. 29. Have not the Papists therefore openly showed in themselves the fleshly birth, which is contrary to reason, law and gospel.

'2. Where did Christ or his apostles ever command men to bow themselves to images, and to worship them, and keep holidays? Where did they command holidays to be appointed in remembrance of themselves, and the same to be honored? Why do ye not tell us where in the gospels, epistles, or in the revelation, any such thing was commanded those churches, which were in the time of the apostles and primitive Christians?

brother, the duke of York, go beyond sea for some time; for the parliament suspecting him, a motion was made in the house of commons to exclude him from the succession to the crown; but this project was quashed.

Where, I say, did Christ or his apostles give command to whip, hang, or burn men; or, to speak as gently as may be, at least to imprison any because they dissented from them, and could not adhere to their religion?

3. Where ever did Christ or his apostles in the primitive churches command that candles should be lighted at noon-day? Well, show us where it is written, whether it be in the gospels, or epistles. Is not therefore the Roman church degenerated from the church of the primitive times? Is she not fallen from spiritual weapons to carnal; hath she not revolted from that purity and virginity, wherein she witnessed in time past Christ to be the head of the churches?

4. Did the churches of ancient time make choice of a private man, and account him for head of the universal church? Where ever did the primitive church command infants to be sprinkled with water? Did not Christ say, "Teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. Matt. xxviii. 19. Ought they not therefore to be taught before they were baptized? Are ye not degenerated from that faith which Christ is the author and finisher of, and which purifieth the heart, and giveth victory over sin, and evil, which separate from God, and by which we have access to God, and wherewith he is well pleased? Are ye not degenerated from the light, truth, grace, power and spirit, wherein the apostles were?

5. Have ye not degenerated from the ancient church, because ye suffer not the people to read the Holy Scripture in their mother-tongue? For doth not the apostles say, "And when this epistle is read amongst you, cause that it be also read in the church of the Laodiceans," Col. iv. 16, and elsewhere, "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren," 1 Thess. v. 27. Yea, did not Christ also say, "O fools, and slow of heart, to believe all that the prophets have spoken." Luke, xxiv. 25.

How can it possibly be, that your common people should believe those things which Christ, the prophets, and apostles have spoken, unless it be granted them to read or recite the same in their own tongue, to the end they might both hear and understand them by the Spirit which gave them forth? Why then do ye take away the use of the Holy Scriptures from the common people? Are ye afraid lest the truth should appear manifest, whereby they might see and believe what is written in the law and prophets, and by Christ and his apostles? Had not the Jews the law and the prophets in their mother-tongue, that their children might read them? Ought not therefore all Christians likewise to have the New Testament, that makes mention of Christ and his apostles, in their mother-tongue? But if not, why do ye not show us where Christ or his apostles have forbidden it?

But what do ye say of the sacrament of the altar, as it is called? Why have ye slain many, and burned others alive in England, France, the Low Countries, and other places, because they could not approve or receive it? Ye assert it as a thing certain, that the bread and wine, as soon as ye have consecrated them, are made Christ, yea, whole Christ, consisting of soul, spirit, flesh, blood and bones. Besides ye boldly affirm, that all who receive that sacrament do receive whole Christ, and that after your consecration, that very thing becomes immortal and divine.

Wherefore come, O pope, cardinals and priests, let us take a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread, and equally divide the wine into two basins, and cut the bread into two parts: then let the pope, cardinals, or priests consecrate one part, which they please; which being done, let us lay up the consecrated and the unconsecrated together, in some close place, and secure the same with seven locks and keys on your part, and with as many on ours, both Papists and Protestants keeping watch over it. But if it plainly appear, that the consecrated bread and wine are immortal and divine, and lose nothing of their virtue and savor, nor grow mouldy or sour, as though they had been unconsecrated, then we will come over to you: but if they lose their property, quality and savor, and both parts of the bread do alike grow mouldy, then it will be reasonable for you to come over to us, and confess that your sacrament of the altar, so called, is neither Christ nor his flesh, nor any thing immortal or divine; for his flesh saw no corruption, Acts ii. 27. 31.—xiii. 35. 37, and his precious blood, which delivers from sin and corruption, cannot be corruptible.

In the beginning of the year 1680, it happened that George Whitehead and Thomas Burr coming to Norwich, and preaching there in the meeting of their friends, were taken prisoners, as it was said, under a frivolous pretence, as if G. Whitehead might have been a Jesuit: and being brought before justice Francis Bacon, who then was recorder of the city, he after some odd examination, demanded of them, as preachers,

‘Let trial then be made hereof; but let judgment be left to just and equal arbitrators, both Papists and Protestants, and that in a place where the Protestants may have the same power that ye have: for it would be unjust to make this trial or experiment, where ye have the whole administration of the commonwealth, and an equal liberty is denied the Protestants. This thing will make the truth manifest, and turn to the honor of God; for ye have shed much blood upon this occasion.

‘Wherefore suffer your Christ, whom ye have made, to be tried, that it may be seen whether he be the true Christ, or anti-christ; whether he be the true God or a false one? For it would be somewhat hard that Baal’s prophets should outdo you, for they were willing to have their god tried, though they had before slain many of the people of God, because they would not worship their God; as ye also have often done.

‘Come ye forth therefore publicly, and make trial; that it may appear at length to all Christendom, whether yours be the divine and immortal Christ and God, or no? Or is not rather that mortal and corruptible Christ, which ye yourselves have made, and for whose sake ye have slain multitudes of the people of God, because they could not believe or comply with you?

‘7. Further, where did Christ or his apostles ever speak to the saints of purgatory, wherein men should be purged from their sins after death. Show us where it is written in the New Testament. Is it not therefore a plain denying that Christ’s blood purgeth from all sin, to tell the people a fable of a certain purgatory to purge them from sins after death? Is it not likewise a denying of Christ’s baptism with the Holy Spirit, and of spiritual circumcision, and faith in Christ, which purgeth in this life, and giveth the victory?

‘Did not Christ answer some that desired fire might come down from heaven and consume those that would not receive him; “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of?” Did not he rebuke them, saying, “That he came not to destroy men’s lives but to save them?” Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.

‘Ye therefore who have destroyed such a vast number of men and women for their dissenting from you about rites and ceremonies, and taken away their lives by such kinds of instruments, racks and fires, as were never sent down from heaven, but devised and invented by yourselves; are ye not worse than they, who desired fire to be called from heaven to destroy men’s lives? And seeing Christ told them, that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of, do ye know what manner of spirit ye are of, who have devised so many ways and torments for the killing of men, and have actually made use of them?

‘With what front can ye persuade us to commit our souls, bodies and lives, to you, who know not of what spirit ye are children, neither have the mind of Christ who said, “He came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them?”

‘Are ye not all therefore, as many as take away men’s lives for worship devised by you, obnoxious to the rebuke of Christ? For when did Christ or any of his apostles ever give command, or by their example teach, that any one that was disobedient to them or rejected their doctrine and religion, should be persecuted and imprisoned, or punished, by any carnal weapons? Tell us where any thing of this kind is contained, either in the four evangelical histories, or in the epistles written to the Christian Churches?

‘Did ever Christ or his apostles go to the rope-makers to buy whips and halters, to whip and hang men for dissenting from them as ye have done? Did they ever go to the blacksmiths to make chains, fetters, bolts and locks? Or to the gunsmiths to buy guns and muskets; or to the sword-cutlers to buy swords and halberds? Did they ever build prisons, or get holes and vaults dug, to force men by such means to their religion? Show us an example and precept given by Christ or his apostles, which commands and makes the use of such weapons and instruments lawful.

‘But if ye cannot make proof thereof, it is necessary for you to confess and acknowledge,



the fine of twenty pounds a man ; which they refusing, he asked them, whether they would take the oath of allegiance ; and they answering, that they could take no oath for conscience-sake, he said, if they would neither pay the fines, nor take the oath, he would commit them to jail. They having shown that they were no vagrants, but men of competent estates, that had settled habitations, as was well known, Bacon said, *De non apparentibus, et non existentibus eadem est ratio* : i. e. 'Of things not appearing, and things not in being, there is the same reason : ' just as if he had said, your estates that are at London, where G. Whitehead lived, and Ware, where T. Burr dwelt, appear not at Norwich, and therefore they are not in being. Now though they showed the absurdity of this strange kind of logic, yet Bacon would not hearken to it, but called them seducers, and seditious, and told them, there was a statute yet in force, that was made in queen Elizabeth's days, to hang such persons as they were. And they asking him, if he could prosecute them upon that law, or execute it upon them, he answered, 'Yes, if the king should give order to have it put in execution, I would do it, and have you hanged, if you would not quit the realm.' From this it may appear what a violent man this recorder was, and that the prisoners could not expect any good treatment from him. So night being come, he sent them to the jail.

About a month after, at the quarter-sessions, they were called into the court of judicature to be tried ; and being brought to the bar, George Whitehead said, 'We have been five weeks in prison ; it is meet the court should know for what ; pray let our mittimus be produced.' But the recorder who sat as judge in the court, said, 'There is no need of your mittimus to be read here : I will give an account of the cause.' And then he told the court, how they had gathered together a company of about two hundred, and that officers went from him to dissipate them,

that ye are fallen and degenerated from the true Christian weapons, which the apostles and primitive Christians used, saying, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God," that is, spiritual, 2 Cor. x. 4.

G. Fox.<sup>a</sup>

#### TO INNOCENT XI. POPE OF ROME, S.

'Behold, great prelate, a few questions written for the sake of thee, and thy adherents, a copy whereof we sent thee by the post, about three months ago ; but being uncertain whether it was delivered into thy hands or no, we thought good to write the questions over again, and send them to thee, that it might not belong to us, that thou dost not read them. For we think it convenient, that thou shouldst earnestly concern thyself to inspect what was printed in Dutch, and inscribed to the pope and his adherents, which if thou shalt please to do, and also vouchsafe thy pains in answering them both by fact and writing, it will satisfy the author's desire, and remove a doubt or scruple out of many persons' minds. Farewell.

This I have written in the name of some  
of my friends called Quakers.

WILLIAM SEWEL.<sup>a</sup>

Amsterdam, the 24th of the month  
called July, 1679.

but could not ; that thereupon he sent the sheriff, who took them away ; and that they being brought before him, he proffered them, if they would pay their fines, he would not commit them ; and that they refusing, he tendered the oath of allegiance to them ; which they not being willing to take, he sent them to jail.

And though G. Whitehead with good reason said, that they being Englishmen had a right to travel in any part of the nation : and T. Burr added, that he being a person that was concerned in trading in corn, by the law of England he might travel from place to place about his concerns ; yet this so displeased the recorder, that he said, ' Had not you better have been turning your malt at home, than to come here to preach ? The Scripture says, God added to the church such as should be saved ; but ye draw from the church : and,' said he further, ' the church of England will never be at quiet till some of you be hanged.' G. Whitehead then showing how unreasonably the recorder behaved himself, and that a judge ought not thus to inveigh against the prisoners, and threaten them, alleged to that end a notable instance, how, in the case of Humphrey Stafford, an arch traitor, the chief justice Hussey had been unwilling, (in compliance with the king's desire,) to declare his opinion concerning him before he was judicially proceeded against. The recorder then asked, what king's reign was that in ? ' In king Henry VII's,' replied G. Whitehead. ' I perceive you are read,' returned the recorder. And so he was indeed ; and he defended his cause so well in the court, that the magistrates seemed at a loss ; for he showed so evidently that he was unjustly committed to prison, that the mayor, (to whom, and to the justices he had appealed,) said, ' You have appealed to me ; truly we are tradesmen, and no lawyers : we leave matters of law to the recorder ; he knows the law, and we must acquiesce in his judgment.' If I should repeat here all that was spoken pro and contra, so as I find it extant, I should be fain to be almost as large as I have been in the relation of the trials of John Crook and William Penn : and therefore I will only say briefly, that, after much reasoning, the recorder tendered the oath of allegiance again to them, that so by their refusal he might get occasion to premunire them. But this recorder, before the whole process came to an end, being turned out by the magistrates, it did not come to that pitch ; though it was a good while yet before the aforesaid George Whitehead and Thomas Burr were released, after they had shown the illegality of their commitment ; first, by more than one warrant from the recorder, and afterward, to color the error the better, by an order from the quarter-sessions.

This year those called Quakers, at London, published a brief relation of the sufferings of their friends, since the king's restoration, and presented it to the king and parliament, showing therein, how many had been fined by the bishops' courts, robbed of all they had, put into prisons and there died ; the number of which was computed to be two hundred and forty-three persons, many whereof had been so grievously beaten

and wounded because of their frequenting religious assemblies, that they died of their hurts and wounds. There came forth also a printed account of the unjust proceedings of the informers, and how at their instance, without a juridical process, the accused were bereaved of their goods, the unlawfulness of which was plainly shown from the books of eminent lawyers.

G. Fox now travelled through many places, and came to London about the time of the annual meeting; and travelling afterwards again into the country, he returned into the said city, and staid there the most part of the winter.

The parliament was then very busy with inquiring into the plot carried on by the Papists: and the house of commons especially were very active in the case, so that a bill to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the crown, passed after a third reading: but this was opposed in the house of lords; for by a majority, among which were the bishops, who would not consent to the exclusion, the bill was rejected. Now since some ill-natured Episcopalians were very forward to place the Quakers amongst the plotters, G. Fox gave forth the following declaration:

‘It is our principle and testimony, to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king, or any of his subjects; for we have the Spirit of Christ, by which we have the mind of Christ, who came to save men’s lives, and not to destroy them: and we would have the king and all his subjects to be safe. Wherefore we do declare, that we will endeavor, to our power, to save and defend him and them, by discovering all plots and plotters, which shall come to our knowledge, that would destroy the king or his subjects: this we do sincerely offer unto you. But as to swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of conscience we cannot do, ye know, that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we desire you to relieve us, and free us from those sufferings: and that ye will not put upon us to do those things, which we have suffered so much and so long already for not doing? for if you do, ye will make our sufferings and bonds stronger, instead of relieving us.

GEORGE FOX.’

Not long after he also wrote a paper to all rulers and magistrates in England, Scotland and Ireland, to dissuade them from persecution for religion. His labor seemed not altogether ineffectual with the parliament, for about the beginning of the year 1681, the house of commons resolved,

‘That it is the opinion of the house, that persecution of Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subjects; a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of this kingdom.’

But though the house of commons came to this resolution, yet it did not stop persecution ; for as long as the laws, (by virtue whereof they persecuted,) were not repealed, which could not be done without the concurrence of the house of lords and the king, those that were malicious continued in their old way, which lasted yet three or four years.

George Fox now also came into some trouble ; since he and his wife were sued for tithes, though she had lived three and forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time no tithe had been paid nor demanded. Of this George Fox had certificates ; but since they would not accept them without an oath, it made his case the more difficult. He proposed the matter to four judges at London, and found one more moderate than the others ; which put a stop to what her enemies designed. And the judges wondered when they heard that he had made a promise in writing, not to meddle with his wife's estate.

This year the king dissolved the parliament, and called a new one, to sit at Oxford, and so it did ; but for all that he could not make it comply with his demands, and so he dissolved this also. Some time after he desired the prince of Orange to come over, who thereupon came from Holland into England, and after a short stay returned to the Hague.

It was also in this year that the king gave a country or great tract of land in America to William Penn, with a patent under the great seal, to him and his heirs *in perpetuum*, since the king owed him still a considerable sum for the services of his father, the admiral Sir William Penn. This tract of land on the river Delaware, from the fortieth degree to the three and fortieth, with all the isles belonging to it, the king gave to W. Penn, with full power to erect a new colony there, to sell lands, to create magistrates, to make laws, not contrary to the laws of England, and power to pardon crimes ; and in the patent the king declared that this tract of land henceforth should bear the name of Pennsylvania. This favor of the king, William Penn chiefly owed, (I think,) to James, then duke of York, who being chief admiral of England, Sir William Penn, the father, on his dying bed, desired him to protect his son against his enemies, who, because of his religion, were like to fall hard upon him. This the duke promised, and performed ; and therefore it was not without reason that William Penn afterwards, when the said duke had ascended the throne, showed himself ready to be serviceable to him in all that he thought might be beneficial to the kingdom. William Penn now went with much company to America. And having seen the land given him, he founded there the chief city Philadelphia, and some other towns. And that he might the more peaceably enjoy the country, he purchased from the Indians so much land that he became proprietor of a country twice as big as all the United Provinces, as he himself once told me : and this colony increased so suddenly, that after a few years, at Philadelphia, there were built six hundred brick houses.

William Penn's father was deceased long before, and on his dying bed he declared that he had a gracious God, and he gave marks of a true

Christian disposition of mind : he also gave his son several wholesome admonitions how to behave himself in this world. He complained much of the wickedness of the times, and was heard at sundry times to say, 'Woe to thee, O England ! God will judge thee, O England ! Great plagues are at thy door, O England !' He also said, 'God hath forsaken us. We are infatuated ; we will shut our eyes. We will not see our true interest and happiness : we shall be destroyed.' When he was near death, and took his leave of his relations, he said to William Penn, 'Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother, live all in love, shun all manner of evil ; and I pray God to bless you all ; and he will bless you.' Thus died the valiant admiral Penn, father of William Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania : and now I return to other matters.

I left George Fox at London, and since he continued there and thereabout a good while, I will take a turn to Bristol, where in the year 1682, a dismal scene of persecution was opened : for the meetings of those called Quakers were disturbed, not only by grievously abusing and imprisoning them ; but they were also vexed by breaking into their houses, and committing all manner of violence, as among the rest in the house of Richard Marsh, an eminent merchant in that city : for, to get of him the fine that was pretended, first a cask of wine, worth twenty pounds, was taken, and sold for four pounds ; as often it happened, that the goods thus taken, were sold for less than the half, because honest people being unwilling to buy such goods, they were sold to any one that would but bid some money, how little soever : for what was wanting of the fine was taken anew from the fined person, and so they did here also ; for they broke open his counting-house, sought for money, and took away his leger, journal, cash-book, and other books and accounts, besides many household goods ; and several chambers were rifled, though the wife of the said Marsh lay in child-bed at that time. The chief actors of these insolencies were the sheriff John Knight, and John Helliard, an attorney, who, with his companions Lugge, Tilley, Casse, Patrick, Hoare, and Watkins, served for informers. Knight and Helliard came frequently with a multitude of boys and rude rabble to disturb the meetings of the Quakers ; and then they carried them to the prisons, which grew so full, that about fifty persons were crowded into one room, which was so nasty, that one of the aldermen, viz. Sir Robert Cann, said, if he had a dog which he loved he would not put him there. And though Sir Thomas Earle, mayor of the city, and some justices and aldermen, at the request of others, showed themselves inclined to allow the prisoners a better place, yet the power of the aforesaid sheriff John Knight, was such, that he hindered it.

The meetings of other Protestant dissenters were now also disturbed, but they fainted and gave way ; whereas the Quakers stood firm, how much soever vexed ; which often was done in a very outrageous manner : for their meetings were not only disturbed often with the noise of drums

and fiddles, but liberty was given to the vilest fellows to commit all kind of insolency without showing any regard to those of the female sex, whose hoods and scarfs were torn ; and Helliard, to give the boys a sign to attack the women, was used to say to these, ' Have a care of your hoods and scarfs ;' for then the boys fell upon them, and both aged women and ancient men were carried to prison, and forced to go faster than they well could, by pushing them, and pinching their arms black and blue ; and when once a girl spoke a word against this cruelty, she was pulled by the hair, and hauled to prison ; nay, little boys were beaten on the head till they grew giddy, and then they were carried to Bridewell, where Helliard charged the keeper to get a new cat-of-nine-tails, endeavoring to terrify the children, by making them believe they should be whipped, unless they would promise to come no more to meetings : but this succeeded not ; for his extravagant malice did not subdue the constancy of these children.

With such diabolical rage they persecuted this people at Bristol, and not a stone was left unturned to afflict them. Once they were nailed up in their meeting-house, and thus kept about six hours ; which could not but be very hard to nature, since there were also women of no mean families, and among these the widow of the upper sheriff Lane. So many also were taken prisoners, that at length there was no more room in the jails. By these proceedings many families were ruined ; for their goods were taken from them, not only on the account of meeting, but when any were believed to be of good estates, the oath of allegiance was tendered to them. At court it seems they were the more offended against the Quakers, because in the election of members of parliament some had voted for such as they believed to be moderate, and no favorers of popery ; and therefore it was said under-hand, that if Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for the Quakers not to vote at elections of parliament-men, there should be no further persecution of them.

In the meanwhile the behavior of the persecutors in the meetings was brutish in the highest degree ; insomuch that a certain woman, seeing that the attorney Helliard lifted up her child by the hair of his head, and asking him, why he so abused her child, was therefore ill treated herself by him. And by order of the said Helliard a lass was committed to Bridewell, because she gave an impudent boy, that would have turned up her coats, a box on the ear ; for which defending of her modesty, this brutish Helliard called her a rioter and seditious person : for he was, as hath been said already, a leader of insolent and saucy boys, which he from time to time took along with him to disturb the meetings of the Quakers. And sheriff Knight did often with his cane very violently beat those that were met together, and once grievously abused an ancient man called Britton ; and some women were pinched violently in their arms. Susannah York, an aged woman, was thrown down to the ground ; Mary Hooper was very roughly handled by Helliard, had her scarf torn off her back, and

was so thrust and flung about, that she was much out of order long after ; and Mary Page, being big with child, was so violently hauled out of the meeting, that her life was endangered by it. With Helliard it became customary to call men rogues, and the women whores, jades, carrions, and damned bitches : he also bid the boys to tear their scarfs and take up dirt, and throw upon them. Of this his beastly rage there were many witnesses ; for these abominable dealings displeased many people of other persuasions : but it seems these enraged fellows had encouragement at court, whereon they durst rely : for the sheriff John Knight was knighted, and therefore grew more insolent. Once it happened that Helliard having disturbed a meeting, drove the women along the streets as if they had been cattle ; and being asked whether he made beasts of them, he answered, 'Ye are worse than beasts ; for beasts will be driven, but you will not.'

This disturbing of meetings continued till almost all the men belonging thereto were clapped up in prison ; and some of them sending a petition to the mayor and justices of the city, that they might be pleased to let them have larger rooms, since not only their health, but their lives also were endangered, the said magistrates showed themselves inclined to allow the prisoners some ease or enlargement : but the power of sheriff Knight was such, that whatever they said or did, all proved in vain. The mayor also signified to the sheriff, that he would have all convictions made above board, and not in ale-houses and taverns ; and that he would have the distrained goods brought into a public warehouse, and not in a by-lane. But though the mayor *ex officio* might have commanded the sheriff, yet this officer was so countenanced, that he did not care for whatever the mayor said ; nay, so exorbitant was he, that his adherents began to threaten the mayor, he should not be a parliament-man ; insomuch that he was forced to comply in some degree. In the meanwhile the havoc and spoil was so enormous, that generally twice as much was taken as the fine amounted to. The prisoners, some of whom lay on the floor, others in hammocks, and some in a cold and open room, exposed to the wind, and injury of the weather, suffered great inconveniences, and the jailer, Isaac Dennis, imagining that nothing could be too bad for them, would not show them any favor but at a very unreasonable rate ; and his wife showed herself no less unreasonable than he, so that one extortion was at the heels of another. Four physicians of Bristol, viz. John Griffith, William Turgis, J. Chauncy, and T. Bourn, seeing how straitly the prisoners were penned up and thronged together, gave a certificate under their hands, in which they declared, that they resenting their condition with compassion, and considering what dangerous consequence such close confinement might be of, were moved to certify, that the prisoners being destitute of room for rest, it had a ready tendency to breed infectious distempers, to the endangering of their lives, &c. But all this did not avail them, it being not counted worth the while to be concerned for them. Nay, so desperately wicked was the jailer, that when the prisoners

complained for want of room, he said to his man, if he could but shut the door, it would be well enough. But in due time we shall see what anguish and horror befel him.

After most of the people called Quakers at Bristol were in prison, the women who continued to keep up their religious meetings, were also seized, and confined to that degree, that at length few or none but children, that staid with the servants in the houses of their parents, were left free. The number of the prisoners for the sake of their religion amounted now to one hundred and fifteen, and some of them were confined in Bridewell, among whom were also Barbara Blaugdone, (several times mentioned before,) and Catharine Evans, who had learned at Malta what it was to suffer a tedious and hard imprisonment. It is very remarkable that children under sixteen years of age now performed what their parents were hindered from : for these children kept up their religious meetings as much as was in their power. But though they were not within the reach of the law, yet once, nineteen of these youths were taken and carried to the house of correction, where they were kept for some time. And though they were threatened with whipping if ever they returned to the meeting, yet they continued valiant without fainting, although they suffered exceedingly from the wicked rabble. But so great was their zeal, that they despising all reproach and insolence, remained steadfast ; and thus showed in spite of their enemies, that God would not suffer that the Quakers' meeting should be altogether suppressed, as it was intended. This persecution continued till the next year, as it did in several other places also ; for there wanted no informers, who continually lay in wait for prey, even to such a degree, that I find that some of those called Quakers, being come from other places to a market, and being gone into an inn to refresh themselves, a snatching informer did not stick to declare upon his oath, that the Quakers had kept a meeting there.

But before I leave Bristol, I must give some account of a ridiculous act, performed on one Erasmus Dole, who bore the name of a Quaker. He having said that he scrupled not to declare the contents of the oath of allegiance, it was contrived that he should speak after the clerk, and skip over such words as he disliked, and pronounce another in its room, as 'I declare,' instead of, 'I swear.' This went on, and whilst he was thus speaking, the jailer held his hand to the book, and when Erasmus had said all, put it to his mouth, to make this pass for kissing it. With this the court seemed satisfied ; and the bishop of Bristol seeing these apish tricks, told the court, that altered it not from being an oath, at which they gloried, as having obtained a conquest. But this was but a pitiful one ; for Erasmus being a man of an irregular life, the Quakers had but little cause to regret the loss of such a member, who grew so dissolute, than in process of time they found themselves necessitated to deny him, because of his offensive conversation.

In Gloucestershire the people called Quakers were also under great



sufferings by imprisonment, for keeping their meetings; and the wife of one John Boy, being at a peaceable meeting at Little Badmanton, was through instigation of the priest of the parish, in a violent manner dragged out of the meeting by the lord Herbert's footmen; through which abuses the woman fell sick and mis-carried, to the endangering of her life; and her husband, who was also taken prisoner at the same place, was not suffered at his request to see his wife.

In Leicestershire it went no better: one Elizabeth Hill being in a meeting at Broughton, was by the rude boys dragged out, and so abused, that she was seemingly quite spent, and near dead; and laying in the dirt, one of the boys, to try whether she was still alive, put his finger into her mouth, and perceiving her to breathe, said, 'Let us at her again. The devil is yet in her, and we will squeeze him out.' These cruel abuses made a neighborly woman cry out, 'What, will you kill the woman?' To which the boys said, 'What care we? Mr. Cotton bid us do so.' 'Did he indeed?' asked the woman. 'Aye, indeed,' replied the boys. 'Then,' said she, 'he may be ashamed of it.' Thus these boys openly said, that it was the parson, viz. William Cotton, who was the priest of the parish, encouraged them to this excessive wickedness; and his man said in plain terms, his master was one of the best men in England; for if every one would serve them so, this heresy would be rooted out. And this man, whose name was Thomas Ambrose, did not stick to say, that nothing would drive the Quakers away, but either fire or water; and if the house was his, (meaning the house where they met together,) he would burn it on their heads. More instances of such exorbitant wickedness which happened at sundry places, I could mention, if I did not study brevity.

George Fox being this year at London about the time of choosing new sheriffs for the city, he wrote a few lines to those who, standing candidates for that office, desired his friends to give their voices for them. And he said in the conclusion, 'Shall we be free to serve and worship God, and keep his commands, if we give our voices for you? For we are unwilling to give our voices for such as will imprison and persecute us, and spoil our goods.' The constables now at London were sent sometimes with warrants to disturb the Quakers' meetings; but it was easily seen that they would rather have been freed from such a commission: for coming there, they would bid George Fox or others that preached, to give over speaking; but they and the soldiers who sometimes came along with them, generally behaved themselves moderately, sufficiently showing that they were not for persecution, and that what they did was for the sake of their office. Sometimes indeed they hindered the friends going into their meetings; but these then being thus kept out, the number notwithstanding increased.

Once it happened that George Fox was stopped by the constables from going into Devonshire-house meeting; and after having stood awhile in the yard, till he was weary, one gave him a stool to sit on; after a while

he stood up and preached, and in his declaration said, 'Ye need not come against us with swords and staves, for we are a peaceable people, and have nothing in our hearts but good-will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. And we do not meet under pretence of religion, to plot against the government, or to raise insurrections; but to worship in spirit and in truth.' When he had spoken what was upon him at that time, he sat down, and after a while concluded the meeting with prayer, at which the constables and soldiers as well as others put off their hats; and when the meeting was finished, a constable putting off his hat seriously said, 'The Lord bless you;' and all were suffered to pass away unmolested.

Thus this year came to an end. All other Protestant dissenters were now suppressed; for they were restrained from exercising any public worship; and some there were, who, in their nocturnal meetings, would pray God, that it might please him to keep the Quakers steadfast, that so they might be as a wall about them, in order that other dissenters might not be rooted out. And yet these, to render the Quakers odious, formerly had been very active in setting them forth in very ill colors. But the said people continued now so valiant, and without fainting, that some of their persecutors have been heard to say, that the Quakers could not be overcome, and that the devil himself could not extirpate them.

In the year 1683, persecution continued in many places; and by computation it appeared that above seven hundred of those called Quakers yet suffered imprisonment in England. I could mention several instances of persecution in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and elsewhere; but to avoid being prolix, I will only take a turn again to Bristol, where persecution continued still; for if sometimes any of the people called Quakers came to a meeting, they presently were committed to prison; among these was one Richard Lindy, a blind man, of about fourscore and ten years of age, who was carried to jail, and forced to sit up three nights in a chair, though others offered to pay for his lodging, if some convenient place to lie down on had been allowed him. Some of the prisoners, being tradesmen, would willingly have worked in prison, to earn something for their sustenance: but the jailer Isaac Dennis, would not permit them that liberty. Other prisoners fell sick of the spotted fever, and some died of it; yet all this did not soften the said hard-hearted jailer. But at length a heavy stroke from heaven fell upon him. About the middle of the month of October he fell sick, and was seized with terrible anguish of mind. Then he wished he had never seen the inside of the jail; and he desired some of the Quakers to pray for him, and to forgive him for what he had done. To which they answered, that they forgave him; but he should ask forgiveness of God. But still his anguish increased; and when the physicians ordered him to be let blood, he said, no physic would do him good, his distemper being another thing: and that no man could do him good, his day being over; and there was no hope of mercy from God for

him. Some of those called Quakers seeing him in this woeful condition, signified, that they desired, if it was the will of the Lord, he might find a place of repentance. And it was told him, they hoped his day was not over, because he had such a full sense of his condition. To which he answered, 'I thank you for your good hope; but I have no faith to believe.' And he further said, 'Faith is the gift of God.' Whatever was spoken to him, he continued in saying, that his day was over, and there was no mercy for him. Such a gnawing worm is the guilt of conscience; and in this desperate state he continued above a month, and died the last of November, without any visible signs of forgiveness; but the judgment thereof we must commit to God.

Although the people called Quakers were oppressed by sufferings all over the country, yet generally they continued valiant; and as George Fox did not omit from time to time to encourage them by letters to faithfulness and steadfastness, so several others of their teachers did not neglect to exhort them to perseverance both by word and writing: and what was indeed remarkable, those who travelled to and fro in the country, and publicly preached in the meetings of their friends, generally went free; and the informers were often disappointed of catching a preacher. I find it left upon record by Charles Marshall, who was none of the least, that though in the time when persecution was most hot, he travelled through the nation, yet none laid hands on him, or fined him for his preaching, which was the more remarkable, because he being a very zealous man, was used to lift up his voice in a very powerful manner.

William Dewsbury, who was now grown ancient in his imprisonment at Warwick, had written an epistle of consolation to his suffering friends, which was thought fit to be re-printed, and is as follows:

*'Dear Brethren and Sisters,*

*'Hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, 'Though you now drink the cup of adversity, and eat the bread of affliction, and are trampled upon, as though you were not worthy to live upon the earth, yet notwithstanding all the fury of men, you are resolved in the strength of my Spirit for ever to be deprived of the sweet enjoyments of wife, husband, tender children, parents, and outward possessions, liberty, and life, before you deny the testimony of my name before the sons of men. Oh! you dear and tender children, who love not your lives unto death this day, that you may finish a good testimony for the glory of my name, saith the Lord God; lift up your heads in the light of my covenant, and believe in my name, for I am near unto you, saith the mighty God of safety; and let not any weight or burden lie upon you: for I will be more than husband to wife, and more than wife to husband, or parents to children or children to parents; yea, I will be a husband to the widow, and a father to the children who are deprived of their tender parents for my name's sake: I will enlarge your borders in the life of my righteous-*



ness : you that suffer in true innocency, will I refresh with the depth of my mercies, yea, I will guard you with the angel of my presence, and all that devise mischief against you shall be confounded before the glory of my power, with which I will keep and preserve you in the word of my patience, and safety, in my presence, saith the Lord God.

‘Therefore, you dear children, who drink the deepest in sufferings, think it not hard, for it is my purpose unto you all that have not an eye to self, but alone seek my glory in all you do ; I will make you more and more honorable in the glory of my life, and double my blessings upon you and yours ; for I have beheld your integrity, and my bowels are mightily moved with compassion towards you ; therefore am I risen for your sakes this day, to declare unto you, my suffering people, that not a hair of your head shall perish, neither shall you be detained in prisons and desolate holes any longer than I have determined shall be for your eternal good, and the glory of my name for ever ; therefore in my life stand faithful, in resistance of every evil thought, or whatever would cause you to murmur, or desire any thing but what you know will advance the glory of my name, and the exaltation of my truth, over all that riseth up against it, in your being truly subject to the measure of my light and life, that will not let any seek a pre-eminence or esteem amongst men ; neither let self-striving nor self-serving have power in any ; but in true humility, love, and meekness watch one over another ; and let the strong take the weak by the hand, that you may all gently, in love, meekness, and holy fear, dread my name, and serve one another ; that your love may be manifest unto me, saith the Lord your God, and one unto another in the naked simplicity of your spirits ; then will I make my dwelling amongst you, and with you ; and my dreadful and glorious presence you shall all feel mightily in you, and amongst you, moving in the exercise of my Spirit, to the renown of my name, and the comfort of one another ; and I will crown you with heavenly blessings, and the glory of my powerful life ; and you shall praise my name for ever, that I made you my jewels, and counted you worthy to suffer for the testimony of my name. I will go before you through all the waters and floods of afflictions ; and I will appear with you before all the councils of the sons of men ; and my saving power shall compass you about in your hot and sharp afflictions, all you who have your confidence alone in me, the Lord your God. Therefore, trust in my name, ye my dear children, and cast all your care upon me ; and if any of you joyfully suffer the spoiling of your goods, I will supply with what is needful for you and yours ; and if any of you seal your testimony in the word of my patience with your blood, I will take care of your tender wives and children, or parents, for whom your souls have been poured forth in prayers unto me for their good.

‘Therefore hear my word, which is sounded unto you from the throne of my grace and eternal glory : rejoice not too much in spirits being made subject, but throw down your crowns before me, that there

be not a self-seeking, self-serving spirit in the family of my people, but all feel the birth immortal raised up in the resurrection of my life in you all, which truly makes self of no reputation, so that all loftiness be laid low, and all haughtiness bowed down in every one, that I the Lord God in you all may be loved, obeyed, and exalted; who is taking, and will take to me my great power, to exalt the meek upon the earth, and reign over all the pride of the children of men, (that is exalted above my witness in their conscience,) that so my sons may be brought from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, in the sight of all people, whom I will make to confess, in subjection to my power, that you are the beloved people of the most high God, and of the righteous seed which the Lord hath blessed; and not any weapon formed against you shall prosper, but come to naught, which will be hastened to your comforts, and certainly performed according to what is here declared, to your eternal joy; and you shall assuredly know the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it,

‘The word of the Lord, before expressed, came to me in the prison-house at Warwick, the 13th day of the First-month, 1664, which constrained me to send it to be read amongst you, dear, faithful and suffering people of the Almighty God, in whom I remain your brother and companion in tribulation and kingdom of patience in the Lord Jesus Christ.

WILLIAM DEWSBURY.’

Whilst persecution was on foot in England, there was some division among those called Quakers, which had its rise some years before. Those who first appeared to head it, were John Wilkinson and John Story, preachers among them, who showed themselves discontented against George Fox, chiefly about the management of church affairs, because things went not always so as they would have it: and since George Fox had been the first institutor of good order amongst his friends, he was the chief object of the envy of the mal-contented. And because in the beginning there were no such meetings, or discipline, and yet they had lived in mutual peace and unity; it was asserted, that such meetings were needless, and that every one ought to be guided by the Spirit of God in his own mind, and not to be governed by rules of man. By which it appeared, that they were against the establishing of any order of government in the church. But they were greatly bent against the women’s meetings, who as deaconesses, met together at set times, to provide for poor families, and sick people that were in want. It is true, it was objected that in those meetings sometimes was debated what was not so convenient in every respect; because young women were admitted there also, to see and learn how matters were treated by the grave and ancient women: and what if some had been a little too forward to meddle with affairs properly belonging to the men? The creeping in of a wrong use can by no means justify the abrogating what

is really useful ; and that honest and ancient women took care for the poor and indigent members of the church, was indeed laudable. But as in great communities generally are found some men who love to govern, without being fit for it ; so some of these soon adhered to Wilkinson and Story : besides several others, who in time of persecution, rather would have met privately, than have come into public meetings, and so be exposed to the fury of their enemies ; and such also as rather would pay tithes to the priests, than suffer spoil or imprisonment for the refusal thereof.

Hence rose a schism or rent first in the north of England, and some who went under the denomination of Separatists, began to keep meetings by themselves, and so to leave their former friends, though they pretended to agree with them in matter of doctrine. To these Separatists afterwards resorted such as were not strict livers, and therefore were unwilling to submit to church discipline : for this was now become the common saying of these people, that every one having received a measure of the Spirit of God, ought to regard that leader, without minding any rules prescribed by others.

In process of time William Rogers and Thomas Crisp appeared in print against their quondam brethren, and upbraided them with every imprudent behavior, or inconsiderate act : besides that, on mere hearsay, they published a multitude of untruths : and decried even lawful things ; an instance of which appeared when Rogers in paltry verses scornfully reviled them, that some sustenance had been given from the public cash to indigent preachers, who, to shun the neglect of their public ministry, could not duly mind their private affairs ; though this supply never exceeded necessary provision. To this it was answered, that if it pleased God to call to his ministry persons of mean estate, the church was not warranted to hinder it, and let such suffer want ; since he, as Sovereign of the universe, could not be limited in the distribution of his gifts. Rogers would continually appeal to the primitive times, and to give some color to what they asserted, he and his adherents published a paper with Edward Burrough's name to it, who had been dead above twenty years ; but G. Whitehead and others gave good proofs, that the apostate John Perrot, had been the author of that so much applauded paper. At length this rent appeared also in London, where likewise mal-contents were not wanting, who not being strictly conscientious, would rather live without any restraint ; and even some that were honest, were by fair words persuaded to separation ; for among the Separatists one Charles Harris preached, who was pretty fluent in speech, and not unelegant in his expressions, as I have seen and heard myself. But how specious soever the pretence of these Separatists was, and whatever endeavors were made, yet they were not able to continue and subsist firmly ; but at length they decayed and vanished as snow in the fields ; for the best among them came in time to see that they had been deceived ; and the less honest grew worse, for among themselves, they were not free from

division : and though George Keith, (whose apostacy will be mentioned in the sequel,) endeavored to skulk among them, yet he got no adherents there. I have often wondered how Wilkinson, Harris and Keith, (all of whom I have known,) could apostatize to such a degree as they did : but yet this is not so exceeding strange as some may think it to be ; for we find on record, that even in the primitive apostolical church, was an Alexander the coppersmith, and an Hymeneus and Philletus, who made shipwreck of the faith, and caused a rent, insomuch that it is said, their words would eat as did a canker.

At London the meetings this year were often disturbed ; but the magistrates themselves seemed not to approve of it, for they clearly saw there was nothing to be feared from the Quakers, and yet they were loth to give offence to the court party which then prevailed. G. Fox coming once to the meeting in Gracechurch-street, and being kept out by the constables, stood up in the court and preached to the people ; but a constable plucked him down, and afterwards let him go free. At another time having been in the meeting at the Savoy, and being brought to a justice, there was one Gabriel Shad, an informer, who was so full of impertinent talk, that the justice grew angry ; and yet he thought himself bound to do something ; and so asked G. Fox if he did not preach in the meeting ; to which he warily answered, that he did confess what Christ had done for his soul, and did praise God ; and that he thought he might have done that in the streets, and in all places ; and this he was not ashamed to confess, neither was this contrary to the liturgy of the church of England. To this the justice said, the laws were against such meetings as were contrary to the church of England ; and at length spoke of sending G. Fox to Newgate, and said, he would make a mittimus after he had dined ; but the constable coming then, the justice bid him come again after the evening service ; which the constable doing, the justice told him, he might let G. Fox go : and next day he signified to one of G. Fox's friends, that by some accident he had been disappointed of fining him.

Thus G. Fox was freed, and was now much at London, where a plot was said to be on foot against the king and the duke of York, of which the duke of Monmouth was said to be the head. This design, whatever it was, cost the lives of several persons, among whom was the earl of Essex, who unfortunately perished in the Tower, and the lord Russel, who was fain to stoop to the axe.

Now since persecution continued with some color of justice, those called Quakers drew up the following address to the king :

TO THE KING.

*The humble Address of the People commonly called Quakers.*

' O King,

' The King of kings, and Lord of the whole earth, incline thy heart to that which is just and merciful in his sight, and to make such

clear and equal distinctions, as that the innocent may not suffer in any case for the guilty ; that it may ever redound to thy honor and safety, and the peaceable subject's comfort.

'Our innocency, love, and good-will to thy person and government that God has committed to thee, encourage us in this our humble address and application.

'Whereas the late plot against the king, and his brother the duke of York, &c., is made an occasion to persecute many of us for our religious meetings, more severely than formerly ; we do solemnly declare that it is known to the Divine Majesty, and the all-seeing wisdom whereby kings reign, and princes decree justice, that our manifold, extreme, and continued sufferings, being only on a religious account, have not been the least motive or provocation to us to desire, much less to contrive the least hurt, either to thy person or government, or to the person of thy brother the duke of York, &c. We are clear in the sight of God, angels, and men, from all hellish plots, traitorous conspiracies, and from all murderous designs and undertakings against the king, his brother, or any person on earth whatsoever, being works of the devil and darkness ; having contrariwise learned of Christ Jesus our Lord, by his light and grace in our hearts, not so much as by force, to defend, much less avenge ourselves from the injuries done us, but to commit the cause to him that judgeth righteously, as peaceable followers of our Savior and Redeemer, in his patient example and sufferings, who is the Prince of Peace.

'O king, we do further declare, that God Almighty hath taught and engaged us to acknowledge, and actually to obey magistracy, as his ordinance, in all things not repugnant to his law and light in our consciences, which is certainly agreeable to the holy Scripture, and admits not of any immoral or injurious actions, and that even where, through tenderness of conscience we cannot conform, it is our duty patiently to suffer, and not to rebel, nor seek revenge ; and we hope, by his divine grace, ever to demean ourselves as peaceable minded Christians, in our conversations, under the civil government ; and as we do sincerely and with reverence, confess to Divine Power and Providence in thy restoration and preservation of thy person hitherto ; so our prayers and supplications are to the Almighty for thy future safety and peace, and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, thou mayest be thereby obliged to show mercy, and relieve the oppressed from these unmerited afflictions and persecutions, which a great number of us thy peaceable subjects do even at this day suffer under, in our persons and estates ; not only by laws made against, but also by laws never intended against us ; and which is more extreme, divers severities of late have been, and still are inflicted, for which no color or pretence of law hath been, or can be alleged ; several jails being so filled, as that they want air, and many innocent persons held under extreme distress, without regard to age, sex, or condition, to the loss of some lives already, and



apparent hazard of many more ; if not to the endangering infection in divers cities and places in this nation ; and so many houses, shops, barns, and fields, ransacked and swept of goods, corn, and cattle ; tending also to the great discouragement of trade and husbandry, and to the impoverishing of a great number of quiet and industrious people ; and that for no other cause, but for their religious worship and exercise of their tender consciences towards Almighty God who made them, who is the sovereign Lord of all, and King in men's consciences.

' Therefore we humbly entreat thee, O king, in princely justice, Christian charity and compassion, to open our prison doors, and take off our bonds, where the innocent and oppressed in thy land, that fear God, and in conversation, truly honor the king ; and suffer not the ruin of such as are quiet in the land, the widow and the fatherless for their peaceable consciences, to lie at the door of a prince professing the tender and compassionate religion of Christ.'

This address was presented to the king at Windsor, on the 8th of the month called August, in this year, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Camfield, in behalf of themselves and their friends : and it was read to him and his brother the duke of York, then present with some others ; but no considerable ease followed : king Charles, it seems, was not to be the instrument thereof : and though that prince by nature was not hard-hearted, yet there were some that could persuade him to severity.

I find about this time, that one Gabriel Shad, who had made it his business to serve as informer against the Quakers, and who had lately informed also against G. Fox, as hath been said, being confined in Newgate at London, for stealing goods from one William Lemau, to the value of three hundred pounds, had been found guilty of felony at the Old Bailey ; but he had such friends, that he was freed from the gallows, and having obtained the benefit of the clergy, was discharged with being burnt in the hand. Such infamous persons were the informers ; for honest people scorned to meddle with such a base and abominable work.

This year the princess Anne, daughter of the duke of York, was married to prince George of Denmark. The duke of Monmouth having been under disgrace, came into favor again ; for the king his father indeed loved him, though he was loth, in prejudice of his brother the duke of York, to declare him his legitimate son, as some great men wished he had. But the king persisted in his declaration, that he never had been married to Monmouth's mother.

In the next year, viz. that of 1684, G. Fox and Alexander Parker, came into Holland to visit their friends there ; and after some stay, they returned to their native country.

In this year died Thomas Stordy, of Moorhouse in Cumberland, a gentleman who twenty-two years before had been condemned to a

premunire, because for conscience-sake he could not swear ; for which sheriff John Lowther seized his estate, real and personal, for the king's use, and kept him prisoner eleven or twelve years, till discharged by the king's declaration in 1672, or 73, and his real estate restored. After which, he suffered under great fines and spoil for meeting, and after that was prosecuted on the act for twenty pounds a month for not coming to their worship ; on which he continued prisoner several years, till he died in December, having been made willing rather to lose all for Christ's sake, than to be disobedient to him. This Thomas Stordy released to the land-owners, and their heirs for ever, an impropriation of ten pounds per annum, which descended to him from his father and grandfather, making conscience as well of receiving as paying tithes. Not long before his decease, he exhorted those that were come to visit him, to faithfulness ; 'For,' said he, 'if ye continue faithful to the Lord whilst ye live in this world, he will reward you, as now he rewardeth me, with his sweet peace.' Thus piously Thomas Stordy departed this life, showing forth that he was really a gentleman, whose chiefest nobility consisted in virtue. I could mention some other instances, or cases of persecution ; but to make the more speed towards a conclusion, I will not detain my reader with the relation thereof.

Thomas Briggs, who also had suffered very much, having been one of the first preachers among the Quakers, and being become old and weak, about this time wrote a letter to G. Fox, in which he signified his perseverance in godliness ; and not long after, viz. about the beginning of the year 1685, he died.

It was about this time also, that the king was seized with such violent fits of convulsion, that he died in the month called February. The throne by his death being become vacant, was filled again by his brother, James the Second, who succeeding him, was the same day proclaimed king. Now I cannot but take notice, that persecution went on to the death of king Charles, and continued hot to that very instant ; and he being gone off the stage, many seemed to fear that worse times were at hand, and that burning of heretics would come in vogue again, as in the former age ; yet some there were who imagined that ease was like to follow ; and that they guessed not amiss, time showed.

King James had not been long at the helm of the government, but the dissenters applied to him for liberty of worship, and among these were also the Quakers, who made the following petition :

*To the King and both houses of Parliament, the suffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God, humbly presented.*

'Showing, that of late above one thousand five hundred of the said people, both men and women, having been detained prisoners in England, and part of them in Wales, (some of which being since discharged by

the judges, and others freed by death, through their long and tedious imprisonment,) there are now remaining, according to late accounts, about one thousand three hundred eighty and three ; above two hundred of them women. Many under sentence of premunire, both men and women, and more than three hundred near it ; not for denying the duty, or refusing the substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear : many on writs of excommunication and fines for the king, and upon the act for banishment : besides above three hundred and twenty have died in prison, and prisoners, since the year 1660, near one hundred whereof, by means of this long imprisonment, as it is judged, since the account delivered to the late king and parliament, in 1680 ; thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving them in distress and sorrow : the two last hard winters' restraint, and the close confinement of great numbers in divers jails, unavoidably tending towards their destruction, their healths being evidently impaired thereby.

' And here in London, the jail of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded, within these two years, (sometimes near twenty in one room,) to the prejudice of their health : and several poor innocent tradesmen, of late, have been so suffocated by the closeness of the prison, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after.

' Besides these long-continued and destructive hardships upon the persons of men and women, as aforesaid, great violences, outrageous distresses, and woeful havoc and spoil have been, and still are frequently made upon our goods and estates, both in and about this city of London, and other parts of this nation, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, and their prosecutions upon the conventicle act ; many being convicted and fined, unsummoned and unheard in their own defence. As also on *qui tam* writs, at the suit of informers, who prosecute for one-third part for themselves, and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king ; all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and farmers, and the impoverishing of many industrious families, without compassion shown to widows, fatherless, or desolate : to some, not a bed left to rest upon ; to others, no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal : the said informers and sheriffs' bailiffs in some places being outrageous and excessive in their distresses and seizures, breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil. And all these and other severities done against us by them, under pretence of serving the king and the church, thereby to force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or satisfaction of our tender consciences, wherein our peace with God is concerned, which we are very tender of.

' The statutes on which we, the said people, suffer imprisonment, distress, and spoil, are as followeth :

' The 5th of Eliz. ch. 23, *De excommunicato Capiendo*.

' The 23d of Eliz. ch. 1, for twenty pounds per month.

' The 29th of Eliz. ch. 6, for continuation.

' The 35th of Eliz. ch. 1, for abjuring the realm, on pain of death.

' The 1st of Eliz. ch. 2, for twelve pence a Sunday.

' The 3d of K. James I. ch. 4, for premunire, imprisonment during life, and estates confiscated.

' The 13th and 14th of K. Charles II. against Quakers, &c., transportation.

' The 22d of K. Charles II. ch. 1, against seditious conventicles.

' The 17th of K. Charles II. ch. 2, against non-conformists.

' The 27th of Hen. VIII. ch. 20, some few suffer thereupon.

' Upon indictments at common law, pretended and framed against our peaceable religious assemblies, for riots, routs, breach of the peace, &c., many, both men and women, thereupon fined, imprisoned, and detained for non-payment, some till death. Instance, the city of Bristol, what a great number have been these divers years straitly confined and crowded in jail, mostly above one hundred on such pretence, about seventy of them women, many aged. And in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682 and 83, about seventy kept in hold, forty-five whereof in holes and dungeons for many weeks together, and great hardships have been, and are in other places. So that such our peaceable meetings are sometimes fined on the conventicle act, as for a religious exercise, and other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c., when nothing of that nature could ever be proved against them, there being nothing of violence or injury either done, threatened, or intended, against the person or property of any other whatsoever.

' The during and tedious imprisonments, are chiefly on the writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, upon the judgment of premunire, and upon fines, said to be for the king.

' The great spoil and excessive distresses and seizures, are chiefly upon the conventicle act, and for twenty pounds a month, two-thirds of estates, and on *qui tam* writs. In some counties divers have suffered by seizures and distresses above eight years last past, and writs issued out for further seizures in several counties, for twenty pounds a month, amounting to the value of many thousands of pounds, sometimes seizing for eleven months at once, and making sale of all goods and chattels, within doors and without, both of household goods, beds, shop-goods, movables, cattle, &c., and prosecution hereupon still continued, and in divers counties much increased ; so that several, who have long employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid considerable taxes to the king, are greatly disabled from both, by these writs and seizures, as well as by long imprisonments. So many serge-makers of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred poor people at work, disabled by imprisonment. Many in the county of Suffolk, under a long imprisonment, sentenced to a premunire, one whereof employed at least two hundred poor people in the woollen manufacture, when at liberty. Omitting other instances, that we may not

seem too tedious, these may evince how destructive such severities are to trade and industry, and ruinous to many poor families.

‘On the conventicle act, within these two years last past, many in and about this city of London have been extremely oppressed, impaired, and spoiled in their estates and trades, upon numerous convictions and warrants, made against them in their absence, upon the credit of informations sworn by concealed informers, divers of them impudent women, who swear for their profit in part of the fines and seizures, their husbands being prisoners for debt through their own extravagancies. The warrants commonly made to break open and enter houses, which is done with rigor and great spoil, not sparing widows, fatherless, or poor families, who are sustained by their daily care and industry, not leaving them a bed to rest upon. The fines upon one justice’s warrants, amounting to many hundreds of pounds; frequently ten pounds a warrant, and two warrants at once for twenty pounds, executed upon one person; and three warrants at once from another justice, for sixty pounds upon another person, and all his goods carried away in about ten cart loads; and five warrants at once for fifty pounds upon another, &c., besides what we have suffered by others in the like kind. And in this destructive course the informers have encouragement, and are suffered still to go on, to the ruining many families in their trades and livelihoods; divers so discouraged and disabled, that they are forced to give over their shops and trades.

‘These informers being accepted for credible witnesses, yet parties, swearing for their own profit and gain, in the absence of the persons prosecuted; this, we think, is very hard and undue proceeding, and not consistent with common law or justice.

‘As also convicting and fining us upon their depositions, unsummoned and unheard in our own defence, and so keeping us ignorant of our accusers, unless upon traverse of our appeals. This procedure appears contrary to the law of God, common justice, and equity, and to the law and justice of the ancient Romans, and of nations.

‘And although it has been openly manifested, upon trial of appeals, at several quarter-sessions, both for Middlesex and London, and other places, that the depositions of divers informers have been false in fact: yet the great trouble and charge in the traverse of appeals, and the great encouragement informers have from him who grants the most warrants, hath been a discouragement to many from seeking such difficult remedy, considering also the treble costs against the appellant, in case he succeeds not, or is not acquitted upon trial: whereas there is no costs nor restitution awarded nor given against the informers, for unjust prosecution. Some also have refused to grant appeals, others denied copies of warrants to prevent appeals: which, whether this be equal or just, pray consider, ye that are wise and judicious men: and whether it be for the king’s honor, and the people’s interest, that idle, drunken, extravagant informers, should either be encouraged or suffered to go on thus to ruin trade, husbandry

and families, or to command and threaten justices of peace, with the forfeiture of a hundred pounds, if they do not make convictions, and issue out warrants upon their late informations, and uncertain depositions, frequently in the absence of the accused.

‘ And lastly, one-third part of the fines being assigned to the king, he can only remit that ; but the informers and poor being assigned two-third parts, seems not to allow him to remit them, how much cause soever may appear to him, to extend his favor in that case. Is not this against the king’s prerogative, to restrain his sovereign clemency ? And how far it reflects upon the government, and is scandalous thereto, for beggarly rude informers, some of them confident women, not only to command, threaten, and disquiet justices, peace-officers, &c., but to destroy the king’s honest, industrious and peaceable subjects, in their properties and estates, is worthy of your serious considerations : and whether the said conventicle act ought not therefore justly to be repealed. A noted instance of the like case, we have, concerning the statute of the 11 Hen. VII. ch. 3, for determining certain offences and contempts only upon informers’ prosecutions, being repealed in the first year of K. Hen. VIII. ch. 6, though that, in some respects, was more tolerable than this.

‘ Be pleased to make our case your own, and do to us as you would be done unto ; as you would not be oppressed or destroyed in your persons, or estates, nor have your properties invaded, and posterities ruined for serving and worshipping Almighty God, that made all mankind, according to your persuasions and consciences, but would, no doubt, enjoy the liberty thereof, so we entreat you to allow the same liberty to tender consciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourselves ; and to disannul the said conventicle act, and to stop these devouring informers, and also take away all sanguinary laws, corporal and pecuniary punishments, merely on the score of religion and conscience ; and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherless, and innocent families, lie upon this nation, nor at your door, who have not only a great trust reposed in you for the prosperity and good of the whole nation, but also do profess Christianity, and the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

‘ And notwithstanding all these long-sustained extremities, we, the said suffering people, do solemnly profess and declare in the sight of the all-seeing God, who is the searcher of hearts, that as we have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, they being wholly contrary to our Christian principle and profession, so we have nothing but good-will and true Christian affection to the king and government, sincerely desiring his and your safety, prosperity, and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole kingdom.

‘ Having thus given you, in short, the general state of our suffering case, in matter of fact, without personal reflection, we, in Christian humility, and for Christ’s sake, entreat that you will tenderly and charitably

consider of the premises, and find out some effectual expedient or way for our relief from prisons, spoil, and ruin.'

The following application was likewise presented :

TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

*The humble application of the People called Quakers.*

'Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, by whom kings reign, to take hence the late king Charles the Second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed ; we thy subjects heartily desire, that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy in the use of thy great power, to his glory, the king's honor, and the kingdom's good ; and it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, by the assistance of Almighty God, to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the king's government, and a conscientious people, that truly fear and serve God ; we do humbly hope that the king's tenderness will appear and extend, with his power to express the same ; recommending to his princely clemency, the case of our present suffering friends hereunto annexed.

TO THE KING.

*The distressed Case and Request of the suffering People commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.*

'Showing,

'That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the said people, both men and women, are continued prisoners in England and Wales, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God that made them ; many under sentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refusing the duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear ; others under fines upon the act of banishment, many on writs of excommunication ; besides some hundreds have died prisoners ; many by means of this long imprisonment, since the year 1680, (as it is judged,) thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families in distress and sorrow ; these two hard winters' confinement tending also to the destruction of many in cold holes and jails, their healths being greatly impaired thereby ; besides the violence and woeful spoil made by merciless informers on the conventicle act, upon many, convicted unsummoned and unheard in their own defence, both in city and county, as also on *qui tam* writs, and other process, on twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king, all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and industrious families ; to some not a bed left ;

to others no cattle to till their ground, or give them milk ; nor corn for bread or seed ; nor tools to work withal. And also these and other severities done under pretence of serving the king and church, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God, and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter ; and notwithstanding all these long-sustained extremities, we the said people do solemnly profess and declare in the sight of the heart Searcher, that we have nothing but good-will and true affection to the king, praying for his safety, and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, as being wholly contrary to our Christian principles and holy profession.

' And knowing that where the word of a king is, there is power, we in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, entreat, that the king will please to find out some expedient for our relief in these cases, from prisons, spoil, and ruin, and we shall, as in Christian duty bound, pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happiness in that which is to come.'

*An account of the number of the said prisoners, called Quakers, in the several counties.*

| Prisoners.                          |           | Prisoners.              |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Bedfordshire                        | 30        | Leicestershire          | 37        |
| Berkshire                           | 37        | Lincolnshire            | 12        |
| Bristol                             | 103       | London and Middlesex    | 66        |
| Buckinghamshire                     | 19        | Norfolk                 | 52        |
| Cambridgeshire                      | 8         | Northampton             | 59        |
| Cheshire                            | 9         | Nottinghamshire         | 6         |
| Cornwall                            | 32        | Oxon                    | 17        |
| Cumberland                          | 22        | Shropshire              | 18        |
| Derbyshire                          | 1         | Somersetshire           | 36        |
| Devonshire                          | 104       | Southampton             | 15        |
| Dorsetshire                         | 13        | Staffordshire           | 1         |
| Durham                              | 39        | Suffolk                 | 79        |
| Ely                                 | 11        | Surrey                  | 29        |
| Essex                               | 10        | Sussex                  | 17        |
| Gloucestershire                     | 66        | Warwickshire            | 31        |
| Hertfordshire                       | 18        | Westmoreland            | 5         |
| Herefordshire                       | 1         | Wiltshire               | 34        |
| Huntingdonshire                     | 10        | Worcestershire          | 15        |
| Kent                                | 16        | Yorkshire               | 279       |
| Lancashire                          | 73        | Wales                   | 30        |
|                                     | <hr/> 622 |                         | <hr/> 838 |
|                                     | <hr/>     |                         | <hr/> 622 |
| Delivered to the king the 3d of the |           |                         |           |
| First month called March, 1684.     |           | Total of Prisoners 1460 |           |



This list, with the aforesaid petition to the king and parliament, was not altogether ineffectual : for there was much talk now of liberty of conscience : but since all the liberty that was enjoyed was only precarious, it could be but little depended upon ; yet many seemed to be in expectation that some grant of that liberty would be published in print, and thus it became a common saying that liberty of conscience was in the press, which being of an equivocal signification, sometimes afforded matter of sport. But many of the Episcopal church were so strongly bent to withhold that liberty from other Protestants, that there were no ill-grounded reports, that some in authority had promised the king, to give their vote for liberty of conscience to the Papists, provided it was not granted to other dissenters. Nevertheless the abovesaid petition of the Quakers had such effect, that the king resolved to ease them from the burden of their oppression, by way of pardon ; for thus far his power reached ; but the abrogating of laws could not be done without the consent of the parliament, which grew jealous that by the repeal of those laws, the Papists, who now had a king of their own religion, would become too powerful. In the meanwhile the king published the following proclamation :

‘ *James R.*

‘Whereas our most entirely beloved brother, the late king, deceased, had signified his intentions to his attorneys general for the pardoning such of his subjects who had been sufferers in the late rebellion for their loyalty, or whose parents or nearest relations had been sufferers in the late rebellion for that cause, or who had themselves testified their loyalty and affection to the government, and were prosecuted, indicted, or convicted for not taking, or refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or one of them, or had been prosecuted upon any writ, or any penalty, or otherwise, in any of the courts of Westminster Hall, or in any of the ecclesiastical courts, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament :

‘And whereas the several persons, whose names are mentioned in the schedule annexed to this our warrant ; have produced unto us certificates for the loyalty and sufferings of them and their families :

‘Now in pursuance of the said will of our said most dear brother, and in consideration of the sufferings of the said persons, our will and pleasure is, that you cause all process and proceedings, *ex officio*, as well against the said persons mentioned in the said schedule hereunto annexed, as against all other persons as shall hereafter be produced unto you, to be wholly superseded and stayed ; and if any of the said persons be decreed or pronounced excommunicated, or have been so certified, or are in prison upon the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, for any of the causes aforesaid, our pleasure is, that you absolve and cause such persons to be absolved, discharged, or set at liberty, and that no process or proceedings whatsoever be hereafter made in any court against any of the

said persons for any cause before mentioned, until our pleasure therein shall be further signified.

‘Given at our Court at Whitehall, this 18th of April, 1685, in the first year of our reign.

‘To all archbishops and bishops; to their chancellors and commissioners; and to all archdeacons and their officials, and all other ordinaries and persons executing ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

By his majesty's command,

SUNDERLAND.’

This was the king's first step towards liberty of conscience, as well for Papists, as other persons mentioned in the schedule annexed, which put an effectual stop to persecution, and the power of the informers was thereby much broken. And since the most of these were generally base fellows, and profligate persons, who did not care what they did, provided they might enrich themselves, they often dealt treacherously even with the persecuting justices; who also were eager for having part of the prey, and yet by the artifices of these rapacious wretches were deprived of it, which some of them now smarted for. Among the rest, I find that one John Hilton was committed to jail, as may appear from this warrant of the recorder.

#### TO THE KEEPER OF NEWGATE.

‘Receive into your custody the body of John Hilton, herewith sent you, being charged upon oath before me, for compounding several warrants under my hand and seal, for levying of several sums of money on persons convicted for being at several conventicles in Kent, London, and Middlesex; and being also indicted for the same in the several counties aforesaid, and the bills found against him; and also that he the said John Hilton, hath refused to obey the right honorable Sir Edward Herbert, lord chief justice's warrant. And him safely keep, until he shall be discharged by due course of law. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Dated the 23d of December, 1685.

THEO. JENNER, *Recorder*.

‘Let notice be given to me before he be discharged.’

Thus the informers met with a stop, and the persecuted Quakers got some rest; for persecution not only ceased, but many, who for religion's sake had been several years kept in prison, obtained liberty by the favor of a popish prince, which they had not been able to get from his brother, king Charles the Second. Now many of the fierce persecutors came to shame, some to poverty, and others to a miserable end, of which no small number of instances might be produced, if I were minded to enlarge; however I will mention one or two.

One Edward Davis, who once professed to be a Quaker, but not being sincere, found that way too narrow for him, and so left his friends, whom afterwards, being become keeper of the jail of Ivelchester in Somersetshire, he vexed most grievously; and from mere malice fettered some, saying to John Whiting, and another, whom he had hand-bolted together, those bolts should not be taken off if lice did eat them up. And his comrade Joseph Newberry was but little better, for when somebody told him, that their hands did swell with the irons, he said, he did not care if their hearts did swell also. And when one John Dando once asked Davis, what he thought would become of him when he came to die; he answered, that he knew what would become of him then, and therefore he would make the best of his time now. Also, that he knew where he went out, and where he must come in again, if ever he was saved; and if he thought he should never return again, he would be as wicked as he could. Truly a most desperate saying, just as if the door of mercy always continued open for man, and the day of the visitation of God's love never passed over his head, though he persevered in rebellion. But this Davis came to a most pitiful state, so that he fell into poverty, and was himself imprisoned for debts, of which more hereafter. And Newberry fell into a sad condition, being taken with a severe palsy, and yet he did not leave off cursing and swearing, talking of the devil in a dreadful manner. And by lying long in bed, the flesh rotted on his back, and he who had formerly said concerning the hand-bolted prisoners, he did not care if their hearts did swell, got now such a sore tongue, that it swelled out of his mouth, and grew black, and so he died miserably on the 10th of December. Thus God sometimes punisheth the wicked even in this life. And though persecutors come not always to such a miserable end, yet many of these fell into poverty, and others were discontented because they saw that those whom they had cruelly persecuted, now enjoyed an undisturbed liberty; for the king who was now on the throne, continued to give liberty to those that had been oppressed for religion.

But before I say more of this, I cannot but mention something of the design of the unhappy duke of Monmouth, who at the death of his father king Charles the Second, was gone to Brussels, and being come thence into Holland, he was spurred on so vigorously by some hot-headed Englishmen, that having got money and assistance of mal-contented, he went over to England with three men of war and some forces, having given forth a declaration against king James, which vented a fiery passion towards that prince, and was written, as I have been credibly told, by the violent Robert Ferguson. Monmouth being landed with his forces in the West of England, near Lyme, and afterwards routed by the king's troops, was taken prisoner by the perfidiousness of a certain lord, who thereby obtained pardon for himself; but Ferguson escaped by a cunning artifice, crying along the road where he came galloping on horseback, 'The rebels are routed, the rebels are routed!' Just as if he had

been a courier sent on purpose to court and elsewhere. But thus he escaped, and being come again into Holland, he told this crafty trick to his acquaintance. Monmouth having been declared guilty of high treason by a bill of attainder, as soon as the news came of his design, was but two or three days after his arrival at London, beheaded. I count it not unworthy to be mentioned, that he undauntedly received the news of the death-warrant being come; and on the scaffold on Tower-Hill, he told the bishops that accompanied him, 'If I had no true repentance, I should not be so free from the fear of death.' And when it was objected, that he ought not to rely too much on that, since that might be the effect of natural courage, he said, 'No; I do not ascribe this to my nature; for naturally I am more fearful than others; but now I am freed from fear; because I feel something in me, which gives me assurance that I shall go to God.' The executioner gave him several strokes with the axe, before the head was severed from the body; and some ecclesiastics afterwards said, he died an enthusiast: for not showing himself very ready to comply with their service, and his saying that something within him assured him that he should go to God, seemed to them an enthusiastical tenet. But whatever it was, yet it seems very probable to me, that he was a true penitent, and so he died in peace; for though I cannot but disapprove his design, yet by true repentance he might not only have obtained forgiveness of God, but also have had a full assurance of it.

The earl of Argyle, who rebelled in Scotland against king James, had no better lot; but I will not detain my reader therewith, neither with a relation of the dismal execution of many, who having been found guilty of high treason, either for actual rebellion, or for having been abettors of Monmouth, were sentenced to death by the infamous Jeffries, who then was lord chief justice, and afterwards chancellor; the fierceness or cruelty of this judge being such, that some lost their lives only for having given some hay or victuals to Monmouth's soldiers. But this not being within my circuit, I will pass it by, and go over to the year 1686.

Therefore leaving England, I will take a turn to Emden, in East Friesland, where a small company of those called Quakers had been under a severe persecution for several years, as I have hinted before. But the magistrates having persecuted by the instigation of their preachers, the citizens began to be displeased with it. And since the Protestants in France were now persecuted violently, and the popish prince had mounted the English throne, those at Emden grew more inclined to moderation. Probably the decay of trade also contributed a little to this change; for it appeared that the magistrates were for getting more inhabitants into their town, though they should be Quakers: and this was counted a matter of such moment, that the common council deliberated on the subject; and two of the members of that board, viz. Polman and Bonhuyren, were sent to Magdalena van Loar, an inhabitant of Emden, desiring her to write to England and Holland, that the magis-

trates of the city had resolved to give liberty to the people called Quakers, to live, trade, and traffic there; which grant they proffered to confirm by the city seal. According to their desire notice was given to those of that persuasion at Amsterdam, whence an answer being returned to the said Magdalena van Loar, she gave it to the counsellor Polman, and he delivered it to the senate. After some deliberation, the magistrates with the council of forty, and the ecclesiastical court met together, and came to a resolution, of which a copy was sent to Amsterdam. In this writing were mentioned some conditions on which the magistrates at Emden were willing to grant liberty to the Quakers, to live in their city. But those of that society at Amsterdam, having weighed and duly considered the thing, found that the proposal contained some expressions, which by others, who afterwards might come to the helm, and not be so moderate as these at present, might be used as snares against the Quakers, if they now should enter upon such terms as were prescribed. Therefore it was thought more safe not to enter into any engagement, whereby great inconvenience might afterwards attend their friends, when the magistracy came to be in other hands. Yet the conclusion was, to acknowledge the good intention of the magistrates of Emden, by drawing up the following letter, and sending it to them.

**TO THE LORDS, BURGOMASTERS, COUNSELLORS, AND RULERS OF  
THE CITY OF EMDEN.**

‘These are to acquaint you with due respect, that a scheme or plan of yours, dated the 14 of February, 1686, is come to our hands, which having been perused by us, we have thought it convenient in the fear of the Lord, to send you the following answer.

‘First, we thank God Almighty for the ease and liberty which our friends at present enjoy under your government, and are like to enjoy in the future. And, secondly, we cannot but acknowledge very acceptably your clemency and meekness, which ye show by taking notice of the state of a despised and oppressed people, who because of their way and worship, differing from the many ways in the world, are gainsayed every where. And therefore it is that we are the more stirred up in our minds to pray fervently to the Lord God for your peace and prosperity, and the continuance of your good resolution; that so all those who serve the Lord in uprightness of heart may lead a peaceable and godly life among you, by showing forth the fruits of true Christianity in truth, sincerity, and righteousness. Now as to what ye have been pleased to declare, that ye were willing to confirm the aforesaid your good resolution by a public act, we let you know, that we are so well satisfied with your word and oral declaration concerning the aforementioned thing, that this is more to us than any thing we could further desire, as knowing that good men think themselves bound by their good words to perform what is good. And since ye are sensible on what ground ye came to the aforesaid resolution, and declared yourselves thus, we doubt not but the

same persuasion and reason continuing with you, will prove a more strong engagement to you to perform the same, than any outward seal can be. And in that engagement we were willing to acquiesce, and should not have mentioned any other, unless some among you, as we have been informed, first had made mention thereof. And as to what ye demand of us, we declare in the nakedness and simplicity of our hearts, that in regard of our temporal conversation and deportment, we desire no further protection, that when we deal righteously to all, and walk according to that golden rule, that we do unto all men, what we desire should be done to us. And concerning our religion and worship, which we believe we owe to Almighty God, it is thus: That since it differs from other persuasions, it makes us obnoxious not only to the mockings and revilings of ignorant people, but exposeth us also to the malice and envy of many, who hate us without a just cause; and therefore it is that we stand in need of your favorable interpretation, and your best construction of what we do, and what we leave undone. And if we should err in those matters, we shall be the greatest losers by it; and if truth be on our side, then our adversaries shall not be able to prevail; for truth is the strongest, and it is not good for any to fight against it. Howsoever then it may be with us in this matter, yet we hope that ye will be pleased, if we behave ourselves peaceably and honestly, towards you and all men, to let us be partakers with our peaceable neighbors, of your general protection. And though ye might please to give us a public act of your aforesaid resolution, yet we clearly foresee, that it would be hardly possible to use such expressions, that our enemies, by some wresting or other of the words, or a wrong interpretation of the expressions contained therein, should not be able to make us esteemed guilty of transgression, and so find matter against us. And therefore we think it very safe, to rely on your word and good resolution, in which it hath pleased you to declare, that we shall enjoy liberty to live and trade in your city, provided we pay custom and taxes, which other citizens are subject to; and that then we shall be at liberty to meet together to worship God in such a way as he hath convinced us we ought to do, and to call upon him, and to exhort one another to love and good works, and a Christian conversation. And on your behalf it will tend to the praise of the magistrates, that ye favor us in this. And it will also be to the promoting of God's glory: and will oblige us to pray for you, that the Lord God may be pleased to preserve you, and to make you continue in such a good, wholesome, and well-grounded resolution. We are, and rest,

Your true friends and well-wishers,  
 BARENT VAN TONGEREN,  
 WILLIAM SEWEL,  
 JACOB CLAUS,  
 STEPHEN CRISP,  
 JOHN ROELOFS,  
 JOHN CLAUS,  
 PETER HENDRIKsz.'

Amsterdam, the 1<sup>st</sup> of the  
 Third month, alias March, 1686.

In answer to this, the senate sent the following resolution to the subscribers of the aforesaid letter, being, as appears by the contents, the decree of the senate, so as it was entered into their records, of which the authentic copy, signed by the city's secretary, is in my custody.

*Lunæ ¼ Marti, 1686.*

'Received a letter on the ¼ instant, written at Amsterdam the ⅞ of the same month, and signed by Barent van Tongeren, William Sewel, Jacob Claus, Stephen Crisp, John Roelofs, John Claus, Peter Hendriksz, in answer to our resolution of the ¼ of February last, with thanks for the promised admission and protection of this city, in their free trade, and the exercise of their religion, without offending any; signifying thereby also, that they will be content without an act under our seal, and willing to rely on our words. This having been under deliberation, it was thought meet, and resolved, that our word shall effectually be kept to the rescribers, and all others of their persuasion, and that the promised protection shall be really performed.

*Ad mandatum senatus speciale,*

O. HILLINGS, Sec.'

Thus it pleased the senate of Emden to give to those called Quakers, liberty to dwell among them, with the free exercise of their religion. Sometime after it happened, that the burgomaster Andrews, coming to the house of Magdalena van Loar, and the preacher Alardyn, to the house of her daughter Magdalena Haasbaant, desired both that they would cause what the senate had resolved, to be written to England, that so it might be known there, that if any of the Quakers' persuasion would come over, and settle at Emden, they should be well received there.

Hereby we see how God hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and that he turneth them whithersoever he will: for the magistrates of Emden, had some years before from a blind zeal, kindled by those who ought to have stopped it, given forth very severe edicts against the Quakers, and persecuted them fiercely; but now they allowed them an entire liberty.

But leaving Emden, I turn again to England, where persecution by this time also came to a stand, insomuch that the king ordered that all such imprisoned Quakers as it was in his power to release, should be set at liberty; for those that were in prison, for not paying tithes, &c. were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was out of the king's reach. But many others who had been in custody several years, appeared now at London in the annual meeting of their friends, to the great joy of their brethren; and when some of these went to thank the king for his favor, they were kindly admitted; and thereby he drew their inclination towards him; for his endeavors were now, as he said,

to bring about a complete liberty of conscience. What his aim was, I am not to investigate, for he never attained to it. In the meanwhile he made persecution generally to cease, not only in England, but also in other places of his dominions: for having heard that the Quakers in the isle of Barbadoes, in the West Indies, were very much molested, because for conscience-sake they could not bear arms, he ordered some of the members of his council to write the following letter:

‘After our hearty commendations, his majesty having been pleased to refer unto us the petition of the Quakers inhabiting in the Barbadoes, we have thought fit hereby to pray and require you to examine the allegations of the said petitions and papers hereunto annexed. And inasmuch as his majesty, having lately extended his favor to those people here, may be inclined to continue the same towards them in this particular, we desire you to report unto us what ease may be given them in reference to the militia act, and the penalties thereby imposed, as far as it may consist with the safety of the island, and the preserving of the militia, according to the intention of the said act. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Your loving friends,

JEFFRIES,  
CRAVEN,  
ALBEMARLE,  
MIDDLETON,

From the Council chamber, Whitehall  
the 23d July, 1686.

From this letter it appears plainly that the king endeavored to relieve the Quakers from that burden of persecution they were under. The following letter is also a proof of it, written by the earl of Sunderland, then, as I think, president of the privy council, to the earl of Huntingdon, to stop the persecution in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, where one John Smith had acted most grievously:

‘Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1686.

‘My Lord,

‘The king being informed that one John Smith, a common informer, doth very vexatiously prosecute the Quakers in the county of Leicester, and in the town and county of Nottingham; and his majesty being pleased to extend his favor to those of that persuasion, his majesty would have your grace direct the justices of peace to give no sort of countenance to the said John Smith, and his prosecution, against the Quakers.

‘My lord, I am for his grace the duke of Newcastle, one of his majesty’s most honorable privy council, &c.

Your grace’s most faithful and humble servant,

SUNDERLAND, P.’

‘To the right honorable the earl of Huntingdon, one of his majesty’s most honorable privy council, chief recorder of Leicester, custos, rotulorum of the county of Leicester.’



The king being thus inclined to give liberty to prisoners, those who were in custody for religion, neglected no opportunity to obtain it ; of which the following petition is an evidence.

*‘ To chief Justice Herbert and judge Wright, assigned to hold assizes, and jail-delivery for the western circuit, at Wells for the county of Somerset, the thirtieth of the month called March, 1686.*

‘ Several of the people called Quakers, now prisoners in the jail at Ivelchester, in the county of Somerset, on behalf of themselves and many others of the same people, in humility show,

‘ That since the wise Disposer of all things, hath ordered your employment in this honorable service, to relieve the oppressed, and deliver the captives ; and since king James II. that now is, hath committed part of his clemency to your custody, to distribute the same according as the Lord hath inclined his heart ; and having taken particular notice of our sufferings, and signified his will and pleasure, that we, the people commonly called Quakers, should receive the full benefit of his general pardon, with all possible ease ; which grace and favor we with all thankfulness, acknowledge to God as the chief author, who hath the hearts of kings at his disposal ; and to the king, as being ready herein to mind that which the Lord inclined his heart unto ; and not without hope to find the like opportunity to render to you our hearty thanks, for the full accomplishment of that which our God allows, and the king so readily grants us ; and also hearing the report of your nobility and moderation, in managing this weighty trust committed to you, we are emboldened thus to address ourselves, though in plainness of speech, yet in sincerity of heart, to lay before you, that we have for several years been prisoners in the jail aforesaid, not for any plotting against the king or government, or harm done to his subjects ; our peaceable lives have manifested our fidelity to the king, and love to our neighbors, it being contrary to our principles to do otherwise ; but only for conscience-sake, because in obedience to Christ Jesus we dare not swear at all, or forbear to worship God, as he hath ordained, nor conform to those worships which we have no faith in ; which to omit the one, or practice the other, we should therein sin, and so wound our consciences, and break our peace with God : and what good then should our lives do us, if we might enjoy never so much of the world’s favor and friendship.

‘ Our humble request therefore to you is, to consider and compassionate our suffering condition, and improve the power and authority that God and the king hath entrusted you withal, for our relief and liberty ; we still resolving, and hoping, through God’s assistance, for the future, to manifest our fear to God, honor to the king, and honesty to all his subjects, by our godly, humble, and peaceable conversation. The particular

causes of our imprisonments are herewith attested, under our keeper's hand. And we further pray, that mercenary informers, and envious prosecutors against us, only for conscience-sake, may, according to your wisdom and prudence, be discouraged from prosecuting such actions; by which many industrious and conscientious families and persons are in danger of being ruined; and we encouraged in our diligence in our respective callings, and may enjoy the benefit of our industry; and so shall we be the better enabled to perform with cheerfulness the duties we owe to God, the king, and all men. The Lord guide you in judgment, and more and more incline your hearts to love mercy, and do justice, and grant you the reward thereof; which is truly our desire and prayer.'

This petition was signed by sixteen persons, some of which had been imprisoned fifteen, others ten, and some fewer years; and to the time of their imprisonment was added, on what account, viz. on premunire, excommunication, and for tithes, &c. And it had such effect, that chief justice Herbert discharged these prisoners; but before this was done, several of those that had been imprisoned there, died. Many also were set at liberty by the king's proclamation; and it was indeed an unusual thing to enjoy such a free liberty, that the malicious persecutors were restrained by the higher power.

George Fox was now mostly in and about London, endeavoring to bring all things among his friends into good order; and therefore he wrote several papers since he could not be every where in person, and discharge himself by word of mouth. And lest carelessness should creep in, by reason of the liberty that was now enjoyed, he wrote the following epistle to his friends:

*'Friends,*

'The Lord by his eternal power hath opened the heart of the king, to open the prison doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty; and hath given a check to the informers: so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. So my desires are, that both liberty and sufferings, all may be sanctified to his people; and Friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the sea, and allayeth the storms and tempests, and maketh a calm. And therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon him, who careth for you. For when ye were in your jails and prisons, then the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and sanctified them to you, and unto some he had made them as a sanctuary; and tried his people, as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. And in all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and that he is in all places; who crowneth the year with his goodness, Psalm lxxv. Therefore let all God's people be diligent and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure,

and clean ; and to serve God, and Christ, and one another, in the glorious peaceable gospel of life and salvation ; which glory shines over God's camp ; and his great prophet, and bishop, and shepherd is among or in the midst of them, exercising his heavenly offices in them : so that you his people may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that destroyeth the devil and his work, and bruises the serpent's head, is all God's people's heavenly foundation and rock to build upon ; which was the holy prophets' and apostles' rock in days past, and is now a rock of our age ; which rock and foundation of God standeth sure. And upon this the Lord God establish all his people. Amen.

GEORGE FOX.'

London, the 25th of the Seventh month, 1686.

In this year David Barclay died at Ury in Scotland. Before his departure he uttered many excellent expressions indeed. I may not omit to mention some particulars. In the latter end of September, being past the 76th year of his age, he was taken with a fever, which continued two weeks ; and being much troubled with the gravel, his sickness was accompanied with pain in making water. Two days before his death, feeling his weakness, and being in an agony, he said to his son Robert, who was with him, ' I shall now go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren who are gone before me.' On the 11th of October, very early in the morning, he growing weaker, the said Robert Barclay signified to him, that his travail was, that He that loved him might be near him to the end. To which he answered, ' The Lord is nigh ;' and said further to those about him, ' Ye are my witnesses in the presence of God, that the Lord is nigh.' And a little after he said, ' The perfect discovery of the day-spring from on high, how great a blessing it hath been to me and my family !' Robert Barclay's wife asking if he would have something to refresh him, he said it needed not ; and laying his hand upon his breast, he said, he had that inwardly that refreshed him. A little while after, he was heard several times to say, ' The truth is over all ;' and taking his son's eldest son to him, he blessed him, and said, he prayed God he might never depart from the truth. Then his son's eldest daughter coming near, he said, ' Is this Patience ?' (for that was her name,) ' Let patience have its perfect work in thee.' And after kissing the other four of his son's children, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. His apothecary that attended him coming also near, he took him by the hand, and said, ' Thou wilt bear me witness, that in all this exercise I have not been curious to tamper nor to pamper the flesh.' To which the apothecary said, ' Sir, I can bear witness that you have always minded the better and more substantial part ; and I rejoice to see the blessed end the Lord is bringing you to.' To this the sick man replied, ' Bear a faithful and true witness : yet it is the life of righteousness, the life of righteousness it is, that we bear testimony to, and not to an empty profession.' Then he

called several times, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come, come!' And said also, 'My hope is in the Lord.' Afterwards he slept now and then for some hours; and seeing a carpenter coming into the room, he said to his son, 'See thou charge him to make no manner of superfluity upon the coffin.' In the afternoon several of his friends came to see him, which he having observed, said they were come in a seasonable time: and after some words were spoken, and that Patrick Livingston had prayed, which ended in praises, the sick old man held up his hands, and said, 'Amen, amen, for ever!' And after those that were present stood up, he said, 'How precious is the love of God among his children, and their love to one another! thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if ye love one another. How precious a thing it is to see brethren dwell together in love! my love is with you; I leave it among you.' Several of his friends, pretty late at night, standing about the bed, and perceiving some of them to weep, he said, 'Dear friends, all mind the inward man; heed not the outward. There is one that doth reward, the Lord of Hosts is his name.' Next morning, after he had heard the clock strike three, he said, 'Now the time comes.' And a little after he was heard to say, 'Praises, praises, praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done in earth as it is in heaven.' These sentences he spoke by little intervals, one after another; and soon after five in the morning, the 12th of October, he slept in peace and quiet, there being present at his end above twenty persons, who were witnesses to what hath been here related. His corpse was attended to the grave by numerous followers; and though he had ordered not many to be called to his burial, yet a great number of the gentry came uninvited, from an esteem they bore to his memory.

In this year also, Anne Downer, one of the first of those called Quakers at London, departed this life; she had been married first to Benjamin Greenwell, and was afterwards wife to George Whitehead. Being taken ill, she removed to a place out of London, and her sickness increasing, she perceived it was like to take her away. Her ancient friend Mary Stout visiting her, asked her, if she knew her, she said, 'Yes, very well, it is Mary Stout. I have my memory very well, and my understanding is clear, though I am very weak; but I am given up unto the will of the Lord, whether to die or to live; for I have been faithful to him in what I knew, both in life and death.' Perceiving some to be troubled concerning her, she said, 'There is no cause for you to be troubled or concerned; for I am well, and in peace.' Many Christian exhortations she gave on her dying bed, and said to some of her friends who came to visit her, 'What, do you come on purpose to see me? I take it as an effect of the love of God, and I pray God bless your children.' To another she was heard to say, 'If I never see thy face more, it is well with me; God doth know my integrity, and how I have been, and walked before him.' The evening before she died, she said to her husband, George Whitehead, &c., 'The

Lord is with me, I bless his name. I am well ; it may be you are afraid I shall be taken away ; and if it be, the will of the Lord be done. Do not trouble yourselves, nor make any great ado about me ; but, my dear, go to bed ; go to rest ; and if I should speak no more words to thee, thou knowest the everlasting love of God.' She was heard also to say, that she had done with all things in this life, and she had nothing to trouble her, but was at true peace and easy every way. And a few hours before she departed, she said, ' Though I am in a dying condition, yet it is a living death ; for though weakness seizes the body, yet my understanding is as clear as when in health.' Thus she departed this life quietly, about the age of sixty-three years, having been a woman well gifted, and very serviceable to the church, not only with wholesome exhortations, but also by her Christian care for the sick and poor, and for widows, and orphans, who by her decease lost an eminent mother.

About this time George Fox wrote several general epistles, some of which were pretty large, to his friends, exhorting them to shun strife, to keep to mutual love and unity, and to mind true piety. He wrote many other edifying papers ; and since the Papists now appeared barefaced, and performed their worship publicly, and there was much talk of their praying to saints, and by beads ; in the year 1687, he emitted the following paper concerning prayer, not fearing to contradict openly that which he judged to be superstition, though the king himself was of the popish religion.

' Christ Jesus when he taught his disciples to pray, said unto them, " When ye do pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. Christ doth not say, that they should pray to Mary the mother of Christ ; nor doth he say, that they should pray to angels, or to saints, that were dead. Christ did not teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the dead. Neither did Christ or his apostles teach the believers to pray by beads, nor to sing by outward organs : but the apostle said, he would sing and pray in spirit ; for the spirit itself maketh intercessions ; and the Lord, that searcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the spirit.

' To take counsel of the dead was forbidden by the law of God ; but they were to take counsel of the Lord : and he hath given Christ in the new covenant, in his gospel-day, to be a counsellor and a leader to all his believers in his light. And men are not to run to the dead for the living : for the law and testimony of God forbid it. Those Jews, that refused the running waters of Shiloah, the floods and waters of the Assyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity : and they that refuse the waters of Christ, they are overflown with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedness. They that asked counsel of stocks and stones, their state was in the spirit of error and whoredom ; and they were gone a whoring from God, Hos. iv. 12. And they that joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the

dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's displeasure upon them, Psal. cvi. 28, 29. So here ye may see the sacrifices of the dead were forbidden. "The living know that they shall die; but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten," Eccles. ix. 5. "Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin." Isa. xxx. 1.

GEORGE FOX.'

On the 20th of the month called March, being the 1st month, Robert Widders, one of the first preachers among those called Quakers, died; and G. Fox was now much at London; but he grew more and more weak in body, having endured many hardships in cruel imprisonments for the truth. Sometimes he went into the country to take the fresh air, and at other times he was awhile at the country-house of his son-in-law, William Mead, who married one of his wife's daughters. In the meanwhile he wrote much, for he was of a laborious temper, and did not omit under all his business to visit the meetings of his friends, and to edify them by his admonitions and exhortations. For now they were suffered to keep their meetings unmolested, since the king in the month called April, published his long expected declaration for liberty of conscience to all his subjects, which contained, That henceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning ecclesiastical matters, for not coming to church, for not receiving the sacraments, or for any other non-conformity with the established religion, or for performing religious worship in any other way, should be suspended, &c.

It would indeed have been more acceptable if this liberty had been established by the king and parliament, this being granted as yet only by virtue of his royal prerogative: but however it was, liberty was enjoyed. The friends therefore of the church at London, seeing how those of other persuasions presented addresses of thanks to the king, for his declaration for liberty of conscience, which was now published, and whereby the Dissenters were permitted to perform their worship freely, provided their preaching did not tend to make the minds of people averse to the government, thought it convenient to draw up an address also, and present it to the king; which was as followeth;

#### TO KING JAMES II., OVER ENGLAND, &c.

The humble and thankful address of several of the king's subjects, commonly called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themselves and those of their communion,

*' May it please the king,*

*' Though we are not the first in this way, yet we hope we are not the least sensible of the great favors we are come to present the*

king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for ; since no people have received greater benefits, as well by opening our prison-doors, as by his late excellent and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience ; none having more severely suffered, nor stood more generally exposed to the malice of ill men, upon the account of religion ; and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a persecuted and grateful people ; yet we must needs say, it doth the less surprise us, since it is what some of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as since he came to the throne of his ancestors.

‘ And as we rejoice to see the day that a king of England should from his royal seat so universally assert this glorious principle, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced for matters of mere religion ; (the want of which happy conduct in government, has been the desolation of countries, and reproach of religion,) so we do with humble and sincere hearts, render to God first, and the king next, our sensible acknowledgments ; and because they cannot be better expressed than in a godly, peaceable, and dutiful life, it should be our endeavor, with God’s help, always to approve ourselves the king’s faithful and loving subjects ; and we hope that after this gracious step the king hath made towards the union of his people, and security of their common interest, has had a due consideration, there will be no room left for those fears and jealousies that might render the king’s reign uneasy, or any of them unhappy.

‘ That which remains, great prince, for us to do, is to beseech Almighty God, by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice, to inspire thee more and more with his excellent wisdom and understanding, to pursue this Christian design of ease to all religious dissenters, with the most agreeable and lasting methods : and we pray God to bless the king, his royal family and people, with grace and peace ; and that after a long and prosperous reign here, he may receive a better crown amongst the blessed.

Which is the prayer of,’ &c.

This address was received favorably, and therefore those of the Yearly Meeting, which some time after was held at London, also drew up an address, and some deputies of that meeting went to Windsor, where the court then was, and where W. Penn, one of those that had been chosen to present the address, made the following speech to the king :

*‘ May it please the king,*

‘ It was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews, in the case of tribute, “ Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” As this distinction ought to be observed by all men in the conduct of their lives, so the king has given us an illustrious example in his own person that excites us to it ; for while he was a subject, he gave Cæsar his tribute ; and now he is a



Cæsar, gives God his due, viz. the sovereignty over consciences. It were a great shame then for any Englishman that pretends to Christianity, not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the king in this noble resolution, for he is now upon a principle that has good nature, Christianity, and the goodness of civil society on its side; a security to him beyond all the little arts of government.

‘I would not that any should think, that we came hither with design to fill the gazette with our thanks; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder, if we were not moved to gratitude.

‘Now since the king’s mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the kingdom of England, and principality of Wales, our general assembly from all those parts met at London about our church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the king with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them: which I do by this address, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject.’

After W. Penn had thus delivered himself, he presented the address to the king, which that prince kindly receiving, gave it him again to read; which W. Penn did, and it was as followeth:

#### TO KING JAMES II. OVER ENGLAND, &c.

The humble and grateful acknowledgements of his peaceable subjects called Quakers, in this kingdom.

*From their usual Yearly-Meeting in London, the 19th day of the Third month, vulgarly called May, 1687.*

‘We cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the king to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for conscience-sake; and we rejoice, that instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he hath given us so eminent an occasion to present him with our thanks. And since it hath pleased the king out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants last year, whereby above twelve hundred prisoners were released from their severe imprisonments, and many others from spoil and ruin in their estates and properties, and his princely speech in council, and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship God, in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will; but gives them his kingly word the same shall continue during his



reign ; we do, as our friends of this city have already done, render the king our humble, Christian, and thankful acknowledgements, not only on behalf of ourselves, but with respect to our friends throughout England and Wales ; and pray God with all our hearts, to bless and preserve thee, O king, and those under thee in so good a work : and as we can assure the king it is well accepted in the counties whence we came, so we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade and prosperity of the kingdom, will produce such a concurrence from the parliament, as may secure it to our posterity in after-times ; and while we live, it shall be our endeavor, through God's grace, to demean ourselves as in conscience to God, and duty to the king, we are obliged.

His peaceable, loving,  
And faithful subjects.'

After William Penn had read the said address, the king spoke as followeth :

*' Gentlemen,*

*' I thank you heartily for your address. Some of you know, I am sure you do, Mr. Penn, that it was always my principle that conscience ought not to be forced ; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. And what I have promised in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live ; and I hope before I die, to settle it so, that after-ages shall have no reason to alter it.'*

Here we see what the king declared to be his intention ; but perhaps that prince did not consider, that if such a general liberty had been procured, he should not have been able to make it continue longer than the popish clergy would have thought it convenient. For who is ignorant what an unlimited power the Roman prelates have usurped, not only in the ecclesiastical, but also in the political part ? Insomuch, that though the king's intention might have been really sincere, yet it is likely it would have been thwarted, though he might have been willing that it should be otherwise. That his meaning was sincere, several I know that were not of his persuasion, have believed, and among these there were such, who thought that liberty of conscience might have been so established, that it should not have been in the power of the Papists to break it. But time hath shown that king James was not to be the instrument for settling such a liberty of conscience ; and that the repealing of the penal laws was reserved for another prince. Yet the king was by some thought to do what he could to stop rapacious persecutors, and to restrain their power, with respect to imposing of oaths. It is true it was said, that the king might not do so ; for by granting this liberty to the Quakers, he opened a door for the Romanists to bear offices, without taking the required oaths. Now that he discharged the Quakers from these oaths, may appear by the following order to the lord mayor of London :

*' Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1687.*

*' My lord,*

*' The King being informed, that Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferson, and Joseph Tomlinson, being Quakers, are by Mr. Barker, steward of Southwark, put upon serving of several offices, as constables and the like, which they are willing to do ; but the oaths being tendered to them, from which they think themselves exempted by the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, they are threatened to be fined and otherwise molested, for their refusal to take them ; his majesty commands me to let your lordship know, that his pleasure is, that the said Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferson, and Joseph Tomlinson, and all other Quakers, should now, and for the future, either be allowed to serve the said offices, without taking any oaths, or else that they be not fined or otherwise molested upon that account ; and his majesty would have you give order therein accordingly.*

*I am, my Lord,*

*Your Lordship's most humble servant,*

*SUNDERLAND.'*

Now whereas in some places goods taken from the Quakers lay still unsold, the king ordered those goods to be restored to them, as may appear by the following letter, written to the mayor and aldermen of Leeds, in Yorkshire :

*' Whitehall, Dec. 14, 1687.*

*' Gentlemen,*

*' The king being informed, that some goods belonging to John Wales, and other Quakers of Leeds, which were seized and taken from them upon the account of their religious worship, do remain unsold in the hands of John Todd, who was constable at the time of the seizure, or in the hands of some other persons ; and his majesty's intention being, that all his subjects shall receive the full benefit of his declaration for liberty of conscience, his majesty commands me to signify his pleasure to you, that you cause the goods belonging to the said John Wales, and all other Quakers of Leeds, which were heretofore seized upon the account of religious worship, and are unsold, in whose hands soever they remain, to be forthwith restored to the respective owners, without any charge.*

*I am, gentlemen,*

*Your affectionate friend and servant,*

*SUNDERLAND.'*

By such means some got their goods again, that had been taken from them upon the account of religious worship ; for in many places they lay long unsold, because few would buy goods so taken. And that the king by these his favors, drew the love and affection of many of his subjects towards himself, none need to wonder ; for whatever his religion was, he

delivered them from that grievous burden, under which they had been oppressed so many years. 'To this may be added, that he used them kindly in all respects; and would not suffer his servants to molest any for not pulling off their hats, when they came near his royal person. Nay, so far went his condescension, that a certain countryman of the Quaker's persuasion, coming to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat, and held it under his arm; which the other seeing, said, 'The king needs not keep off his hat for me.' To which that prince returned, 'You do not know the custom here, for that requires that but one hat must be on here.' I have been told of more such like occurrences, which I pass by; but it appears thence that the king endeavored to have among the Quakers the repute of a mild and courteous prince. And this year he gave also full liberty of conscience in Scotland, and freed those that were still under sufferings, granting them the free liberty of their religious meetings. The said liberty he also allowed to the Presbyterians, provided they should not meet in the fields, or in sheds, as some did.

The king having thus granted liberty of conscience to people of all persuasions, did whatever he could to introduce popery into England; for he permitted the Jesuits to erect a college in the Savoy at London; and suffered the friars to go publicly in the dress of their monastical orders. This was a very strange sight to Protestants in England, and it caused no small fermentation in the minds of people, when the fellows of Magdalen College at Oxford, were by the king's order dispossessed, to make way for Romanists. This was such a gross usurpation, that W. Penn, who had ready access to the king, and who endeavored to get the penal laws and test abrogated, thinking it possible to find out a way whereby to limit the Papists so effectually, that they should not be able to prevail, did, for all that, not omit to blame this usurpation at Oxford, and to tell the king that it was an act which could not in justice be defended, since the general liberty of conscience did not allow of depriving any of their property, who did what they ought to do, as the fellows of the said collage appeared to have done. But this could not cool the king's zeal for popery, for he drove on so fast, without disguise, to that degree, that the pope's nuncio, D'Ada, this summer made his public entry at Windsor in very great state.

Great endeavors were now made to repeal the penal laws and tests; for when this point was gained, then Papists might be admitted into the government as well as others; and such a general liberty of conscience making an alluring show, several dissenters, as Baptists and others, served the king with their pens on this account: and W. Penn, who always had been a defender of liberty of conscience, was also not inactive in this affair, though with a good intent, howbeit he might have failed in his expectation. I remember when in those days the patrons of the church of Rome asserted liberty of conscience to be a Christian duty, I heard somebody say, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the

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leopard his spots?" The king labored also to persuade the prince and princess of Orange, to give their assent to the repealing of the test and penal laws; but this could not be obtained of them. And since the king caused the advocate James Stuart, to write concerning this matter to the Herr Fagel, counsellor and chief pensionary at the Hague; Fagel answered this paper in a letter to the said James Stuart, wherein he declared the judgment of the prince and princess in this case; and signified that they were willing to assent to the repealing of the penal laws, as far as they had any tendency to the exercise of worship; but as for those that debarred Papists from sitting in parliament, of which the test was not the least, they could not give their assent to the repealing of such limitations. This letter was generally approved by the Protestants in England, but the king for all that went on with the introducing of popery; and about the beginning of the year 1688, he not only put in several Romanists to be fellows of Magdalen College at Oxford, but endeavored also to usher those of his persuasion into the magistracy; and the better to cloak this design, he would have other dissenters also chosen: but they generally rejected this offer, as did also Stephen Crisp, at Colchester, who was too circumspect to be caught thus, and therefore he declined the offer.

The king's declaration for liberty of conscience was, on the 27th of the month called April, published again, to show that he was firm and constant in his resolution, and that his intentions were not changed since he issued it out, to excite his subjects to join in it, and to choose such members of parliament as might do their part to finish what he had begun. Hereto was annexed an order of the council, for reading this declaration in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom; and ordering the bishops to send and distribute the declaration throughout their several dioceses, to be read accordingly. But they refused to do so, pretending it was not legal, (though some there were who thought it was,) because they were against liberty of conscience. Now the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, petitioned the king not to insist on the distribution and reading of his declaration; alleging that their great averseness to the distribution and publication of it in their churches proceeded neither from any want of duty and obedience to his majesty, nor yet from any want of due tenderness to dissenters; but because it was founded upon such a dispensing power, as had been often declared illegal in parliament.

This refusal the king so resented, that he sent these bishops to the tower. Whilst they were thus confined, there was much discourse every where about this matter; and since it was well known that some bishops had been the promoters of the former persecutions, some it seems spoke also in prejudice of these that were now under confinement. This being reported to them, they said that the Quakers belied them, and divuiged that they, (the bishops,) had been the cause of the death of some. This gave occasion to Robert Barclay to visit the bishops in the

tower; and speaking with them, he gave them undeniable proofs of some persons who, by order of bishops, had been kept in prison till death; though they had been told of the danger of those persons by physicians, that were not Quakers. This was so evidently manifested by R. Barclay, that they were not able to deny it: yet Barclay told them, that since they themselves were now under oppression, the intention of the Quakers was in no wise to publish such matters, lest thereby they should exasperate the king against them. And they were careful indeed not to do any thing that might aggravate the case of these prisoners; for it was not time now to rub old sores, since the bishops themselves seemed to be inclined to declare for liberty of conscience. And since this liberty was now enjoyed all over the kingdom, those called Quakers thought it convenient at their Yearly Meeting, which was held this summer at London, again to draw up an address to the king, and to acquaint him of one thing more, which continued to be troublesome to them. This address they presented to him, and was as followeth:

TO KING JAMES II. OVER ENGLAND, &c.

*The humble address of the People called Quakers, from their Yearly-Meeting in London, the 6th day of the month called June, 1688.*

‘We, the king’s loving and peaceable subjects, from divers parts of his dominions, being met together in this city, after our usual manner, to inspect the affairs of our Christian society throughout the world, think it our duty humbly to represent to him, the blessed effects the liberty he has graciously granted his people to worship God according to their consciences, hath had, both on our persons and estates: for whereas formerly we had ever long and sorrowful lists brought to us from almost all parts of his territories, of prisoners, and the spoils of goods by violent and ill men, upon account of conscience; we bless God, and thank the king, the jails are every where clear, except in cases of tithes, and the repairs of parish churches, and some few about oaths; and we do in all humility lay it before the king, to consider the hardships our friends are yet under for conscience-sake in those respects; being in the one chiefly exposed to the present anger of the offended clergy, who have therefore lately imprisoned some of them till death; and in the other they are rendered very unprofitable to the public and themselves; for both in reference to freedoms in corporations, probates of wills and testaments, and administrations, answers in chancery and exchequer, trials of our just titles and debts, proceeding in our trade at the custom-house, serving the office of constables, &c. they are disabled, and great advantages taken against them, unless the king’s favor do interpose: and as we humbly hope he may relieve us, so we confidently assure ourselves he will ease us what he can.

‘Now since it has pleased thee, O king, to renew to all thy subjects

by thy last declaration, thy gracious assurances to pursue the establishment of this Christian liberty and property upon an unalterable foundation; and in order to it, to hold a parliament in November next at furthest:

‘We think ourselves deeply engaged to renew our assurances of fidelity and affection, and with God’s help intend to do our parts for the perfecting so blessed and glorious a work; that so it may be out of the power of any one party to hurt another upon the account of conscience: and as we firmly believe that God will never desert this just and righteous cause of liberty, nor the king in maintaining of it; so we hope by God’s grace, to let the world see we can honestly and heartily appear for liberty of conscience; and be inviolably true to our own religion, whatever the folly or malice of some men on that account may suggest to the contrary.’

This address being presented to the king, was well received. Some have been ready to think, that the latter part of this address concerned the office of magistrates, which, not without reason, it is believed that a Christian might serve, with no more disparagement to an inoffensive life, than it is inconsistent for a pious father to give due correction to his rebellious child: for though our Savior charges not to resist evil, but to love enemies: and that he reproving Peter, who from a forward zeal cut off the high priest’s servant’s ear, said to him, “Put up thy sword into the sheath:” and that also the apostle James disapproves war and fighting, yet we find in sacred writ, that the apostle Paul calls the magistrate, the minister of God, and a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil: and he saith in plain terms, that he beareth not the sword in vain.

But to return to my relation, and to take up again the thread of this history, from which I have been diverted a little by this digression; I know there were some in those days, who thought that if people of all persuasions in England had a share in the government, proportionable to their number, a means might have been found out to hinder any party, especially the Papists, from exalting themselves above the others. But to me it seems not improbable, that if this had effect, and a higher hand had not cut off the way thereto, it would have appeared that those men did not reckon well. But it never came to this pass, for the king’s power was tottering already, though he endeavored to support it, even with good means; for to be helpful to his subjects, who, though free-born men, were deprived of their freedom, merely because for conscience-sake they could not swear; and to help them to this right to which they were entitled as well as others, could not be judged undue means, unless under it had been hidden an intent to introduce this liberty also in favor of the Papists, though they did not believe swearing unlawful.

There were now at Norwich, about forty of the people called Quakers,

who having petitioned the king, that he would be pleased to cause them to be made freemen, obtained the following order from him :

TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED OUR ATTORNEY GENERAL.

*' James R.*

' Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well : whereas we have received a good character of the loyalty of our well-beloved subjects, Thomas Howard, Peter Launce, William Booley, Henry Jackson, Edward Pears, John Jenn, Nicholas Cornfit, John Harridence, John Gurney, Samuel Wasey, Edmund Cobb, Philip Paine, Josiah Sherringham, Anthony Alexander, Thomas Darmar, John Cadee, John Fiddeman, William Kiddle, James Pooley, John Defrance, jun., Daniel Sharpen, William Milchar, William Brown, John Sharpen, jun., Samuel Kettle, Stephen Ames, Richard Rose, Benjamin Stud, Edward Monk, John Cornish, John Hodson, James Polls, Michael Parker, Richard Brown, Daniel Dye, jun., John Elsegood, John Pike, and John Allen, we have thought fit hereby to require you forthwith to make all and every the persons abovementioned, freemen of that our city of Norwich, with all the rights and privileges thereunto belonging, without administering unto them any oath, or oaths whatsoever, with which we are graciously pleased to dispense in their behalf ; and for so doing this shall be your warrant ; and so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 13th day of July, 1688, in the fourth year of our reign. By his majesty's command.

SUNDERLAND.'

It was now said commonly that the king might not do thus ; and those who grudged the Quakers this liberty, did not stick to set forth this dispensation in very ill-favored colors ; nay, they said that William Penn advised the king to do what he could not do without breaking his promise. Yet if the king had made no greater infringement, his reign it may be would have lasted longer : but the dispossessing of the fellows of Magdalen College at Oxford, the imprisonment of the bishops, and the public admittance of Jesuits and monks, caused a ferment in the minds of people. Now the bishops were tried at the king's bench bar, in Westminster Hall ; but they were acquitted, and so released. The king also had appointed some ecclesiastical commissioners ; but many looked upon this as a kind of inquisition, and it seemed not well to agree with liberty of conscience, which if he had maintained justly, according to the advice of the Quakers in their address, it is not likely that he would have come to such a strait, as now he was put to.

Not long before this time, one Theophila Townsend, a woman of years and understanding, published a book, wherein she gave a relation of the grievous persecution her friends in Gloucestershire had suffered, by imprisonment and spoil of goods, and how she herself had also undergone many sufferings, and had been imprisoned in the castle of Gloucester

more than three years. Among other cases, she relates also, how some time before her imprisonment, it happened, that by order of the justices, Thomas Cutler and James George, she being seized in the street, said to the latter, that the Lord would plead her cause, and that what measure he meted, should be measured to him again. And it thus happened, that before she was released, the wife of the said George, who took her from her husband, was by death taken from him. Afterwards this George came with the bishop of Gloucester into a meeting, where Theophila was on her knees praying; at which the bishop asking him whether she was the woman he spoke of, and he answering, 'Yes, my lord;' the bishop took her by the arm with such violence, that he had almost pulled her down backward, saying, 'Give over, woman, and obey the king's officers.' But such was her zeal, that it could not be stopped; for the more opposition she met with, the more she felt herself encouraged and inspired to praise God for his goodness: and though the bishop stirred up the justice, yet it seemed not in his power to break off the current of her speech; so that they let her alone, till she having discharged herself, stood up. Then the names of those that were met, were taken in writing: and sometime after, she, though aged and weakly, was in the winter season led three or four miles through the snow, and committed to jail at Gloucester, where she was kept three years and four months, and then released by king James.

Afterward she published a book, as hath been said already, in which she gave an account how some of her friends had been benten, punched, and abused, to that degree, that they died of it, as she testified to have seen herself: 'Yet,' said she, 'though many died who were stronger than I, it hath pleased the Lord to preserve my life, that I may speak to the praise of his name, and tell of his wonders, and put you, persecutors, once more in mind of what belongs to your peace. Blessed be the Lord, he is risen for Zion's sake, which ye have ploughed long as a field; and when her enemies have done their worst, then the Lord shall make his Zion to be an everlasting glory, and Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth. And as ye see now in others that persecution is evil, so see it also in yourselves; repent in dust and ashes. Remember who it was that said, the wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness. The eyes of fools look out for mistakes in others, and they blame in others what they are guilty of themselves. Methinks the eye-lids of the morning, that is now dawned and rising before you, ought to bring you to a true sight of your condition in this matter.' Going on thus, she reproves the informers who had enriched themselves with the spoils of their neighbors; and she also relates how the priest of Gloucester had put his name to a petition to the king, in which justice George and others desired, that the meeting-house of the Quakers might be given to the town, to make a work-house of for the poor. 'But,' said she, 'this is like Judas, who, when the woman came with an alabaster box of very precious spikenard, said, 'Why was this waste made? Why was not the ointment sold, and



the money given to the poor?' But the Scripture saith, that this he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag. Thus the priest made it appear, by what he did, that he was not a true minister of the gospel; for he came short of the works of the law, which saith, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's." And Christ's commands to do unto men, what we would have them to do to us; by which it is plain that such doings are contrary to the law and the gospel. Those now who will have such blind sleepy watchmen to be their teachers, let them pay them, and not constrain others, who know them to be blind, to pay them also.'

Then speaking to those who had a hand in the spoiling of goods, and setting forth the odiousness of that work, she saith at last, 'I do not write this from a spirit of revenge against any, but it is in the love of God, to warn you, and to exhort you to repentance, that ye may find mercy with the Lord, which is the real desire of my soul: I can truly say, in the presence of the Lord, that I have nothing in my heart but love and good-will to the worst of our enemies, and this in purity of heart, and in sincerity of mind. I desire really your eternal peace, and well-being, though ye have hardened your hearts against the Lord, and his truth and people. Turn to the Lord, I beseech you; bow before the Almighty, who will plead with all flesh, and shall call all to an account, and reward every one according to what he hath done in the body, whether it be good or bad. Consider this therefore whilst ye have time, and mind the things that belong to your peace, before they be hid from your eyes: for the long suffering of the Lord will come to an end, who said, "My spirit shall not always strive with man." Therefore whilst the spirit of the Lord, his light, his grace, yet strives in your hearts, to turn you off from your evil ways, be willing to embrace it, believe in it, take counsel of it, submit to it with all your heart, be willing to be led and guided by it, and incline your hearts to follow it in all things, and then it will lead you to rest and peace with the Lord for ever. Yet more she said; but I break off. By such kind of emphatical speeches, sometimes persecutors have been so touched to the heart, that they themselves became harmless Christians.

I am come now almost to a conclusion of my relation concerning persecution; of which I could have written much more, but that I was unwilling to extend my work beyond what I should have been well able to complete. Yet before I altogether part with this matter, I will mention something concerning Theophilus Green, of whom mention hath been made before. He lived at Battersea, not far from London, and was a man beloved of his neighbors, because of his honest conversation; yet he was much persecuted, both for attending meetings, and for preaching. Once it happened that some officers came to his house to see whether there was a meeting, and they behaved themselves moderately: for what they did seemed against their mind, it being only in obedience to the order of justice Duke, who, on account of a former offence, had issued out

warrants to make distress. The officers not satisfied in the case, and seeing no meeting, went their way, and returned the warrant; and T. Green went afterwards to the said justice, and speaking to him, said, amongst the rest, 'Consider what that mouth and tongue of thine hath said formerly, viz. that I had been very kind to thee; and is this the way of requiting it? Know for certain, that that God whom I have served, and for whose cause I now suffer, will avenge me; for vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it one way or other, except thou speedily repentest.' At this saying the justice began to tremble, and crying out, said, 'I will do you no more hurt than I will do my own soul. Pray go to the officers and tell them, I will never trouble them any more upon the account of you.' Green did so; and they were glad of it. And Duke being upon some complaint dismissed, one Sir John Broadrick succeeded in his room; and he was so moderate, that he prevented the informers, by keeping Theophilus and his friends out of their meeting-house, which was for about two years and a half.

Afterwards they were suffered again to go into their meeting-house, but then justice Forster came once, and taking their names, fined Theophilus 10*l.* as a preacher. And afterwards he with others coming with a constable to seize for the fine, the constable being come to the door of the house, said, 'Neighbor Green, where are you? We are come to seize your goods, if you will let us in.' But this so displeased the justice, that going down the yard, and seeing some oars and poles, he required the constable to take them away. To which he answered, 'I am no porter.' 'Then,' said the justice, 'command some others to do it.' To which the constable returned, 'I command you to do it.' This so enraged the justice, that he fined him. Some time after the said justice coming again with a high constable, and another petty constable, seized a barge, and had it carried away, and several times offered it to sale, but none would buy it. And after it had been carried about from place to place for sale, at length it was found adrift by one who knew not of its being seized; and hearing that it was Theophilus' barge, he brought it to him. But Theophilus went to the constables, and told them how it came to him, and where he had it, saying, since it was come to him again he was willing to keep it; but if they took it away again, he would not hinder them. This account being given to the justice, he sent a warrant, and committed Theophilus to the Marshalsea prison. After three weeks the sessions were held at the Marshalsea; and the last day the said justice came to him in the prison, saying, he came out of love to see him, and to advise him for his good; which was, that he would have him pay his fine; 'for,' said he, 'I am sure the grand jury hath found the bill against you; and if you should come off, I have such an influence with the judge, as to cause the oath to be tendered to you; and I know you will not take it; and then you will be run to a premunire, and are not like to come out as long as you live.' To which Theophilus answered, 'Thou saidst thy coming was in love, to advise me for my good; but by what thou hast said, it appears the

contrary ; for now I perceive thou hast devised as much mischief as thou canst against me. As to the fine, if it were but ten pence, nay ten farthings, I would not pay it. And if the Lord should permit thee to do as thou hast said, and so be the cause of bringing my grey hairs the sooner to the grave, my blood will be at justice Forster's door, and it will cry vengeance against thee.'

The next day the two constables being called before the grand jury, were asked what they had against Theophilus Green, that stood there indicted ; and the high constable answered, 'As to Theophilus Green, he is as honest a man, though a Quaker, as lives about us ; and he was lately in office for the poor, and behaved himself as well in it as any hath done these twenty years. And touching the barge he is indicted for, when it came to him he came to us, and told how it came, and where he had laid it, saying, if we would take it away again he would not hinder us. This is all we have to say.' Some of the grand jury knowing Theophilus very well, and the cause too, did aggravate the matter very high against the justice ; and as to the indictment they brought it in *ignoramus*. So Theophilus was cleared by proclamation : and Sir Richard Howe being one of the jury, advised him to arrest the justice, there being two good actions, as defamation and false imprisonment. But Theophilus said he owned their love, but would leave the thing to the Lord, for whose cause he suffered ; for vengeance was the Lord's, and he would repay it. And it was but some little time after that the said justice Forster died, as was reported, in great horror and misery. The time when this happened I do not know exactly, yet I take it to have been some years before the time I now describe. We see by this instance a very singular deliverance, such as did not befall every one, but which could not but encourage Theophilus the more.

Before I conclude this year I must mention something concerning W. Penn, who when the government of king James was sinking, not only bore the blame of many miscarriages ; but by some was styled a Papist, though this was altogether false. But he had a great many enemies ; and it was no new thing to brand the Quakers with the odious name of Jesuits : for thirty years before this time at Bristol great endeavors were used to persuade people they were Franciscans. William Penn patiently bore the slander of being decried as a Papist, saying but little in justification of himself, till at length he made a return to a letter sent by one who seriously begged of him to give an answer to those accusations that had been forged in prejudice of his reputation. In this paper he ascribed his free access to the king, partly to the relation his father, as admiral, had to the service of the said king, who was then duke of York, and high admiral of England ; and his special favor also in releasing him out of the tower of London in the year 1669. To this he added, 'My father's humble request to him, upon his death-bed, was, to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion might expose me unto ; and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it, from

the moment I addressed myself to him : I say, when all this is considered, any body that hath the least pretence to good-nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the king.—Is any thing more foolish as well as false, than that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I must be author of all that is done there, that doth not please abroad. But supposing some such things to have been done ; pray tell me if I am bound to oppose any thing I am not called to do : I never was a member of council, cabinet or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office or trust, and consequently nothing can be said to be done by me ; nor for that reason could I lie under any test or any obligation to discover my opinion of public acts of state : and therefore, neither can any such acts, nor any silence about them, in justice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and ciphers in all governments. And unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned out of nothing, (for that no office is,) be the evidence of my compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what else can with any truth be alleged against me. I am not without apprehensions of the cause of this behavior towards me ; I mean my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about it. I ever understood that to be the natural right of all men ; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was one of his own make. For what is not the religion of man's choice, is the religion of him that imposes it : so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me ; I have wrote many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared, that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best ; and that as often as that was violated under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever once think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience for any body, which did not preserve the common protestancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the government : for to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.—And till I saw my own friends, with the kingdom delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for religion had subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond sea, and at my great expense here, having in all this time never had either office, or pension, and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those I have been able to oblige.' From this little abstract of William Penn's Apology, it appears sufficiently what kind of liberty he defended ; and such a liberty afterwards took place in the reign of the next king.

Of George Fox I have been long silent, and I do not meet with any very remarkable transactions that concerned him, except that he wrote much, both for edification of his friends, and for the instruction and admonition of others ; for he was continually occupied with the care of

the church, and that things might be kept in good order, which to perform the better, he now staid a long while in and about London.

. In this year died William Dewsbury, one of the first preachers among those called Quakers ; having been a very zealous teacher, and an eminent instrument to the conversion of many. He was born in Yorkshire, and in his youth was a shepherd, and afterwards put apprentice to a clothier ; but when the civil wars broke out, he became a soldier and joined with those who said they fought for the gospel. Now though he was religious according to his knowledge ; yet growing more and more serious, and turning his mind inwardly, he saw there were inward and spiritual enemies to encounter with, according to the saying of the apostle, " We wrestle not against flesh and blood : but against spiritual wickedness," &c. And this state was inwardly manifested to him in the words of our Savior : " Put up thy sword into the sheath. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." This wrought so powerfully upon his mind, that he could no longer meddle with martial affairs, but left the army ; and returned to his former calling, endeavoring to improve in true godliness, in which he so advanced gradually, that when George Fox in the year 1651, came to Balby in Yorkshire, and preached the gospel there, he could not but consent to the doctrine declared by him, as being the same of which he himself was already convinced in his mind, viz. that heed ought to be given to the inward Divine reprovings for that which is evil ; which doctrine was preached by George Fox under the denomination of the true light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world ; and that heed must be given thereunto, as being the grace which brings salvation, of which the apostle speaks in his epistle to Titus, ii. 11, saying, " That it hath appeared to all men." W. Dewsbury having heard such a sermon as this, agreed not only with G. Fox in this point of doctrine, but in process of time became himself also a very zealous preacher of it, for which he fell under great sufferings ; insomuch that he was prisoner at Warwick nineteen years for religion's sake, besides the imprisonments he suffered on that account in other places. But being now released, he came in the month called May to London, and preached a sermon there concerning regeneration, which was taken from his mouth in short hand, and afterwards printed as underneath.\* His intention was to have been

\* A Sermon preached by William Dewsbury, at Gracechurch Street, the 6th of the Third month, 1688.

' MY FRIENDS,

" *Except ye be regenerated and born again, ye cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.*"

' THIS is the word of the Lord God to all people this day ; this lies not in airy profession, and in vain imagination, and whatsoever else it is that you deck yourselves withal ; you must every particular man and woman be born again, else you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. This was the doctrine of Christ in that prepared body wherein he appeared in the world, and preached to Nicodemus, that standing doctrine to this moment of time, and will



at the Yearly Meeting of his Friends; but by illness he was prevented; and therefore before he grew worse, he returned to Warwick, where he lived. Being come thither, his disease increased, and lying very sick in

be so while any man breathes upon the earth; there is no other way, no other gate to enter into life, but by this great work of regeneration. Now to enforce people to come to this great work, and to set forward from earth to heaven, all being driven out of Paradise by the cherubim set with a flaming sword, there is no returning to that blessed life, but by the loss of that life that did grieve the Spirit of God, and which did cause man to be driven out; there is no other way of return again but by this new birth. As you are all driven and forced out of Paradise, and the flaming sword and the cherubims are set to keep the way of the tree of life, so you must return into the favor of God again, by the light of Christ; and you have line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little, to direct your minds to the light of Christ Jesus. As the first Adam was made a living soul, so the second Adam is a quickening spirit. This know for certain, no man or woman can be quickened, and raised up into the life of the second Adam, till the life of the first Adam be taken away from them.

'So now, let every one of you deal plainly with your own hearts, how you came to be a slain people to the life of the first Adam, in which life there was a working of the mystery of iniquity in every part of man. One cries, 'Lo here is Christ;' another, 'Lo there is Christ;' and every one is following his own imagination about the letter of the Scripture; this is still but the vain spirit of man, running and striving to recover himself; and this is the cause there is so much profession of God, and so little of his nature appearing among the sons and daughters of men. Now all of you that come to be regenerated, you must come to the light of Christ; there is no other way to it. He will search your hearts, and try your reins, and set your sins in order before you, and trace out the iniquities that compass you about; therefore you must see yourselves a lost people, a sinful people, and so come to feel the weight of your sins upon your consciences; there is no other way to come to life; you will never complain of sin till you be burdened with it, till you have a trumpet sounding in your ears, to awaken you, that you may arise from the dead, that Christ may give you light: there is no other way, dear people, you must bring your deeds to the light of Christ, and abide in the sentence of condemnation; if you save your lives, you lose them; if you will lose your lives for Christ's sake, there is no danger of your eternal life. John the Baptist, Christ's forerunner, declared, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire: whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather his wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire." What is it the better for you to read the Scripture, if you know not this fiery baptism, which all must know that are regenerated; deceive not yourselves, Christ will appear in flaming fire, and take vengeance on all them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

'I stand here as a witness of the Lord of life this day; there is no way for people to come to salvation, but they must know Christ revealed in all their hearts. What is he doing but rendering vengeance upon the carnal mind, self-pleasing, and all inordinate affections; he comes with vengeance to take away thy life; he will baptize thee with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. If thou knowest not this, thou art not a true Christian, thou wilt never look death in the face with joy, nor go down to the grave with triumph. If thou livest at home in the body, and flyest for thy life, and wilt not be willing to lose thy life for Christ if thou art called to it, and if thou wilt not have Christ to wash thee, (some for shyness and some for self-love will refuse this,) if Christ doth not wash thee, thou hast no part in him; you must come to Christ to purify you in the fiery furnace; the day of the Lord shall burn as an oven, (as the prophet speaks:) this is a dreadful day, a day of vengeance, the day of the Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemeth his people from their sins. Zion is redeemed with judgment, and established with righteousness. Do not make the way to heaven easier on your minds and imaginations than indeed it is, and think it not sufficient to live in an outward observance of the ways of God. If your own wills be alive, and your corruptions remain unmortified, the judgment of God will be your portion, therefore in the Lord's name come along with me; I am come to declare what I have heard and seen of the Father. Come and examine thy

bed, and being visited by some of his friends, he said to them in great weakness of body, as followeth :

‘ My God hath yet put it in my heart to bear a testimony to his name and blessed truth, and I can never forget the day of his great power and

conscience. Hast thou brought thy deeds to the light ? Then thou hast received condemnation upon thyself, and thy haughtiness is bowed down, and laid low, and thou seest thyself a poor miserable wretch, before the eternal God. Whatsoever thou knowest of the mind of God, hast thou reformed thy ways ? Come along with me, and tell me what is the ground of thy faith, and thy confidence. Is it thy obedience and qualifications ? Because thy obedience is right, and thy qualifications right, what use dost thou make of them ? Read the book of conscience ; hast thou no ground for thy faith ? Thou hast put on the reformed faith, and liveth an unreformed life : search and try thyself, man or woman. Dost thou watch over thyself, and keep in a sense of thy dissolution, notwithstanding all thy qualifications and partial reformation ? Dost thou strive to enter in at the strait gate, and the narrow way ? Here is the lost sheep thou seekest, the life of thy will, the life of the first Adam ; the Justice of God will not suffer thee to make a savior of thy duties and qualifications ; and to take God’s jewels, and to deck thyself with them ; thou canst not be saved without the righteousness of God in Christ Jesus. What saith thy conscience, art thou brought to this change of thy mind, and of thy conversation ? Are you all willing to part with your sins, with your pride and haughtiness ? Are you willing to part with your vile affections ? This is the work of God’s grace upon you. Dost thou place thy confidence in thy duties and qualifications, and takest God’s jewels and ornaments, and deckest thyself with them ? Thou tookest my jewels, saith the Lord, and didst play the harlot ; if thou return to the Lord, and humble thyself, and get through this difficulty, thou wilt be happy for ever. This judgment of God, this flaming sword that turns every way, will keep thee from returning to sin, and bring thee to Christ, and cut thee off from all hope of salvation but by him, and make thee to see the absolute need of a Savior, and that thy life is hid with Christ in God.

‘ It is God’s infinite goodness to men that he will hide pride from them, and humble them under his mighty hand. This is the condition of poor creatures that are slain by the hands of the Most High. How may I know when I am slain and baptized, and come to have sincerity ? They that have this baptism enter into the heavenly life ; if you love the light of Christ Jesus, it will be thus with you ; God will make short work in the earth. He will set thy sins in order before thee, and make thee watchful unto prayer, and lead thee to holiness of life and conversation, and make thee abhor thyself, and despise all the pomps and pleasures and vanities of this world. When he hath adorned thee with his graces, then watch for the light, and in the light of Christ thou shalt see light, and that all thou hast done, and canst do, is but thy duty. All this thou oughtest to do ; thou art God’s creature, and all this will not justify thee in order to thy eternal salvation, for these services thou owest unto God. If thou diligently wait, thou shalt see more light ; then the sword that proceeds out of the mouth of Christ, who is called the Word of God, will cut thee off from all thy hopes of salvation from any thing thou hast done, from any of thy qualifications, from any thing that thou canst do ; so that thou wilt be a hopeless soul, nothing in thine own sense and apprehension ; the power of the first Adam must die before him, and thou wilt cry out, ‘ I am a dead, lost and undone creature ; but there is a life hid with Christ in God for me, but I can never have it till I be slain into the will of God, and become as a little child, and be stripped of all my own excellency that I have attained ; I must come to a sense of my own misery, and fall down at the foot of God ; when I am become as a little child, humbled and slain as to my own will, and confidence in my own righteousness ; I will not then question but I shall live a holy life, but I will give all that life I had, for that life which is hid with Christ in God.’ O ! there is none come so far that ever miss of eternal life. All shuffling people that would have salvation by Christ, and will not let him exercise his heavenly power, his princely glorious power to baptize them into his death, it is they that come short of salvation ; but all those that yield themselves up to Christ to be redeemed through judgment, and are become as little children, these are in a happy state. You know that our Lord Jesus Christ took a little child in his arms, and said, “ Whosoever becomes not as a little child, cannot enter into the kingdom of



blessed appearance, when he first sent me to preach the everlasting gospel, and proclaim the day of the Lord to all people. Therefore, friends, be faithful, and trust to the Lord your God; for this I can say, I never since played the coward, but as joyfully entered prisons as palaces, and in the

heaven:" you must all of you become as little children, and depend upon the mercy and free grace of God; you must all come to a holy resignation of your wills to God's disposal; if you come to Christ as little children, and depend upon him, you cannot miss of salvation; it is entailed upon such souls as hear the voice of Christ, they that hear the voice of the Son of God shall live.

"I stand here as a witness for the God of heaven, I never heard the voice of Christ, (as his follower,) till I was slain and baptized, and lay as a little child under his heavenly chastisements; as soon as ever my soul was brought to this in my humiliation, O then the dreadful judgment was taken away, and the book of life was opened unto me, and the Lord spake comfortably to me, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: and I was made a Christian through a day of vengeance, and of burning as an oven, and the haughtiness and pride of man in me was brought low. Now in this conformity to Christ's death people may die into life, and blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them. Away with all your own wills, and your pride, and haughtiness, and your hypocrisy and deceit, and all dependency upon any qualifications of your own; you must come to have your life separated from you, else you will all perish. Those that will die with Christ, and be willing to die for him, he is revealed as a Savior to them. He was before us in the days of his flesh, and complied with his father's will: he was nailed to the cross. The Son of God, when he was come to the depth of his sufferings, what was his cry; "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This was for thy sake, and my sake, and every man and woman's sake that do believe in him: he drank the cup which his Father gave him to drink. If it was done thus to the green tree, what shall be done unto the dry? He went before us, and when he cometh again he will take us to himself, and take us from the filth of sin, that we may be made new creatures.

"Now, except we be born again we cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and there is no becoming new creatures, till we be slain to the old man. Thou must be slain to thy pride and haughtiness, and the corruption of thine own will and all selfishness, thou must have God to burn it up in thee; the Holy Ghost will destroy, and burn up nothing in thee, but that which will bring an eternal fire upon thy soul. Show me thou whom my soul loveth; where is the path of life, the footsteps, of the flock of thy companions? Why should I be as one that goes aside? Now every one that lives at home in the bosom of self, take this with you, though you profess the truth, and live in an outward conformity thereunto, yet if you secretly indulge your corrupt wills, and live a flesh-pleasing life, and consult with flesh and blood, and are not rent off from your lusts, you cannot enjoy the Lord of life; while I am at home in the body, I am absent from the Lord.

"The body of sin is a loadstone to draw you from the life of God, and from glorying in the cross of Christ: this is flesh and blood, and flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. For the Lord's sake, for your soul's sake, and for the sake of your eternal happiness, put not off this work, but pursue it, and it will be perfected. See how Christ is revealed in you by the Holy Ghost, and with fire. God will redeem you by the spirit of judgment and burning; it is not ranging abroad in your minds, but you must know Christ is in you except ye be reprobates; if he hath set your eyes and hearts upon himself, and made you to water your couch with your tears; if he hath broken your sleep, so as you have cried out, 'I shall be damned, and never come to salvation;' (this will be your cry, it was once my cry,) O let not your eyes slumber, nor your eye-lids take any rest, till you be sure the Lord is your God; if you find these qualifications, you are on your way, otherwise you will be like a deceitful bow, and never abide in judgment; if you reject the counsel of God against yourselves, and refuse to be crucified with Christ, and to be baptized with his baptism, you will never have life; but by his baptism, and through the heavenly operation of his Spirit, if thou hast faith in Christ's name, thou shalt be married to him in everlasting righteousness; salvation shall be brought to us, and eternal life be bestowed upon us; even that life which is hid with Christ in God, he will give to every poor mournful soul that submits to his blessed will, and believeth



prison-house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts and locks upon me as jewels. And, friends, this I must once again testify to you, in the name of the Lord God, that what I saw above thirty years ago, still rests as a testimony to leave behind me, that a dreadful terrible day

in the Lord Jesus Christ: this is not a faith of our own making, nor a garment of our own embroidery, but that which the Lord hath given to us. O happy man or woman, that obtainest this gift of God! O, who will not lose their lives for this everlasting life? Who will not die for this eternal life? Now the matter lies in the death of your own wills; when you have done the will of God, then watch that your own wills be slain, and that your cursed self take not the jewels of God, and his bracelets and ornaments, and bestow them upon self, and paint and deck cursed self: and take not the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot; if you be dead to your own wills, you are risen with Christ, and shall receive a resurrection to eternal life: crucify self, and set the world at naught, and trample upon it, and all things of it, and count them as dross and dung in comparison of Christ; that the Father hath revealed to be our life, in the days of our sorrowing and mourning, in the day of our calamity, in the day when we cried our hope is lost.

‘Thus it hath been with the holiest people on earth; it is not by works of righteousness of thy own that thou canst be saved; Christ comes to cut all these down, that thou mayest be ingrafted into him, and justified by his grace. Do not make this matter of talk, and say, I have heard this and that; but look into your own hearts, and see what heavenly workings are there; what there is of the power of the Lord Jesus, that hath made you to lothe this world, and the inordinate love of the creature, that you may enjoy all these things, as if you enjoyed them not. We cannot when we are slain and crucified to this world, but say, my life is in Christ, when we come to ascribe nothing to ourselves, and all to Christ: here is a blessed harmony, broken hearts, melted spirits, and yet joyful souls; poor creatures that were mourning and sighing, and crying before the Lord in retired places, and yet rejoicing in Christ Jesus, I am risen with Christ, I said, my hope is cut off, I will lie down in thy will, O God; do what thou wilt with me, it is in thy sovereign pleasure and free gift, whether thou give me life or deny it to me: there must be a resignation of ourselves to the will of God; it was so with the Lord Jesus, and it is so with every true saint of God; you must be humbled as little children before judgment be taken away, and the loving kindness of God sealed up to your souls; if you seek this work of God, you will find it; if you seek it upon your beds, in all your labors and concerns, in all your stations and relations; if you press after the new birth, you must use this world as if you used it not, and live a married life, as if you were unmarried, for the fashion of this world passeth away. This is not rantism.

‘But let me tell you, a new world comes by regeneration; a man is not lifted up in his own mind, but laid low in his own eyes, he waits for the wisdom of God to govern him, and he is as a steward of the grace of God, to give to them that stand in need. When a man is regenerated and born again, he is as contented with bread and water, as with all the enjoyments of this world; what is the matter? His own will is gone, and put down under his feet, and whatsoever it is that gives life to all his vain desires and affections, there is a harmony of all within, a man praising of God, and blessing his holy name; there are no entanglements shall draw away the heart from serving of God, and seeking his glory; and if God shall call the husband from the wife, or the wife from the husband, for the glory of his name, there is no whining and complaining, and crying out, but giving them up, and a praising and blessing God, when they are called to such an exercise; and if they are not called to that, then they set their hearts to glorify God in their several places and stations; then they have a full content in a blessed resignation. Here their wills are slain, but they praise God they have no desire, but Lord thy will be done, always praising God, always having the fear and the glory of God before their eyes. All the mischief is hatched in pleasing men’s own wills: that is, the counsel of every heart that Christ doth not govern. Will you live as the Quakers? Then you must live contemptibly; the mistress and the maid are hale fellows well met. No, every one must walk in humility, and live in acquaintance with the God of heaven; she that is wrought upon by the same spirit, must with all diligence behave herself as becomes a servant of the Lord. Here is now a new world, and the fashions of the old world are gone; all pride, haughtiness, crossness and trampling upon one another are all gone, all slain through the operation of Christ.

is at hand, and will certainly come to pass ; but the time when, I cannot say ; but all put on strength in the name of the Lord, and wait to feel his eternal power, to preserve you through the tribulations of those days that approach very near. This I have further to signify, that my,

‘What remains now, Christ is in me, and we are all one in him ; Christ laid down his life for thee and me ; now he reigns in me, and he hath prepared my body to die for the truth, as his prepared body was laid down for my sin. It is a kind of foolish profession, to make profession of Christ, and live in covetousness, profaneness, sensuality, and the like ; they that are come to this heavenly birth, seek the things that are above, thou canst do no other ; make the tree good, and the fruit will be good. You must be ingrafted into the vine of God’s righteousness ; O ! alight not the day of your visitation. What was it to me to read of any being born again, till I was slain, and knew the heavenly baptism of Christ Jesus ? Till I saw the flaming sword ready to slay me in every way, in every turning. The light of Christ convinced me of sin, and his righteousness justified me, and those works were abominable to me, that hindered my soul’s passage to Christ ; Christ Jesus in marrying my soul to himself seized upon me, and did work effectually in me : there is the testimony of Christ in me, he hath sealed up my soul to the day of my redemption. Here is a certain passage, and a certain way which never any miss of, that lose their lives for Christ : if you be not ready and willing to lose your lives for Christ, you shall never come here ; the gate is straight, and the way is narrow, none come hither but those that die into a heavenly oneness with Christ. O, friends, let us empty ourselves, that Christ may fill us ; let us be nothing in our own eyes, that we may be all in him, and receive of his fulness.

‘Now I commend you to God’s witness, that you may remember what hath been spoken among you ; but consider, if you do not hearken to it, it will follow you, and be a plague to you to all eternity ; if you will not yield up yourselves to Christ this day that burns like an oven, this fire you must dwell with when out of the body, there will be no quenching of this fire for ever ; but if you be so wise for your souls, as to resign yourselves up to Christ, and come to him as little children, this will not hinder your earthly concerns, though the world may account thee a fool, yet thou hast that part of heavenly wisdom to do what thou dost as unto God : thou carriest to thy wife, as in the sight of God, that she may be sanctified to thee, and thou to her ; and thou carriest becomingly to thy children and servants, and thou wilt abound in grace, and in every good work, which will be for thine eternal welfare.

‘O, I beseech you people, for the Lord’s sake, wait for the light of Christ to guide you ; learn of him to be meek and lowly, then happy are you ; for he dwelleth with the humble, but he beholdeth the proud afar off. This new birth, which is a true work, a sincere and heavenly work, it will make you for ever. O make room for Christ in your hearts, or else he is never like to dwell with you ; he loveth to dwell with the poor and humble and contrite spirit ; he abhors the proud, he will empty your souls, that he may fill them.

‘And so I commend you to God. I have been long held in durance under great weakness ; and I was restless, till I could come up to this great city of London, to preach the everlasting gospel among you, and you see I am among you here ; pray every one of you turn inward ; let not these words, passing through a mean vessel, be as a bare empty discourse of truth to you, which you only hear, and take no further care of your salvation. Take heed of despising the light that shines in the midst of you, and be pressing forward to the heavenly work that is laid in the power of Christ Jesus, even through judgment into death, and then he will give eternal life ; the Lord confirm this, that it may rest upon your hearts, that you may be dead to the things of the world : we are not come to Mount Sinai, that genders to bondage, but we are come to Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly, and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. This is the inheritance of the redeemed of the Most High, blessed be the name of the Lord ; let us rest in hope, till he bring us to humility and lowliness

departure draws nigh. Blessed be my God, I am prepared, and I have nothing to do but die, and put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this flesh that hath so many infirmities; but the life that dwells in it, ascends out of the reach of death, hell, and the grave; and immortality and eternal life is my crown for ever. Therefore you that are left behind, fear not, nor be discouraged, but go on in the name and power of the Lord, and bear a faithful and living testimony for him in your day. And the Lord will prosper his work in your hand, and cause his truth to flourish and spread abroad. For it shall have the victory, and no weapon formed against it shall prosper.'

Thus fervent in spirit was W. Dewsbury in his latter end, and he prayed to God very earnestly for all his friends, especially those that were met at the annual assembly at London. And so he very piously departed this life at his house, in a good old age, in the month called June, in this current year. He was indeed a man of a remarkable zeal and perception. He spoke sometimes to young lads as to men, telling them that the blessing of the Lord would rest upon them if they lived a godly life: some of which being since come to man's estate, have experienced the truth of his saying.

Two days before the decease of William Dewsbury, Rebecca Travers departed this life at about the age of seventy-nine years. She was a woman exceedingly well gifted; and spoke not only sometimes in public for edification of the church, but wrote also several books for the advancement of piety; in one of which she signified, that though she had been a reader of the Scriptures from a child of six years old, yet when by the power of the eternal gospel she was turned from darkness to light, the Scriptures then became much more plain to her, as not wanting interpretation. She was an excellent open-hearted woman, and took great care of the poor: she had several times been imprisoned for religion, but persevered constantly in the faith, and so piously entered into eternal rest.

As to state affairs, there now appeared a wonderful agitation in England, since it was reported that the queen was big with child. And the endeavors for introducing popery, besides the encroaching upon some rights and privileges, caused such a stir, that William the Third, prince of Orange, and stadtholder, (or lord deputy,) of Holland, &c., was entreated and invited by the English Protestants, to come to their assistance. This at length he did, and came over with a fleet, and a considerable number of forces. What was the issue of this expedition, is very amply described by other pens, and not properly my province to relate; where-

of mind, that he may clothe us with heavenly glory, according to his promise, I will beautify my house with glory, saith the Lord. This is the portion of a poor people, that cast down themselves before the Lord, that he may lift them up, and be all in all to them. in whose blessed presence they shall have joy, and rivers of pleasures at his right hand for evermore.'

fore I think it sufficient to my purpose to say, that the prince after some difficulty at sea, came into England ; where having many adherents, the king, many of whose forces deserted him, resolved to go to France, whither the queen with the young child was gone sometime before. Accordingly he went over, where he was well received by the French king, who provided him a court at St. Germain's. In the meanwhile the prince of Orange came to London, and was saluted there by the great ones as the deliverer of England. The lord mayor of the said city, with the aldermen and the sheriffs, having congratulated him, the prince sent for some of the members of former parliaments to come to him, and signified to them that he had desired them to meet to advise him in the best manner how to pursue the ends of his declaration in calling a free parliament, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, the restoring of the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and settling the same, that they might not be in danger of being again subverted.

In answer to this, thanks were given to the prince for his care and pains in defence of the people, their religion and laws. And all things took a favorable turn for him.

In Holland a good while before a paper was published in print, called, 'A Copy of a Letter written by a Quaker at London to his Friend at Rotterdam.' In which forged letter were mentioned several things that were not altogether untrue, and the prince's going over to England, was also in a manner predicted. Who was the author of the said letter, I could never learn, but of this I am fully satisfied, that he was no Quaker ; for it never was their way to ridicule princes, and to characterize them with ridiculous denominations, as in the said letter we find mentioned, of James of Great Britain, Mary of Modena, William of Orange, and Mary of England, his wife. This was no more the language of Quakers, than the following expressions that are found in this letter. 'The Spirit hath inspired me to tell thee, I should not be able to declare my opinion, before the Spirit shall have revealed it to me. If the Spirit doth dictate it to thee, go and speak with him. Dentsch hath had a revelation, and the Spirit hath assured him,' &c. This foolish language betrays itself, and serves for a palpable evidence, that it never proceeded from the pen of any of the people called Quakers. But perhaps the author of that letter knew a secret of state, whereof, (to remain unknown,) he would acquaint the world in a ridiculous way ; that under the cloak of being a Quaker, he should best continue undiscovered, and that by this device the letter would spread the more, as indeed it did ; for it had a very quick vent.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

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I PROCEED now to the year 1689, in the beginning of which the peers of the realm, &c., offered the administration of the government to the prince of Orange, which he accepted of. Not long after he called a convention of the commons; for a parliament it could not be named, since in England none but a king has power to call a parliament. In the meanwhile the prince had caused the princess his consort, to come over from Holland, into England; and at length the convention, after many great debates, came to this resolution, that the throne was vacant; the consequence of which was, that the prince and princess of Orange were declared by the names of William the Third, and Mary the Second, king and queen of England, &c., and accordingly were afterwards crowned. A large relation thereof is to be found in several books. By the way I will only say, that the coronation was performed by the bishop of London, the archbishop of Canterbury having refused to act in that solemnity; at the performance of which the king and queen were asked by the bishop, 'Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed to, and the laws and customs of the same?' To which the king and queen having answered, 'I solemnly promise so to do;' the bishop asked, 'Will you, to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?' Answer was made, 'I will.' The next question was, 'Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the law of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant Reformed religion established by law? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?' To which the king and queen answered, 'All this I promise to do.' After this they laying each of

them their hands upon the book of the gospel, said, 'These things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God.' Under these punctual and nice questions was more hidden than some would think. For the king having answered so as hath been said, could not now free any from paying tithes to the clergy, without violation of his oath.

Not long after William and Mary were thus made king and queen of England, they were also in Scotland declared king and queen of Scotland. And somebody in Holland denoted the year of his being made king in this manner: 'VVILheLMVs tertIVs angLIæVINDeX.' Not long after this a war was proclaimed against France, and the late king, James, supported by the French king went over to Ireland, whence in process of time he was driven away by king William, after the bloody battle near the river Boyne; but that not belonging to this history, I will not detain my reader with a relation thereof.

A king having now mounted the throne, the convention was turned into a parliament; and then this august assembly made it their business to restrain the forcing of conscience; and an act passed for exempting Protestant dissenters from the penal laws, by which some dissenters, and especially the Quakers, had suffered and been persecuted many years. Yet care was taken to keep that law in force by which Papists were excluded from sitting in parliament. And those penal laws, of which mention hath been made heretofore in due place, were now restrained, except the test act, properly required for serving in high offices, and to keep out the Papists. The aforesaid act gave also liberty to dissenters to keep religious meetings, provided the doors were not locked, barred or bolted, during the time of such meeting. But none of these dissenters were freed from paying tithes, or other church duties, so called, to the clergy, nor from being cited before bishops' courts. But this liberty of keeping public meetings was not allowed to Papists; for all that would participate of the said liberty, were required to take the oath of allegiance; yet to comply with the people called Quakers, who for conscience-sake scrupled to take any oath, this act enjoined that they should subscribe the following declaration:

• 'I, A. B., do sincerely promise and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and queen Mary; and I do solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.'

Besides this they were obliged to subscribe also another, with respect to their orthodoxy, and for excluding Socinianism.

‘I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore : and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.’

And lest any Papist might make use of this declaration, there were required sufficient Protestant witnesses that the declarer was a Protestant dissenter. Besides no congregation or assembly for religious worship was permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of such meeting should be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry ; or to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter-sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which such meeting should be held, and registered in the said bishop’s or archdeacon’s court respectively, or recorded at the said general or quarter-sessions : for which the register or clerk should not take greater fee or reward than sixpence.

By this we now see the religion of the Quakers acknowledged and tolerated by an act of parliament ; and themselves released from all persecution for performance of their public worship, and their refusal of the oath of allegiance. This was a work reserved for that great prince king William, who being born in a country where force upon conscience was abrogated, when a Protestant government was settled there, now also according to his ability introduced the like Christian liberty in England : but to release from the payment of tithes was beyond his reach, how unreasonably soever the clergy acted in this case ; whereof about this time a notable instance was published in print, of one John Bishop, a countryman at Wrotham, from whom for two years tithes there had been taken, horses, kine and sheep, to the value of seventy-six pounds, according to the estimate of impartial persons, though rated by himself at at eighty-three pounds. And yet the priest, Thomas Thurlow, had declared upon his oath, that he believed that the tithes of every year’s growth of the said John Bishop, did amount one year with another, to three pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence ; but the charges were reckoned so high, and the rating of the distrained goods was so very much beneath the real value, that the loss thereby sustained was exceeding great.

In Barbadoes, in the West Indies, where the inhabitants were marshalled to bear arms, the Quakers, notwithstanding what had been ordered in their favor by king James, continued yet under hard sufferings, of which more in the sequel. They now that were thus oppressed, sent over a petition to the king, wherein they set forth how they were molested, and prayed for relief ; which had such effect, that the king issued forth the following order :

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*' At the Council at Whitehall, Dec. 12, 1689.*

*' Present the king's most excellent majesty in council.*

Upon reading a petition of the people called Quakers, inhabiting the island of Barbadoes, setting forth, that because the said Quakers could not bear arms, nor take an oath in any case, they have suffered much by virtue of an act made to settle the militia in the said island; as in the petition hereunto annexed, is more at large expressed; his majesty in council is graciously pleased to refer the matter of the said petition to the examination of James Kendal, Esq., his majesty's governor of Barbadoes for the time being, who is to give the petitioners such relief in relation to the militia, as to him shall seem just and reasonable to answer their particular circumstances, and to make report thereof to his majesty.

RICHARD COLLINGE.'

This year deceased Alexander Parker, sometimes mentioned in this history, being a man not only of a godly life and conversation, but also, of a goodly mien and grave deportment. In the following year, viz. that of 1690, Robert Barclay also departed this life, a man of eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not only in the languages of the learned, but also well versed in the writings of the ancient fathers, and other ecclesiastical writers, and furnished with a great understanding, being not only of a sound judgment, but also strong in arguments, and cheerful in sufferings. Besides, he was of a friendly and pleasant, yet grave conversation, and eminently fitted for composing of differences; and he really lived up to what he professed, being of an unblamable deportment, truly pious, and well beloved of those he conversed with. And in this happy state it pleased God to take him away out of this vale of tears into a glorious immortality, in the prime of his age, having not lived much above half the life of a man, as it is commonly accounted, viz. in his 42d year, on the third of October, at his house at Ury, in Scotland, where he died of a sickness, which did not last long, yet he signified with a good understanding, that it was well with him as to his soul.

This year Stephen Crisp wrote an epistle of tender love and brotherly advice to all the churches of Christ throughout the world, in which he exhorted them more particularly to charity; and since therein several remarkable duties are held forth and recommended, I cannot well omit to insert a copy of it here, which is as followeth:

*' Dearly beloved friends and brethren, gathered out of the world by the eternal arm and power of the mighty God, to bear his holy name in your generation; my love and life in the fellowship of the universal spirit salutes you all, and my prayer to God is, you may be kept steadfast and immovable in the grace of God, and in the communion of his holy*



Spirit, that ye may bring forth fruit in abundance, according to the abundant mercy and grace bestowed upon you, to the glory of God, and to your mutual joy, comfort, and edification.

‘ And that you may so do, let your eye be kept daily to the Lord, and behold and take notice of the wondrous works that he hath wrought in you, and for you, since the day ye were first quickened by his immortal word, and stirred up to seek after him, and to wait upon him : how good and gracious he hath been to you, in bringing you from the barren mountains, where your souls languished for the heavenly nourishment ; where you knew not the Lord, nor one another, but were without a comforter, or any to sympathize with you in your mournings ; Oh, how hath he pitied your groanings, and had compassion on your sighings, and brought you into acquaintance with those that were in the like exercises ; and then he taught you to believe on him that was able to help you : and those that were thus taught of the Father, and felt his drawing cords of love prevailing upon them ; these came to Christ their Savior, and in him began to feel an unity one with another, in the faith you had received in him ; whereby you believed he would give you of his spirit to teach and guide you in the way of truth, righteousness, and peace ; and thus was the foundation of your holy communion laid, and a lively hope raised in each particular soul, that he that had begun this blessed work would carry it on ; and this hope made you that ye were not ashamed to make a public profession of his name before the world ; but cheerfully to take up his cross, and deny yourselves of your former pleasures, friendships, and delights of this world : this hope hath been your support in many sharp trials, and bitter combats you have had with the enemy of your souls’ peace within, and with the enemies of God’s holy way and truth without ; and in all your conflicts you have found him nigh at hand, to put forth his power on your behalf, as you have depended upon him for assistance ; and by these experiences of his goodness, your faith hath been strengthened ; and by the same word of life that quickened you, many more have been reached unto, so that you have seen a daily addition of strength in the particular, and also an addition to your number, to your great comfort and encouragement ; and many have come to wait upon the Lord among you ; and many are daily inquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. These things are worth your remembrance and serious considerations, that you may look upon these great mercies as obligations upon your souls, to walk humbly before the Lord, and to be devout and fervent in your testimony, for that God that hath done thus great things for you.

‘ And, friends, consider of the great works that this mighty arm of the Lord hath brought to pass in the general, as well as in the particular ; how many contrivances have been framed, and laws and decrees made to lay you waste, and to make you cease to be a people, and how have the wicked rejoiced thereat, for a season, crying, ‘ Ah, ha ! thus would we have it ; they are all now given up to banishments, to imprisonments, to

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spoils and ruins; now let us see if that invisible arm they trust in can deliver them.' Oh friends! how hath your God been your support in the midst of all these exercises! and when he hath pleased, how hath he quieted the sharpest storms, and turned back the greatest floods and torrents of persecution that ever you met! and how hath he confounded his and your enemies, and brought confusion upon the heads of them that sought your hurt! Were not these things wrought by the power of God? Did your number, your policy, your interest, or any thing that might be called your own, contribute any thing to these your great preservations and deliverances? If not, then let God have the glory, and acknowledge, to his praise, these have been the Lord's doings, and are marvellous in our eyes.

' Again, dear friends, consider how the wicked one hath wrought in a mystery among yourselves, to scatter you, and to lay you waste from being a people as at this day; how many several ways hath he tried, raising up men of perverse minds, to subvert and to turn you from the faith, and from the simplicity that is in Christ Jesus our Lord; and to separate you from that invisible power that hath been your strength, and to separate you one from another, and by subtil wiles to lead you into a false liberty above the cross of Christ: and sometimes by sowing seeds of heresy and seditions, endeavoring to corrupt the minds of whom they could with pernicious principles; but oh, how have their designs been frustrated, and the authors thereof confounded and brought to naught: and how have you been preserved as a flock under the hand of a careful shepherd, even unto this day, which ministers great cause of thanksgiving unto all the faithful, who have witnessed the working of this preserving power in their own particulars.

' Also, my friends, it is worth your considerations, to behold how that by this invisible power so many faithful watchmen are raised up upon the walls of your Zion; that in most of your meetings there be men and women, upon whom God hath laid a concern to be taking care for the good of the whole; and to take the oversight upon them, to see all things kept in good and decent order, and to make due provision for the comforting and relieving the necessities of the needy and distressed; that nothing be lacking to make your way comfortable; and these have not been, nor are brought under this charge by any act of yours, but God hath raised up pastors and teachers, elders and deacons of his own election and choice, and bowed their spirits to take upon them the work and service to which they are appointed, for the Lord's sake, and for the body's sake, which is the church; to whom it may truly be said, as in Acts xx. 28. "Take ye heed to the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers," &c. And such ought to be hearkened to in the discharge of their trust, as those that must give an account to him that called them, and gifted them for their several works and services in the church.

' And by these ways and means hath the Lord established among you

a heavenly government, and built as it were a hedge about you, that ye may be preserved from generation to generation, a people fitted for the glory that is, and shall daily more and more be revealed among and upon the faithful, who delight in that power that called them to be saints, and to bear a profession for the holy name of God, against the many names and ways that men in their changeable minds have set up, that the name of the Lord alone may be exalted.

‘And, dear friends and brethren, I entreat you, that the consideration of these great and weighty things which God hath wrought for you, and among you, may have that deep and weighty influence upon your souls, that ye may find yourselves engaged to answer the love and mercy of God in your lives and conversations, and in all you have to do in this world; that ye may show forth the honor of God in all things, that the light which hath shined in you, may shine forth through you unto others, who yet sit in darkness; that all men may know by your innocent and harmless conversations, and by your close keeping to the Lord, that ye are a people who are assisted and helped by a supernatural power, which governs your wills, and subjects them to his blessed will; and that guides and orders your affections, and sets them upon heavenly and divine objects, and that gives you power to deny your own private interests, where they happen to stand in competition with the interest of truth; for these, and these only, will be found the true disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, who can deny themselves, take up a cross daily, and follow him in the guidance of his regenerating power; which brings death upon itself, and crucifies the old nature, with its affections and lusts, and raiseth up a birth in you, that hath a holy will and desire to serve the Lord, and do his will in the earth; and such as these are instruments in the hand of God for him to work by, and to do works of righteousness, of justice, of charity, and all others the virtues belonging to a Christian life, to the honor of God, and for the comfort and benefit of his church and people.

‘And all you, dear friends, upon whom the Lord hath laid a care for his honor, and for the prosperity of the truth; and gathered you into the good order of the gospel, to meet together to manage the affairs thereof; take heed that ye have a single eye to the Lord, to do the Lord’s business in the leadings of his Spirit, which is but one, and brings all that are given up to be governed by it, to be of one mind and heart, at least in the general purpose and service of those meetings; although through the diversity of exercises, and the several degrees of growth among the brethren, every one may not see or understand alike in every matter, at the first propounding of it; yet this makes no breach of the unity, nor hinders the brotherly-kindness, but puts you often upon an exercise and an inward travailling, to feel the pure peaceful wisdom that is from above to open among you; and every one’s ear is open to it, in whomsoever it speaks, and thereby a sense of life is given to the meeting, to which all that are of a simple and tender mind join and agree; but

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if any among you should be contrary minded in the management of some outward affair, relating to the truth, this doth not presently break the unity that ye have in Christ ; nor should weaken the brotherly love, so long as he keeps waiting for an understanding from God, to be gathered into the same sense with you, and walks with you, according to the law of charity. Such a one ought to be borne with and cherished, and the supplications of your souls will go up to God for him, that God may reveal it to him if it be his will ; that so no difference may be in understanding, so far as is necessary for the good of the church, no more than there is in matters of faith and obedience to God ; for, my friends, it is not of absolute necessity that every member of the church should have the same measure of understanding in all things ; for then where were the duty of the strong bearing with the weak ? Then where were the brother of low degree ? Where would be any submitting to them that are set over others in the Lord ? which all tend to the preserving unity in the church, notwithstanding the different measures and different growths of the members thereof ; for as the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, so are the spirits of all that are kept in a true subjection to the spirit of life in themselves, kept in the same subjection to the sense of life given by the same spirit in the church ; and by this means we come to know the one master, even Christ, and have no room for other masters in the matter of our obedience to God : and while every one keeps in this true subjection, the sweet concord is known, and the oil is not only upon Aaron's head, but it reacheth the skirts of his garment also ; and things are kept sweet and savory, and ye love one another from the greatest to the least in sincerity, and, as the apostle saith, without dissimulation ; and this love excludes all whisperings of evil things ; all backbiting, tale-bearing, grudging and murmuring ; and keeps Friends' minds clean one towards another, waiting for every opportunity to do each other good, and to preserve each other's reputation ; and their hearts are comforted at the sight of one another ; and in all their affairs, both relating to the church and to the world, they will be watchful over their own spirits, and keep in the Lord's power, over that nature and ground in themselves that would be apt to take an offence, or construe any word or action to a worse sense than the simplicity thereof, or the intention of the other concerned will allow of.

'And whereas it may often fall out, that among a great many, some may have a different apprehension of a matter from the rest of their brethren, especially in outward or temporal things ; there ought to be a Christian liberty maintained for such to express their sense with freedom of mind, or else they will go away burdened ; whereas if they speak their minds freely, and a friendly and Christian conference be admitted thereupon, they may be eased, and oftentimes the different apprehension of such an one comes to be wholly removed, and his understanding opened, to see as the rest see ; for the danger in society doth not lie so much in that, that some few may have a differing apprehension in

some things from the general sense, as it doth in this, namely, when such that so differ, do suffer themselves to be led out of the bond of charity, and shall labor to impose their private sense upon the rest of their brethren, and to be offended and angry if it be not received; this is the seed of sedition and strife that hath grown up in too many, to their own hurt.

‘And, therefore, my dear friends, beware of it, and seek not to drive a matter on in fierceness or in anger, nor to take offence into your minds at any time, because what seems to be clear to you, is not presently received; but let all things in the church be propounded with an awful reverence for him that is the head and life of it; who hath said, “Where two or three are met in my name, I will be in the midst of them.” And so he is, and may be felt by all who keep in his spirit; but he that follows his own spirit, sees nothing as he ought to see it. Therefore let all beware of their own spirits and natural tempers, as they are sometimes called, but let all keep in a gracious temper; then are ye fit for the service of the house of God, whose house ye are, as ye keep upon the foundation that God hath laid; and he will build you up, and teach you how to build up one another in him, and as every member must feel life in themselves, and all from one head; this life will not hurt itself in any, but be tender of the life in all; for by this one life of the word ye were begotten, and by it ye are nourished, and made to grow into your several services in the church of God. It is no man’s learning, nor artificial acquirements; it is no man’s riches, nor greatness in this world; it is no man’s eloquence and natural wisdom, that makes him fit for government in the church of Christ; unless he, with all his endowments, be seasoned with the heavenly salt, and his spirit subjected, and his gifts pass through the fire of God’s altar, a sacrifice to his praise and honor; that so self be crucified and baptized in death, and the gifts made use of in the power of the resurrection of the life of Jesus in him; and when this great work is wrought in a man, then all his gifts and qualifications are sanctified, and they are made use of for the good of the body, which is the church; and are as ornaments and jewels, which serve for the joy and comfort of all who are partakers of the same divine fellowship of life in Christ Jesus our Lord; and thus come many to be fitted and furnished to good words and to good works, which are brought forth in their due seasons, for edification and building up the weak, and for repairing the decayed places, and also for defence of them that are feeble, that hurtful things may not come near them.

‘Oh friends! great is the work the Lord hath called you to, and is fitting you for, who innocently wait upon him; and the Lord hath opened my heart unto you, and laid it upon me to exhort and beseech you to have a care that ye quit yourselves as ye ought, in what God requires of you; and for the more particular expressing what lies before me in the matter, I shall set down a few particular observations for your benefit and advantage; and my soul’s desire is, that my labor of love

may have a good effect in all your bosoms, that God may be honored thereby. And, friends, ye know the chief business, to which ye are called in your particular men and women's meetings, is under these two heads, justice and charity ; the first, to see that every one hath right done him ; and the other, to take care there be nothing lacking to the comfort of the poor, that are made partakers of the same faith with you.

' And when ye meet about these things, keep the Lord in your eye, and wait to feel his power to guide and direct you, to speak and behave yourselves in the church of God, as becomes the peaceable gospel : and beware of all brittleness of spirit, and sharp reflections upon each other's words ; for that will kindle up heats, and create a false fire ; and when one takes liberty of a sharp word spoken out of the true fear and tenderness, it oftentimes becomes a temptation to another ; and if he hath not a great care, it will draw him out also, and then the first is guilty of two evils, first, being led into a temptation, and then secondly, he becomes a tempter to others ; therefore all had need to be upon their watch, neither to tempt, nor be tempted ; and let none think it a sufficient excuse for them that they were provoked ; for we are as answerable to God for every evil word spoken upon provocation, as without provocation ; for, for that end hath the Lord revealed his power to us, to keep and preserve us in his fear and counsel in the time of our provocations ; and therefore if any man through want of watchfulness, should be overtaken with heat or passion, a soft answer appeaseth wrath, saith the wise man ; and therefore such a time is fittest for a soft answer, lest the enemy prevail on any to their hurt, and to the grief and trouble of their brethren ; for it is the proper duty of watchmen and overseers to spare the flock ; that is, let nothing come nigh them that will hurt them, and wound and grieve them ; nay, the good apostle was so careful over the flock of believers, that if there were any doubtful matters to be disputed of, he would not have them that were weak in the faith at such disputes ; much less ought they that are weak, to see those that are strong, descend from their strength, and go into the weakness where they are not able to bear ; for that is certainly the weak that cannot bear ; those that really live in the strength and power, they can bear even burdens for them that cannot bear their own. The apostle in the place before-mentioned, when he sent for the elders of Ephesus to Miletus, and left a charge with them, before he said, take heed to the flock of God, he said " Take ye heed to yourselves." And indeed we are none of us like to discharge ourselves well towards others, but by taking heed to ourselves, to be kept in that sober innocent frame of spirit, which the truth calls for.

' In the next place, my dear friends, when ye are called upon in point of justice, to give a sentence of right between friend and friend, take heed that neither party get possession of your spirit aforehand, by any way or means whatsoever, or obtain any word or sentence from you in the absence of the other party, he not being yet heard : there is nothing more comely among men than impartial judgment ; judgment is a seat

where neither interest, nor affection, nor former kindnesses may come; we may make no difference of the worthiness or unworthiness of persons in judgment, as we may in charity; but in judgment, if a good man, being mistaken, hath a bad cause, or a bad man a good cause, according to his cause must he have sentence. It was a good saying, he that judgeth among men, judgeth for the Lord, and he will repay it. Therefore let all be done as unto the Lord, and as ye are willing to answer it in his presence; and although some may for a time be discontent thereat, yet in time God shall clear up your innocency as the sun at noon-day; and they that kick at sound judgment will find but hard work of it; they do but kick against that which will prick them; and however such through their wilfulness, and their abounding in their own sense may hurt themselves, yet you will be preserved, and enjoy your peace and satisfaction in the discharge of your consciences in the sight of God.

‘And as concerning practical charity, ye know it is supported by liberality, and where liberality ceaseth, charity waxeth cold, yea, so far ceaseth; where there is no contribution, there is no distribution; where the one is sparing, the other is sparing; and therefore let every one nourish charity in the root, that is, keep a liberal mind: a heart that looks upon the substance that is given him, as really bestowed upon him for the support of charity, as for the support of his own body: and where people are of this mind, they will have a care of keeping back any of God’s part, for he hath in all ages, in a most singular manuer, espoused the cause of the poor, the widow, and fatherless; and hath often signified by his prophets and ministers, a special charge upon rich men that had this world’s goods, that they should look to it that they were faithful stewards of what they possessed, and that they might be found in good works, and might not suffer their hearts so to cleave to uncertain riches, as to neglect the service God had given them the things of this life for: either to give them up when called for in a testimony of his worthy name, or to communicate of them to those that were in necessity.

‘Now as concerning the necessities of the poor, there is great need of wisdom when ye meet together about that affair: for as I said before, though the worthiness or unworthiness of persons is not to be considered in judgment, yet in this it is; and you will find some that God hath made poor, and some that have made themselves poor, and some that others have made poor, which must all have their several considerations; in which you ought to labor to be unanimous, and not one to be taken up with an affection to one person more than another; but every one to love every one in the universal spirit, and then to deal out that love in the outward manifestations thereof, according to the measure, that the Lord in his wisdom working in you, shall measure forth to them.

‘And as to those who by sickness, lameness, age, or other impotency, are brought into poverty by the hand of Providence; these are your peculiar care and objects pointed out to you, to bestow your charity

upon, for by them the Lord calls for it ; for as the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness of it, he hath by his sovereign power commanded in every dispensation, that a part of what we enjoy from him, should be thus employed. The Israelites were not to reap the corners of their fields, nor to gather the gleanings of the corn nor vintage ; it was for the poor ; and in the time of the gospel, they were to lay apart on the First-day of the week, a part of what God had blessed them with, for the relief of those that were in necessity ; nay, they did not confine themselves in their charity to their own meetings, but had an universal eye through the whole church of Christ, and upon extraordinary occasions, sent their benevolence to relieve the saints at Jerusalem in a time of need ; and all that keep in the guidance of the same universal Spirit, will make it their business to be found in the same practice of charity and good works. To do good, and communicate, forget not, saith the apostle : so they that forget not this Christian duty will find out the poor's part in the corners and gleanings of the profits of their trades and merchandisings, as well as the old Israelite did the corners and gleanings of his field ; and in the distribution of it, will have a regard to comfort the bowels of such, who are by the divine providence of God, put out of a capacity of enjoying those outward comforts of health, and strength and plenty, which others do enjoy ; for while they are partakers of the same faith, and walk in the way of righteousness with you, submitting themselves patiently to the dispensation of God's providence towards them, they are of your household, and under your care, both to visit and to relieve, as members of one body, of which Christ Jesus is head ; and he that giveth to such poor, lendeth to the Lord, and he will repay it.

‘ But there is another sort of poor, who make themselves poor through their sloth and carelessness, and sometimes by their wilfulness, being heady and high-minded, and taking things in hand that are more than they can manage, and make a flourish for a season, and then, through their own neglects, are plunged down into great poverty. These are a sort the primitive churches began to be troubled withal in the early days of the gospel ; for the apostle took notice of some that would not work at all, and sharply reprov'd them, and said, they that would not work should not eat ; and these are commonly a sort of busy-bodies, and meddlers with others' matters, while they neglect their own, and run into a worse way than the unbelievers, while they profess to be believers, yet do not take a due care for those of their own household.

‘ The charity that is proper to such, is to give them admonition and reproof, and to convince them of their sloth and negligence ; and if they submit to your reproof, and are willing to amend, then care ought to be taken to help them into a way and means to support themselves ; and sometimes by a little help of this kind, some have been reclaimed from the snares of their souls' enemy ; but if they will not receive your wholesome counsel and admonitions, but kick against it, either in their words or actions, Friends will be clear of such in the sight of God ; for



it is unreasonable to feed them that will not be ruled by you ; they break the obligation of society by their disorderly walking ; for our communion doth not stand only in frequenting meetings, and hearing truth preached, but in answering the blessed principle of truth, in life and conversation, and therein both the rich and the poor have fellowship one with another.

‘ There are another sort that are made poor by the oppressions and cruelties of others. These oppressed poor cry loud in the ears of the Almighty, and he will in his own time avenge their cause ; but in the meantime there is a tenderness to be extended to them, not knowing how soon it may be our turn ; and if there be need of counsel and advice, or if any applications can be made to any that are able to deliver them from the oppressors ; in such cases let all that are capable be ready and willing to advise, relieve, and help the distressed ; and this is an acceptable work of charity, and a great comfort to such in their sharp afflictions, and their souls will bless the instruments of their ease and comfort.

‘ And my dear friends, as God hath honored you with so high and holy a calling, to be his servants and workmen in this his great and notable day, and to work together in his power, in setting forth his praise and glory in the earth, and gathering together in one the scattered seed in this and other nations ; oh, let the dignity of your calling provoke and encourage you to be diligent attenders upon this work and service you are called to, and let not your concerns in the world draw you from observing the times and seasons appointed to meet together ; but you that are elder, set a good example to the younger sort, by a due observation of the hour appointed, that they that come first one time, may not by their long staying for others be discouraged, so as perhaps they may be last another time ; but when the time is come, leave your business for the Lord’s work, and he will take care your business shall not suffer, but will add a blessing upon it, which will do more for you than the time can do that might be saved out of his service.

‘ And when you have to do with perverse, and froward, or disorderly persons, whom ye have occasion to reprove, and to rebuke for the truth’s sake, and you find them stout and high, and reflecting upon you ; then is a time for the Lamb’s meekness to shine forth, and for you to feel your authority in the name of Christ, to deal with such an one, and to wait for the pure and peaceable wisdom from above, to bring down and confound the earthly wisdom. And in this frame of mind you labor together to pull the entangled sheep out of the thicket, and to restore that which is gone astray, to the fold again, if you can ; but if you cannot, yet you save yourselves from the guilt of his blood ; and if such do perish, his blood will be on his own head : but on the other hand, if ye suffer their perverse spirits to enter, and their provocations to have a place in you, so as to kindle your spirits into a heat and passion, then you get a hurt, and are incapable to do them any good ; but words will break out that will need repentance, and the wicked will be stiffened and strength-

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ened thereby, and you miss the service that you did really intend. Therefore, dearly beloved, keep upon your watch, keep on your spiritual armor; keep your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and the God of peace will be with you, and crown your endeavors with good success, to your joy and comfort, and will bring up his power over your adversaries and opposers more and more, to which many shall bow and bend in your sight; and will bring shame and confusion upon the rebellious, who harden their hearts and stiffen their necks against the Lord, and his Christ, and kingdom; which he will exalt in the earth, notwithstanding all that Satan, and all his evil instruments can do to hinder the growth and progress of his blessed truth; for of the increase of the government, and of the peace of the kingdom of Christ, there shall be no end.

‘And now, friends, I have cleared my conscience of what lay upon me for some time, to write by way of remembrance, and as the exhortation of my life unto you, I remain travailing in spirit for the welfare of Zion: and although the outward man decays, yet in the inward man I am comforted, in beholding daily the great things that our God hath done, and is still doing for those that have their sole dependence upon him. So committing you to the grace of God, for your director and preserver, in these and all your several services unto which God hath called you, that by the operations of his mighty power ye may be kept blameless and unspotted of the world, to his honor and your comfort, and to the universal comfort and edification of the church, that so praises and thanksgivings may fill your hearts and mouths, your families, and your meetings; for he is worthy who is our tower, our support, the Lord of hosts, the King of saints, to whom be glory, honor and renown, through this and all generations, for ever and ever. Amen.

‘From your friend and brother, in the communion  
and fellowship of the gospel of peace and purity,

STEPHEN CRISP.’

London, the 18th of the Seventh month, 1690.

Passing now by other matters of this year, we step to the next, being that of 1691, about the beginning of which G. Fox departed this life, who even in the last period thereof wrote much, and continued laborious without fainting. ‘The last epistle I find of his, was to his friends and brethren in Ireland, who, because of the revolution and troubles there, suffered much, chiefly, as I think, by the Papists; and therefore in the said epistle he exhorted his friends to steadfastness. This was in the month called January; and the next day, being the first of the week, and the 11th of the said month, he went to the meeting at Grace-church-street, where he preached very effectually, treating of many things with great power and clearness; and concluded with a prayer. After which, the meeting ending, he went to Henry Gouldney’s, in White-Hart court, near the meeting-house, where he said to some that came with him, he

thought he felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting, yet added, 'I am glad I was here: now I am clear; I am fully clear.' When those friends that were with him were withdrawn, he lay down in his clothes upon a bed, but soon rose again; yet after a little time he lay down again, complaining still of cold; and his strength decaying, he not long after undressed, and went to bed, where he lay in much contentment and resignation, continuing very sensible to the last. His distemper increasing, and perhaps perceiving that his end was at hand, he recommended to some of his friends that came to him after having been sent for, the spreading of books containing the doctrine of truth. And to some others who came to visit him in his illness, he said, 'All is well, the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though,' continued he, 'I am weak in the body, yet the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits.' He used often, even in his preaching, when he spoke of Christ, to call him the seed; wherefore those that were with him very well knew what he meant when he spoke of the seed. Thus he lay in a heavenly frame of mind, his spirit being wholly exercised towards the Lord, and he grew weaker and weaker in body, until, on the third day of the week, and of his sickness also, he piously departed this life. About four or five hours before, being asked how he did, he answered, 'Do not heed, the power of the Lord is above all sickness and death; the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord.' And thus triumphing over death, he departed hence in peace, and slept sweetly on the 13th of the month anciently called January, (for being as a door or entrance into the new year,) about ten o'clock at night, in the 67th year of his age. His body was buried near Bunhill-fields, on the 16th of the said month, the corpse being accompanied by great numbers of his friends, and of other people also: for though he had had many enemies, yet he had made himself also beloved of many.

He was tall of stature, and pretty big-bodied, yet very moderate in meat and drink; neither did he yield much to sleep. He was a man of a deep understanding, and of a discerning spirit: and though his words were not always linked together by a neat grammatical connexion, and his speech sometimes seemed abrupt, as with a kind of gap; yet he expressed himself intelligently, and what was wanting in human wisdom, was abundantly supplied with heavenly knowledge. He was of a quick apprehension; and though his wit was not polished by human art, yet he was ingenious; and in his prayers, which generally were not very long, though powerful, appeared a decent gravity, mixed with an awful reverence, to admiration. His qualities are at large set forth by 'Thomas Ellwood, an eminent author, who having much conversed with him, gave the following character of him. 'He was indeed a heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honor of God before all things. He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in laboring in it, steady in his testimony to it, immovable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in

opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom, quick in discerning, sound in judgment : able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel ; a lover of righteousness ; an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse ; free from affectation in speech and carriage. A severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners ; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings. Not apt to resent personal wrongs ; easy to forgive injuries : but zealously earnest, where the honor of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church, were concerned. Very tender, compassionate and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction ; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care ; for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought.' Yet more is said of him to his praise, both by the said Thomas Ellwood and others, but I will not detain my reader any longer therewith. His wife, about six months before his death, came to him at London, and being glad of his health, which then was better than some time before, she, after some stay in the said city, returned home well satisfied, leaving him at London, where his general service to the church seemed to be then most requisite. After his decease an epistle was found, which was written with his own hand, and left sealed up with this superscription, 'Not to be opened before the time.' What this signified, seemed to be a riddle, but he being now deceased, it was judged to be the time to open this letter, which was directed to his friends, and was as followeth :

*'For the Yearly and Second-Day's Meeting in London, and to all the children of God in all places in the world. By and from G. Fox.*

*'This for all the children of God every where, that are led by his Spirit, and do walk in his light, in which they have life, and unity, and fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another.*

*'Keep all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jesus, that be gathered in his name, by his light, grace, truth, power and spirit ; by which you will feel his blessed and refreshing presence among you, and in you, to your comfort and God's glory.*

*'And now, all Friends, all your meetings, both men's and women's, monthly and quarterly, and yearly, &c., were set up by the power, and spirit, and wisdom of God ; and in them you do know that you have felt both his power, and spirit, and wisdom, and blessed refreshing presence, amongst you, and in you, to his praise and glory, and your comfort : so that you have been a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid.*

*'And although many loose and unruly spirits have risen betimes to*

oppose you and them, both in print and other ways ; but you have seen how they have come to naught ; and the Lord hath blasted them, and brought their deeds to light, and made them manifest to be the trees without fruit, and wells without water, and wandering stars from the firmament of God's power, and the raging waves of the sea, casting up their mire and dirt : and many of them are like the dog turned to his old vomit, and the sow that was washed, turned again to the mire. And this hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and his people.

‘ And therefore all stand steadfast in Christ Jesus your head, in whom you are all one, male and female, and know his government, and of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end ; but there will be an end of the devil's, and of all them that be out of Christ, and do oppose it and him, whose judgment doth not linger, and their damnation doth not slumber : and therefore in God's and Christ's light, life, spirit and power, live and walk, that is over all, (and the seed of it,) in love and in innocency, and in simplicity ; and in righteousness and holiness dwell, and in his power and Holy Ghost, in which God's kingdom doth stand. All children of the new and heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy, spiritual children, to her keep your eyes.

‘ And as for this spirit of rebellion and opposition, that hath risen formerly and lately ; it is out of the kingdom of God and heavenly Jerusalem ; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its books, words and works. And therefore Friends are to live and walk in the power and spirit of God, that is over it, and in the seed, that will bruise and break it to pieces : in which seed you have joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it ; and your unity is in the power and spirit of God, that doth judge it ; and all God's witnesses in his tabernacle go out against it, and always have and will.

‘ And let no man live to self, but to the Lord, as they will die in him ; and seek the peace of the church of Christ, and the peace of all men in him : for blessed are the peace-makers. And dwell in the pure, peaceable, heavenly wisdom of God, that is gentle and easy to be entreated, that is full of mercy ; all striving to be of one mind, heart, soul, and judgment in Christ, having his mind and spirit dwelling in you, building up one another in the love of God, which doth edify the body of Christ, his church, who is the holy head thereof. So glory to God through Christ, in this age, and all other ages, who is the rock and foundation, and the Immanuel, God with us, Amen, over all, the beginning and the ending ; in him live and walk, in whom you have life eternal, in whom you will feel me, and I you.

‘ All children of new Jerusalem, that descends from above, the holy city, which the Lord and the Lamb is the light thereof, and is the temple : in it they are born again of the spirit : so Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of them that are born of the spirit. And so they that come, and

are come, to heavenly Jerusalem, are them that receive Christ; and he giveth them power to become the sons of God, and are born again of the spirit: so Jerusalem that is above is their mother. And such do come to heavenly mount Zion, and the innumerable company of angels, and to the spirits of just men made perfect; and are come to the church of the living God, written in heaven, and have the name of God, and the city of God written upon them: so here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and a spiritual generation.

'There is no schism, nor division, nor contention, nor strife, in heavenly Jerusalem, nor in the body of Christ, which is made up of living stones, a spiritual house. And Christ is not divided, for in him there is peace. Christ saith, "In me you have peace." And he is from above, and not of this world; but in the world below, in the spirit of it, there is trouble: therefore keep in Christ, and walk in him, Amen.

G. F.'

'Jerusalem was the mother of all true Christians before the apostacy; and since, the outward Christians are broken into many sects, and they have gotten many mothers; but all they that are come out of the apostacy by the power and spirit of Christ, Jerusalem that is above, is their mother, and none below her; who doth nourish all her spiritual children.

G. F.'

Read at the Yearly Meeting  
in London, 1691.

This year I find that William Goodridge, of Banwell, in Somersetshire, was released from prison, where he had been confined about thirteen years. He had been premunured for refusing to take the oath: and his goods, whereof the movables were rated at about two hundred and forty-four pounds, and the real estate counted worth sixty pounds per annum, were confiscated. Thus to suffer spoil of goods hath been the lot of many others, and among these was Benjamin Brown, an ancient man, of Brownish in Suffolk, who also, for not taking the oath, was stripped of all, so that his wife and child were fain to lie on the floor without a bed.

Now time calls me to say something of the apostacy of George Keith, who being in Pennsylvania, made a great bustle there. He was a witty person, and esteemed very learned; and at the university obtained the degree of master of arts. He often also gave proofs of a high soaring knowledge, and was very ready to show from philosophy the reasons and causes of many things in the creation; but the doctrine of Francis Mercurius, baron of Helmons, concerning the transmigration of souls, became so palatable to him, that he not only in some manner approved it, but also was believed to be concerned in the book containing two hundred queries about that matter, great part of which, as I have been informed, he acknowledged to have been put in writing by himself, though it appeared in public without the author's name. But this notion meeting

with no acceptance among the Quakers, his love to them began to abate ; and his discontent increased, because two persons, who opposed him, had, as he said, used some unwarrantable expressions, and were not so sharply reprov'd, as he, who was of a fiery temper, desired. He accused them that they had said, that the light within was sufficient to salvation, without any thing else, whence he endeavored to prove, that they excluded the man Jesus Christ, as not necessary to salvation ; but they denied this to be their doctrine.

He afterwards said of William Stockdell, one of those two persons at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, that he had charged him G. K. to have preached two Christs, because he preached faith in Christ within, and in Christ without us. Now though Stockdell would not allow this to be true, and some of the hearers also denied it, though asserted by two others of his party, yet G. Keith blew the fire of this quarrel, and so got some adherents. He also charged the deputy-governor, Thomas Lloyd, to have said, that faith in Christ without us, as he died for our sins, and rose again, was not necessary to our salvation. But others said, that the words were not so, and that the matter was not fairly stated ; since the question was not, whether faith in Christ without us, as he died for our sins, and rose again, was not necessary to our salvation ; but whether that faith were indispensably necessary to all mankind, and that none could be saved without it, though they had not the means, opportunity, or capacity to know or receive it. Which being asserted, it was thought that such a position did not only exclude from salvation whole nations, but also infants, and deaf and dumb persons. Better had it been that such questions never had been started, for a passionate maintaining of a different position often breeds strife and contention. But G. Keith, with some others, having now separated themselves from the society, he said his dissatisfaction was only with some unsound Quakers in America ; but he was in unity with all faithful friends in England.

And now he began to behave himself very disrespectfully, and was on that account sharply reprov'd by the aforesaid Thomas Lloyd ; to whom he did not stick to speak in a reproachful way, charging him with impudence, and saying that he was unfit to be a governor, and that his name should stink, &c. And because some members of the council did not expect to be better treated by him, since he had called one of the magistrates an impudent rascal, this was much resented, and the more, because G. Keith having drawn in a printer, published a paper, wherein he not only scandalously slandered the diligence of the magistrates in restraining of robbers, but also the judicial proceedings against murderers. And seeing several Mennonites of the county of Meurs, lived also in Pennsylvania, it was not much to be wondered, that they who count it unlawful for a Christian to bear the sword of magistracy, did stick to him ; and to get adherents seemed the main thing he aimed at ; for he himself was not trained up under such a notion, but in the doctrine of the kirk of Scotland. The consequence of this case was,

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that Keith and one Thomas Budd, who, with him, had been compiler of the aforesaid paper, were fined for it; but yet the government was so moderate, that the fine was never exacted: and for all that, G. Keith did not stick to make a great clamor of his sufferings; and about two years after he came into England, to make his complaint to the church at London.

This year in the month called August, Stephen Crisp deceased near London. He had long been weak in body, and was much afflicted with the stone, performing nevertheless his ministry of the gospel; and his service was very acceptable, because he had a gift beyond many, being not only sound in doctrine and judgment, but grave and elegant in his utterance, and well qualified for convincing his hearers, and to touch them to the heart; so that he generally met with a great concourse of people. Four days before his decease, lying sick in bed, and being under great pain, he was visited, by G. Whitehead, to whom he said in substance, 'I see an end of mortality, and yet cannot come at it; I desire the Lord to deliver me out of this painful body: if he will but say the word, it is done: yet there is no cloud in my way. I have a full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus; my integrity and uprightness of heart is known to the Lord; and I have peace and justification in Jesus Christ, who made me so.' The day before his departure, G. Whitehead being come again to see him, found him in a dying state and almost speechless; yet he was understood to say, 'I hope I am gathering, I hope, I hope.' G. Whitehead near parting from him, asked him whether he had any thing to his friends; to which he gave this answer, 'Remember my dear love in Jesus Christ to all friends.' The next day, being the 28th of the aforesaid month, he died at Wandsworth, about five miles from London. Many of his sermons taken in short hand from his mouth are published in print, and give proofs of his having been indeed an able minister of the gospel.

In this year died also Catharine Evans, who, as hath been mentioned here before, had been long imprisoned at Malta. She had suffered much for her religion; and in the year 1657, having at Salisbury exhorted the people to repentance, this so incensed the magistrates, that by order of Humphrey Ditton, justice, and Robert Good, Mayor, she was stripped, and fastened to the whipping-post in the market, and then whipped. Afterwards coming thither again, and speaking to the people in the market, by way of admonition, she was sent to Bridewell, and put into a dark nasty place. After her return from Malta, imprisonment fell to her share in England several times; once at Welshpool in Montgomeryshire in the year 1666, for refusing to swear; and several years after she was also imprisoned at Bristol. And after many adversities and great sufferings, having lived to a great age, she died, and so entered into everlasting rest.

Now I return again to George Keith, who appeared in the annual assembly at London, anno 1694, but there he showed himself so passion-



ate and boisterous, that no means could be found to compose the difference. Yet he seemed to get adherents among some of the Separatists about London: but these also soon growing weary of him, he got a place called Turner's-hall to preach in. Here at first he had a great concourse of people, since novelties generally beget curiosity. But he from time to time more and more courting those of the church of England, and falling in with the Episcopalians, began to lose his esteem among people of other persuasions, especially when at length he entirely conformed to that church, which formerly in print he had zealously attacked: but in process of time he took a gown, and was ordained to be a preacher. After which he sometimes preached with the surplice on, which in all probability he would have abhorred before ever he joined with the Quakers; for he had been a member of the Presbyterian kirk of Scotland, which always hath been a zealous opposer of the Episcopal ceremonies. And since he had contradicted that, which formerly he had asserted and defended in good earnest; and charged the Quakers with a belief, which they never had owned to be theirs, they found themselves obliged publicly, to set forth their faith anew in print, which they had often before asserted both in words and writing, thereby to manifest that their belief was really orthodox, and agreeable with the Holy Scriptures. This they did by the following representation, which in the year 1693, came forth in print at London, as follows, with this title.

*The Christian Doctrine, and Society of the People called Quakers cleared, &c.*

‘Whereas, divers accounts have been lately published in print, of some late division and disputes between some persons under the name of Quakers in Pennsylvania, about several fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, (as is pretended by one party,) which being particularly mentioned, and thereupon, occasion very unduly taken by our adversaries, to reproach both the Christian ministry, and the whole body of the people commonly called Quakers, and their holy and Christian profession, both in England and elsewhere, though no ways concerned in the said division or matters charged, but rather grieved and troubled at it, and at the indiscreet and reproachful management thereof in print, to the amusing and troubling the world therewith, and giving occasion to the loose, ignorant and profane, to slight and contemn the truth, and the interest of the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ:

‘We are, therefore, tenderly concerned for truth's sake, in behalf of the said people, (as to the body of them, and for all of them who are sincere to God, and faithful to their Christian principle and profession,) to use our just endeavors to remove the reproach, and all causeless jealousies concerning us, touching those doctrines of Christianity, or any of them pretended, or supposed, to be in question in the said division; in relation whereunto we do in the fear of God, and in simplicity and

plainness of his truth received, solemnly and sincerely declare what our Christian belief and profession has been, and still is, in respect to Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, his suffering, death, resurrection, glory, light, power, great day of judgment, &c.

‘We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our light and life, our only way to the Father, and also our only mediator and advocate with the Father. (a)

‘That God created all things, he made the worlds, by his Son Jesus Christ, he being that powerful and living Word of God by whom all things were made ; (b) and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one, in Divine Being inseparable ; one true, living and eternal God, blessed for ever. (c)

‘Yet that this Word, or Son of God, in the fulness of time, took flesh, became perfect man, according to the flesh, descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David, (d) but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary. (e) And also further, declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead. (f.)

‘That in the Word, (or Son of God,) was life, and the same life was the light of men ; and that he was that true light which enlightens every man coming into the world ; (g) and therefore that men are to believe in the light, that they may become children of the light ; (h) hereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, as he is the light and life within us ; and wherein we must needs have sincere respect and honor to, and belief in Christ, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehensible glory and fulness : (i) as he is the fountain of life and light, and giver thereof unto us ; Christ, as in himself, and as in us, being not divided. And that as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again, and was received up into glory in the heavens. (k) He having, in his dying for all, been that one great universal offering, and sacrifice for peace, atonement and reconciliation between God and man ; (l) and he is the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world. (m) We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life.

‘That Jesus Christ, who sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens, yet is he our king, high-priest, and prophet, (n) in his church, a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man. (o) He is intercessor and advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the presence of God for us, (p) being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sufferings and

(a) Hebrew xii. 2. 1 Peter i. 21. John xiv. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5. (b) Eph. iii. 9. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 2. (c) 1 John v. 7. (d) Rom. i. 3, 4. (e) Mat. i. 23. (f) Rom. i. 3, 4. (g) John i. 4, 9. (h) John xii. 36. Isa. ii. 5. (i) 1 Tim. vi. 16. (k) 1 Pet. iii. 18. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. xix. 28. and xxv. 31. Luke ix. 26. and xxiv. 26. (l) Rom. v. 10, 11. Heb. ii. 17, 18. Eph. ii. 16, 17. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. (m) 1 John ii. 2. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Heb. ii. 9. (n) Zech. ix. 9. Luke xix. 38. John xii. 15. Heb. iii. 1. Deut. xviii. 15, 18. Acts iii. 22. and vii. 37. (o) Heb. viii. 1, 2. (p) Heb. vii. 25. Heb. ix. 24.

sorrows. And also by his spirit in our hearts, he maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying, Abba, Father. (*q*)

‘For any whom God hath gifted, (*r*) and called sincerely to preach faith in the same Christ, both as within and without us, cannot be to preach two Christs, but one and the same Lord Jesus Christ, (*s*) having respect to those degrees of our spiritual knowledge of Christ Jesus in us, (*t*) and to his own unspeakable fulness and glory, (*u*) as in himself, in his own entire being, wherein Christ himself and the least measure of his light or life, as in us or in mankind, are not divided nor separable, no more than the sun is from its light. And as he ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, (*x*) his fulness cannot be comprehended, or contained in any finite creature; (*y*) but in some measure known and experienced in us, as we are capable to receive the same, as of his fulness we have received grace for grace. Christ our Mediator, received the spirit, not by measure, (*z*) but in fulness; but to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of his gift. (*a*)

‘That the gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, (*b*) being one (*c*) in power, wisdom, and goodness, and indivisible, or not to be divided, in the great work of man’s salvation.

‘We sincerely confess and believe in Jesus Christ, both as he is true God and perfect man, (*d*) and that he is the author of our living faith in the power and goodness of God, as manifested in his Son Jesus Christ, and by his own blessed spirit, or divine unction, revealed in us, (*e*) whereby we inwardly feel and taste of his goodness, (*f*) life and virtue; so as our souls live and prosper by and in him: and the inward sense of this divine power of Christ, and faith in the same, and this inward experience, is absolutely necessary to make a true, sincere, and perfect Christian, in spirit and life.

‘That divine honor and worship is due to the Son of God; (*g*) and that he is, in true faith to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon, as the primitive Christians did, (*h*) because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son; (*i*) and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers and praises to God, nor receive a gracious answer or blessing from God, but in and through his dear Son Christ.

‘That Christ’s body that was crucified was not the Godhead, yet by the power of God was raised from the dead; and that the same Christ that was therein crucified, ascended into heaven and glory, (*k*) is not questioned by us. His flesh saw no corruption, (*l*) it did not corrupt;

(*q*) Rom. viii. 26, 27, 34. Gal. iv. 6. (*r*) Eph. iii. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10. (*s*) 1 Cor. viii. 6. (*t*) John xv. 26. and xvi. 13, 14, 15. (*u*) John i. 16. (*x*) Eph. iv. 10. (*y*) Col. i. 19. and ii. 9. (*z*) John iii. 34. (*a*) Eph. iv. 7. (*b*) Mat. xxviii. 19. (*c*) John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. (*d*) John. i. 1. 2. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. (*e*) 1 John ii. 20. 27. (*f*) 1 Pet. ii. 3. John vi. 33, 35, 51, 57, 58. (*g*) John v. 23. Heb. i. 6. (*h*) 1 Cor. i. 2. Acts. vii. 59. (*i*) John x. 30. 1 John v. (*k*) Luke xxiv. 26. (*l*) Psal. xvi. 10. Acts. ii. 31. and xiii. 35. 37.

but yet doubtless his body was changed into a more glorious (*m*) and heavenly condition than it was in when subject to divers sufferings on earth; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raised from the dead, so as to become such a glorious body, as it is declared to be, is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend or pry into, and more meet for angels to see: the scripture is silent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to inquire or dispute it; nor do we esteem it necessary to make ourselves wise above (*n*) what is written as to the manner or condition of Christ's glorious body, as in heaven; no more than to inquire how Christ appeared in divers manners or forms; (*o*) or how he came in among his disciples, the doors being shut; (*p*) or how he vanished out of their sight after he was risen. However, we have cause to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a most glorious condition, far transcending what it was in on earth, otherwise how could our low body be changed, so as to be made like unto his glorious body; (*q*) for when he was on earth, and attended with sufferings, he was said to be like unto us in all things, sin only excepted; (*r*) which may not be so said of him as now in a state of glory, as he prayed for; (*s*) otherwise where would be the change both in him and in us?

'True and living faith in Christ Jesus the Son of the living God, (*t*) has respect to his entire being and fulness, to him entirely as in himself, and as all power in heaven and earth is given unto him; (*u*) and also an eye and respect to the same Son of God (*x*) as inwardly making himself known in the soul, in every degree of his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth; and as he is both the word of faith, and a quickening spirit in us; (*y*) whereby he is the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith in his name and power; and of the work of our salvation from sin and bondage of corruption: and the Son of God cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance of his own divine light, or life in us or in mankind, no more than the sun from its own light: nor is the sufficiency of his light within by us set up in opposition to him the man Christ, or his fulness, considered as in himself, or without us; nor can any measure or degree of light, received from Christ, as such, be properly called the fulness of Christ, or Christ as in fulness, nor exclude him, so considered, from being our complete Savior; for Christ himself to be our light, our life, and Savior, (*z*) is so consistent, that without his light we could not know life, nor him to save us from sin or deliver us from darkness, condemnation or wrath to come: and where the least degree or measure of this light and life of Christ within is sincerely waited in, followed and obeyed; there is a blessed increase of

(*m*) Phil. iii. 21. (*n*) 1 Cor. iv. 6. (*o*) John xx. 15. (*p*) John xx. 19. Luke xxiv. 36, and xxiv. 31. (*q*) Phil. iii. 21. (*r*) Heb. ii. 17, and iv. 15. (*s*) John xxii. 5. (*t*) John xiv. 1. (*u*) Mat. xxviii. 18, and xi. 27. John xvii. 2. Heb. ii. 8. (*x*) John xiv. 23, and xvii. 21, 22, 23, 24, 26. (*y*) 1 Cor. xv. 45. Rom. x. 7, 8. (*z*) John i. 4, 9, and iii. 19, 20, and xii. 35, 36, 46, and viii. 12.

light and grace known and felt ; as the path of the just it shines more and more, until the perfect day ; (a) and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, hath been, and is truly experienced. And this light, life, or Spirit of Christ within, (for they are one divine principle,) is sufficient to lead unto all truth ; having in it the divers ministrations both of judgment and mercy, both of law and gospel, even that gospel which is preached in every intelligent creature under heaven : it does not only, as in its first ministration, manifest sin, and reprove and condemn for sin ; but also excites and leads them that believe in it to true repentance ; and thereupon to receive that mercy, pardon, and redemption in Christ Jesus, which he hath obtained for mankind in those gospel terms of faith in his name, true repentance and conversion to Christ, thereby required.

‘ So that the light and life of the Son of God within, truly obeyed and followed, as being the principle of the second or new covenant, as Christ the light is confessed to be, even as he is the seed or word of faith in all men, this does not leave men or women, who believe in the light, under the first covenant, nor as the sons of the bond-woman, as the literal Jews were, when gone from the Spirit of God, and his Christ in them ; but it naturally leads them into the new covenant, in the new and living way, and to the adoption of sons, to be children and sons of the free-woman, of Jerusalem from above.

‘ It is true, that we ought not to lay aside, nor any way to undervalue, but highly to esteem, true preaching and the holy scriptures ; and the sincere belief and faith of Christ, as he died for our sins, and rose again for our justification ; together with Christ’s inward and spiritual appearance, and work of grace in the soul ; livingly to open the mystery of his death, and perfectly to effect our reconciliation, sanctification, and justification ; and wherever Christ qualifies and calls any to preach and demonstrate the mystery of his coming, death, and resurrection, &c. even among the Gentiles, Christ ought accordingly to be both preached, believed, and received.

‘ Yet supposing there have been, or are such pious and conscientious Gentiles, in whom Christ was and is as the seed or principle of the second or new covenant, the light, the word of faith, as is granted ; and that such live uprightly and faithfully to that light they have, or to what is made known of God in them, and who therefore in that state cannot perish, but shall be saved, as is also confessed ; and supposing these have not the outward advantage of preaching, scripture, or thence the knowledge of Christ’s outward coming, being outwardly crucified and risen from the dead ; can such, thus considered, be justly excluded Christianity, or the covenant of grace, as to the virtue, life, and nature thereof, or truly deemed no Christians, or void of any Christian faith in the life and power of the Son of God within, or be only sons of the first covenant, and bond-

(a) Prov. iv. 18. Psal. xxxvi. 9.

woman, like the literal outside Jews; or must all be excluded any true knowledge of faith of Christ within them, unless they have the knowledge of Christ as without them? No sure! for that would imply insufficiency in Christ and his light, as within them, and to frustrate God's good end and promise of Christ, and his free and universal love and grace to mankind, in sending his Son. We charitably believe the contrary, that they must have some true faith and interest in Christ and his mediation, because of God's free love in Christ to all mankind, and Christ's dying for all men, (b) and being given for a light of the Gentiles, and for salvation to the ends of the earth; (c) and because of their living up sincerely and faithfully to his light in them—their being pious, conscientious, accepted and saved, as is granted. We cannot reasonably think a sincere, pious, or godly man, wholly void of Christianity, of what nation soever he be, because none can come to God or godliness but by Christ, (d) by his light and grace in them: yet we grant if there be such pious, sincere men or women, as have not the scripture or knowledge of Christ, as outwardly crucified, &c. they are not perfect Christians in all perfections, as in all knowledge and understanding, all points of doctrine, outward profession of Christ; so that they are better than they profess or pretend to be; they are more Jews inward, and Christians inward than in outward show or profession. There are Christians sincere and perfect in kind or nature, in life and substance, though not in knowledge and understanding. A man or woman having the life and fruits of true Christianity, the fruits of the Spirit of Christ in them, that can talk little thereof, or of creeds, points, or articles of faith, yea many that cannot read letters, yet may be true Christians in spirit and life; and some could die for Christ, that could not dispute for him; and even infants that die in innocency, are not excluded the grace of God, or salvation in and by Christ Jesus, the image and nature of the Son of God, being in some measure in them, and they under God's care and special providence. See Matt. xviii. 2. 10.

'And though we had the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and a belief of Christ crucified and risen, &c. we never truly knew the mystery thereof, until we were turned to the light of his grace and spirit within us: we knew not what it was to be reconciled by his death, and saved by his life; or what it was to know the fellowship of his sufferings, the power of his resurrection, or to be made conformable unto his death, we knew not, until he opened our eyes, and turned our minds from darkness unto his own divine life and light within us.

'Notwithstanding, we do sincerely and greatly esteem and value the Holy Scriptures, preaching and teaching of faithful, divinely inspired, gifted, and qualified persons, and ministers of Jesus Christ, as being great outward helps, and instrumental in his hand, and by his spirit, for conversion, where God is pleased to afford those outward helps and

(b) 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. (c) Isa. xlix. 6. Luke ii. 32. Acts xiii. 47. (d) John xiv. 6.  
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means ; as that we neither do nor may oppose the sufficiency of the light or Spirit of Christ within, to such outward helps or means, so as to reject, disesteem, or undervalue them ; for they all proceed from the same light and spirit, and tend to turn men's minds thereunto, and all centre therein.

'Nor can the Holy Scriptures or true preaching without, be justly set in opposition to the light or Spirit of God or Christ within ; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof, being sent to turn people to the same light and spirit in them, Acts xxvi. 18, Rom. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

'It is certain, that great is the mystery of godliness in itself, in its own being and excellency : namely, that God should be and was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

'And it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity also, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually in men's hearts, to save and deliver them from sin, satan, and bondage of corruption, Christ being thus revealed in true believers, and dwelling in their hearts by faith, Christ within the hope of glory, our light and life, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30. And therefore this mystery of godliness, both as in its own being and glory, and also as in men, (in many hid, and in some revealed,) hath been and must be testified, preached, and believed ; where God is pleased to give commission, and prepare peoples' hearts for the same, and not in man's will.

'Concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave, or after death, and Christ's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead, (as divers questions are put in such terms,) what the Holy Scriptures plainly declare and testify in these matters, we have great reason to credit, and not to question, and have been always ready to embrace, with respect to Christ and his apostles' own testimony and prophecies.

#### ' 1. For the doctrine of the resurrection ;

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable, 1 Cor. xv. 19. We sincerely believe, not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with him hereafter ; that when he at last appears, we may appear with him in glory, Col. iii. 4. 1 John iii. 2.

'But that all the wicked who live in rebellion against the light of grace, and die finally impenitent, shall come forth to the resurrection of condemnation.

'And that the soul or spirit of every man and woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being, (so as there shall be as many souls in the world to come as in this,) and every seed, yea every soul, shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it, 1 Cor. xv. A natural

body is sown, a spiritual body is raised ; that being first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. And though it is said, this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality ; the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption, 1 Cor. xv. We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality ; and the children of God and of the resurrection, shall be equal to the angels of God in heaven. (e)

‘And as the celestial bodies do far excel terrestrial, so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection, shall far excel what our bodies now are ; and we hope that none can justly blame us for thus expecting better bodies than now they are. Howbeit, we esteem it very unnecessary to dispute or question how the dead are raised, or with what body they come : but rather submit that to the wisdom and pleasure of the Almighty God.

## 2. For the doctrine of eternal judgment ;

‘God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ ; and he is both judge of quick and dead, and of the states and ends of all mankind, John v. 22, 27 ; Acts x. 42 ; 2 Tim. iv. 1 ; 1 Pet. iv. 5.

‘That there shall be hereafter a great harvest, which is the end of the world, a great day of judgment, and the judgment of that great day, the Holy Scripture is clear, Mat. xiii. 39, 40, 41 ; ch. x. 15 ; and xi. 24. Jude 6. “When the Son of Man cometh in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations, &c.” Matt. xxv. 31, 32, to the end, compared with ch. xxii. 31 ; Mark viii. 38 ; Luke ix. 26 ; and 1 Cor. xv. 52 ; 2 Thes. i. 7. 8, to the end, and 1 Thes. iv. 16 ; Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

‘That this blessed heavenly man, this Son of Man, who hath so deeply suffered and endured so many great indignities and persecutions from his adversaries, both to himself and his members and brethren, should at last, even in the last and great day, signally and manifestly appear in glory and triumph, attended with all his glorious heavenly host and retinue before all nations, before all his enemies, and those that have denied him ; this will be to their great terror and amazement, that this most glorious heavenly man, and his brethren, that have been so much contemned and set at naught, should be thus exalted over their enemies and persecutors, in glory and triumph, is a righteous thing with God ; and that they that suffer with him, should appear with him in glory and dignity when he thus appears at last. Christ was judge of the world, and prince thereof, when on earth, John ix. 39, and xii. 31. He is still judge of the world, the wickedness, and prince thereof, by his light, spirit, and gospel in men’s hearts and consciences, John

(e) Matt. xxii. 30 ; Mark xii. 25 ; Luke xx. 36.



xvi. 8, 11; Matt. xii. 20; Isa. xlii. 1; Rom. ii. 16; 1 Pet. iv. 6. And he will be the judge and final determiner thereof in that great day appointed; God having appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained. Christ foretold it shall be more tolerable for them of the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city or people that would not receive his messengers or ministers, &c., Matt. x. 15, and see chap. xi. 24, and Mark vi. 11; Luke x. 12, 14. It is certain that God knows how to deliver the godly out of all their trials and afflictions, and at last to bring them forth, and raise them up into glory with Christ; so he knoweth also how to reserve the unjust and finally impenitent unto the day of judgment to be punished, 2 Pet. ii. 9. He will bring them forth unto the day of destruction, Job xxi. 30. The Lord can and will reserve such impenitent, presumptuous and rebellious criminals, as bound under chains of darkness, as were the fallen angels, unto the judgment of the great day, Jude 6; Matt. xxv. 30. It is not for us to determine or dispute the manner how they shall be so reserved; but leave it to God; he knows how.'

*A Postscript relating to the doctrine of the Resurrection and eternal Judgment.*

'At the last trump of God, and the voice of the archangel, the dead shall be raised incorruptible, the dead in Christ shall rise first, 1 Cor. xv. 52. 1 Thes. iv. 16, compared with Matt. xxiv. 31.

'Many are often alarmed in conscience here by the word and voice of God, who stop their ears and slight those warnings, but the great and final alarm of the last trumpet, they cannot stop their ears against, nor escape; it will unavoidably seize upon, and further awaken them finally to judgment. They that will not be alarmed in their consciences, unto repentance, nor out of their sins here, must certainly be alarmed to judgment hereafter.

'Whosoever do now wilfully shut their eyes, hate, contemn, or shun the light of Christ, or his appearance within, shall at last be made to see, and not be able to shun or hide themselves from his glorious and dreadful appearance from heaven with his mighty angels, as with lightning and in flaming fire, to render vengeance on all them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1 Thes. iv. 17; Matt. xxiv. 27; Luke xvii. 24; Dan. x. 6; Job xxxvii. 3.

'And though many now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences, they shall be at last opened, and every one judged of these things recorded therein, according to their works, Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

'Signed in behalf of our Christian profession and people aforesaid,

|                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| GEORGE WHITEHEAD,    | CHARLES MARSHALL, |
| AMBROSE RIGGE,       | JOHN BOWATER,     |
| WILLIAM FALLOWFIELD, | JOHN VAUGHTON,    |
| JAMES PARKE,         | WILLIAM BINGLEY.' |

This paper generally gave satisfaction, and was well received also in Holland, where having translated it into Dutch, I got it published in print. Now since Francis Bugg, an envious apostate, charged the Quakers with some Socinian notions ; and being set on by some churchmen, endeavored also to render them odious with the government, the following confession of faith, signed by one and thirty persons, of which G. Whitehead was one, was in December presented to the parliament :

*Be it known to all, that we sincerely believe and confess,*

‘ I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the very Christ, the Son of the living God, to whom all the prophets gave witness : and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption of mankind, together with his laws, doctrine, and ministry.

‘ II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive, and lives for ever in his divine, eternal glory, dominion, and power, with the Father.

‘ III. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, are of divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God.

‘ IV. And that magistracy or civil government, is God’s ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil-doers, and praise of them that do well.’

By this and the like writings, the eyes of many that were at the helm began to be more opened ; and even among the bishops were some that inclined to moderation ; for the king endeavored as much as he could to promote the most moderate among the churchmen to those high dignities ; and prejudice, which had blinded many in respect to the Quakers, began to abate more and more. But yet there was one thing that continually caused them much hardship, viz. their refusing to swear ; for by reason of this they were not only deprived of their rights as freemen, but also of giving evidence in courts of judicature. They did not therefore omit from time to time, to petition the parliament, wherein they desired to be relieved of this heavy burden, though hitherto they had not been able to obtain this favor : wherefore on the 26th of November, they delivered a petition to the parliament, setting forth their great sufferings, for want of their solemn declaration being taken instead of an oath : and that not in their own cases only, but in evidence wherein others were concerned. This petition they concluded thus :

‘ We therefore earnestly and humbly request, that you will favorably please to give leave to bring in a bill to admit, that our solemn answer, affirmation or denial, may be accepted instead of an oath, to relieve us in the cases aforesaid, or in such of them as you in your wisdom shall see meet : we freely submitting, that if any reputed a Quaker, shall falsify

the truth, and be duly convicted thereof, that every such person shall undergo the like pains and penalties, as are provided against perjured persons. And your petitioners shall, as in duty bound, pray, &c.

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| WILLIAM MEAD,     | WILLIAM BINGLEY,      |
| GEORGE WHITEHEAD, | SAMUEL WALDENFIELD,   |
| WILLIAM CROUCH,   | JOHN STAPLOE,         |
| WALTER BENTAL,    | WILLIAM MACKER,       |
| THOMAS HART,      | JOSEPH WRIGHT, JUN'R, |
| MICHAEL RUSSEL,   | THEODORE ECCLESTONE.' |

The petition being read in the House of Commons, they came to the following resolution :

' A petition of the people called Quakers was read. Resolved, that the consideration thereof be referred to a committee ; and that they report their opinions thereon to the house.'

A committee being ordered accordingly, sat thereupon, and gave their judgment as followeth :

' Upon the whole it is the opinion of this committee, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition.'

But nothing was obtained that session ; for their enemies were yet so powerful in parliament, that they found means to retard this beneficial work, and to stay the progress of it : for so long as the Quakers were not relieved in the case of oaths, they, who now were not liable to prosecution on account of their public worship, might yet for all that be otherwise molested and vexed. Wherefore on the 22d of December, in the year 1694, a representation of their case of not swearing, being signed in their behalf by Theodore Ecclestone, was delivered to the members of parliament, and was as followeth :

*' A brief representation of the Quakers' case of not swearing ; and why they might have been, and yet may be relieved therein by Parliament.*

' It is a certain truth, that among Christians, and Protestants especially, there are divers particular things about religion, conscientiously scrupled by some as unlawful, that others esteem orthodox : and therefore it is not to be wondered, that the Quakers differ from many others, though not from all, in this case of oaths ; they believing they are absolutely forbidden to swear in any case, by that positive command of Christ, Matt. v. 34, and the earnest exhortation of his apostle, James v. 12. And that this is undeniably their Christian persuasion, is evidenced by their sufferings these many years for not swearing.

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‘And therefore their case may be worth the charitable notice of the government, by law to relieve them therein ; and not, for their religious persuasion, to continue them and their families exposed to ruin ; who among their neighbors cheerfully pay to the support of the government ; and by their trades and industry, according to their capacities, advance the national stock.

‘It may therefore be humbly offered, that it is not the interest of the government to refuse them relief.

‘Their industry in trade both at sea and land, bringing profit to the government as well as others ; the station they stand in as merchants, farmers, manufacturers, improvers of lands and stocks, is advantageous to their neighbors as truly as others. And as it seems not the interest of the government in general that they should be any ways discouraged in their honest industry, so neither is it the interest of any eminent part of the government, that they should not be relieved, viz. the judges.

‘For the frequent suits that are brought against the Quakers, before the chancery and exchequer judges, are no doubt very troublesome and burdensome, by the difficulty of getting at a just issue, for want of swearing, whereby justice is delayed, and their causes often held very long ; and no doubt when just judges see the Quakers wronged and abused, and cannot relieve them, it is irksome to them : so that, it is humbly conceived, it would be a great ease to those courts, to have the Quakers relieved in this case of oaths.

‘Neither is it without advantage to the king’s other courts, to be able to use the evidence of one who is now a Quaker, that perhaps was not so some years ago ; when he was a witness to a bill, bond, book-debt, or deed of indenture ; or when he was steward or trustee, or servant, either to persons of quality, or to others of trade or estate.

‘Nor may their testimony be useless to coroners, in cases of unnatural deaths ; nor inconvenient in cases of trespass or felony, &c.

‘And it is further proposed, that it is not the interest of the subjects to continue them unrelieved ; for it is not the interest of those the Quakers are indebted to ; because though such may sue and harass the Quakers in person and estate, yet they may long want a decision of their debt or claim, as to the right of it, for want of an answer upon oath.

‘It is not the interest of those they are concerned with in any doubtful case, because of the difficulty to come to trial.

‘And for those that owe money to the Quakers, to be allowed to fly into chancery for a refuge, to obstruct paying just debts, is such an injury as it is hoped no one that is rational will countenance, or desire should be continued upon them. And may it not then be asserted, that it is no honest man’s true and just interest to have the Quakers denied relief ; no, not the gown-men of Westminster Hall, whose few fees from the Quakers as plaintiffs, might suggest, though unduly, that they have no long-tailed debts to sue for, nor titles to recover ; but if they so

suppose, it is a mistake, for it is rather their despair of relief, and their well-known inability to pursue a cause, that is their common deterrent to begin.

‘So that of all causes that crowd those courts, few are brought by the Quakers, though they may need it as much as others, to the great loss of the learned in the law, as well as the poor injured Quaker.’

‘And one might think it were great pity an industrious people should be kept liable to all injurious suits, and so much barred from suing for their rights, be their cause never so reasonable, just, or necessary.

‘Seeing their relief is to them so needful, so harmless to all, and so useful to the government and their neighbors; let us a little consider the common objections; which may be summed up in short thus:

First objection, ‘How shall we then be at a certainty?’

Secondly, ‘Why should the laws be altered for them? For,

Thirdly, ‘It would be to raze old foundations:

Fourthly, ‘And let them into the government.’

‘Which it is hoped will not be difficult to answer one by one, and that to reasonable satisfaction.

‘And to the first, viz. the doubt of certainty. It may be rationally affirmed, that whosoever is bound to tell the truth, especially against men’s own interest, where the temptation, if any, mainly lies, such are either so bound by the law of God, or the laws of men, or both.

‘Now the obligations by the law of God are binding on good men, whether they give answers on oath, or on their solemn affirmation in the fear of God; and knaves are only bound by the penal laws of men; which if made equally severe to those that give fallacious answers, as well without oath as by oath, would be equally effectual and binding, both to them that give answers without swearing, and to them that swear.

‘The second objection, That it would be an alteration of the law. Not of the substance of the law, but of a circumstance; and if that hath no detriment in it, but that the alteration be really an amendment, and a conveniency to an honest industrious people, pray why should it not be done? What sessions of parliament is there that passes, but some law or other is made for the ease, security, or relief of the subject?

‘If foreigners are too hard for our sea-faring people, out goes an act of navigation to prevent it.

‘If our poor at home want silk to work with, how soon is it granted, notwithstanding the same act, to come over land, and not directly in shipping, from the places of its produce, as the said act before did enjoin; and shall the ease of trade be so soon granted against a positive statute? and the ease of conscience be so long denied in this, as positive a command of Christ, at least really so believed and accepted?

‘And for the third objection, That it is to raze old foundations. Answer, No, as it was said it is rather to mend them ; a proper work for parliaments.

‘Did not parliaments abrogate popery, with all its claim to antiquity ? Did not a parliament make the act of *Habeas Corpus* against the claim of prerogative ? And was it more reasonable to secure the subject from perpetual imprisonment by a king without a trial, than it is to secure one subject from imprisoning another till death, for not giving an answer in chancery or exchequer upon oath ? Does it belong to parliaments to secure other subjects in their estates, liberties, and properties, and is it unparliamentary to secure the Quakers from sequestrations against their whole estates, because they dare not comply to a circumstance of the law, when, as they understand it, it is against an express command of Christ ? Surely no : and therefore their relief in parliament is a fitting case to be there tenderly taken notice of, and provided for.

‘May it not then be well worth the while for this present parliament to relieve these distressed people, and afford their suffering case redress : that thereby their causes may the sooner come to an issue, whether they sue for just debts, or are sued ; whereby many unjust and vexatious suits, by injurious and litigious persons, may be prevented ; which have often tended rather to the Quakers’ ruin and others’ damage, than recovery of their right ?

‘As to the fourth objection, That it will tend to let them into the government. For answer thereto, bar that as hard as you please ; only do not let the supposal of that, from which so easily and so willingly they may be excluded, be a hinderance to that ease and benefit the government may so easily afford them.

‘But now, while you have opportunity by the station Providence hath placed you in, pray be you of such noble, generous spirits as to relieve them ; though they differ from you in the construction of a text they esteem plain and positive on their side, and from which they dare not swerve ; having therein the concurrence of many ancient fathers and martyrs, and since them the Mennists, and of the late Francis Osbourne, Esq. in his *Political Reflections*, 7th edition, p. 319, who treating of judicial cases, calls not swearing, a yielding a sincere and faithful obedience to the precept of our Savior, “Swear not at all :” which, says he, the corrupt glosses of expositors labor much, though all in vain, to elude.

‘And Swinderby, in his appeal to the king, complaining of the errors of the Papists, says thus : ‘As Christ forbids swearing, so,’ says he, ‘the pope justifieth swearing, and compels men to swear.’

‘Which no man can rationally say is only spoken of swearing in communication, for his complaint is against justifying swearing, and

compelling men to swear, which cannot be pretended to mean other than solemn swearing; for no age that we read of, did ever authorize profane swearing, much less compel to it.

‘Since therefore not only profane swearing, but also solemn swearing was early complained of by Protestants, let it not seem strange to any, that the Quakers now scruple swearing, and for ease therein have often sought relief in parliament, the proper place.

‘Seeing then they believe they have the authority of Christ’s command, and the apostle’s exhortation, and the martyrs’ doctrine on their side, though divers of you are not so persuaded :

‘Yet let the world behold your justice and willingness, according to your power, to do good to all the honest and industrious people you both represent and govern; by enacting that their solemn affirmation shall be accepted in lieu of an oath, and all that falsify therein, shall be punished equally with perjured persons.

‘It having been made appear to a committee of this parliament, Dec. 2, 1692, that they are exposed to great hardships as aforesaid; and not themselves only, but others also; which was the case of a member or two of this present parliament;

‘So that upon the whole matter, the said committee were of opinion, and did report it to the house, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition, then newly presented to the house.

‘Wherefore as liberty hath been given them to declare their allegiance to the government without swearing, for which ease they are sincerely thankful; so be pleased to add to that kindness, their relief in the matter of oaths, between them and other subjects, as well as between the government and them.

Signed in behalf of the said people,

THEODORE ECCLESTONE.’

London, Dec. 22, 1694.

Though after the delivering of the said representation, the parliament this year came not to a full resolution for their relief, yet several members showed themselves more inclined to it, and in the next year the matter was taken in hand again in good earnest.

Toward the conclusion of this year, Mary the Second, queen of England, deceased. She was a princess eminent beyond many, being well versed in reading, and of great knowledge, of which I will mention only this passage, viz. that the ambassador of the king her father at the Hague, having tried by many arguments to bring her over to the papal religion, said afterwards in the presence of some great men, that he never before believed that a woman was to be found any where so well experienced in the doctrine of the Christian religion; and that therefore he would not advise any to enter into discourse with her about that matter. On the 21st of December some symptoms of the small-pox appeared on

the queen, who had been ill a day or two before ; and her distemper suddenly increased to that degree, that the physicians began to despair of her recovery : but this was so far from frightening her, that she said, ' God be thanked, I am prepared.' And this quietness of mind did not leave her, even when she felt death approaching ; for then she was heard to say, ' I believe now that I shall die shortly ; and I thank God, that from my youth I have learned this true doctrine, that repentance ought not to be deferred to a dying bed.' In such a Christian disposition she continued to her dying hour, and so quietly gave up the ghost to her Creator, from whom she had received it, departing at Kensington not long after midnight, between the 26th and 27th of December, and left the king in unspeakable sorrow, who in all the time of her sickness, it is said, had not departed from her chamber. Many pens labored to celebrate her praises, and bewail her death ; and perhaps no queen in many ages hath been more beloved than she was. But I break off ; others have given an account of her excellent qualities and character to the world, and it may be none better than Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, in a treatise entitled, ' An Essay on the Memory of the late Queen.'

Now I return again to the case and affairs of the Quakers.

And since those of Barbadoes in America were still about this time much molested, for not bearing arms, they sent over a list in the year 1695, of what had been taken from them under the government of the colonels Searle and Muddiford, the president Wallum, the lords Francis Willoughby, and William Willoughby, the knights Jonathan Atkins and Richard Dutton, and the colonels Edwin Stede and James Kendal, all which amounted to 1,423,164 lbs. Muscovado sugar, and 2,910*l.* 16*s.* in money. To this list was joined an account of the disasters which befel several of the persecutors in Barbadoes. In this account I find above thirty marshals, or the deputies, named, who, though they had enriched themselves with the spoil and havoc of the goods of honest people, yet they all died poor, and several either by an unnatural death, or with great pains ; but I decline mentioning all the particulars. Among these was John Thurborn, marshal to colonel Tidcomb, who used scoffingly to call the Quakers his milch cows, saying, that George Gray, one of these people, was one of his best cows, and gave a brave mess of milk every exercising day. For he and other such birds of prey took always much more than the fine amounted to : but at length he died in poverty, being afflicted with a fistula in his fundament, that did admit of no cure.

It was not only for not bearing arms that the Quakers suffered thus ; but frequent occasions were sought to vex them. For when they, to bring their negroes, if possible, to some knowledge of the true God, caused them to meet together for an hour or two once a week, to instruct them according to their capacity, by reading to them some part of the Holy Scriptures, and speaking something to this purpose ; a law was made, forbidding the Quakers to let their negroes come into their meetings, though kept in their own houses, on pain of forfeiting every such negro



as was found there, or ten pounds instead thereof. And by one Thomas Cobham, an action was brought against Ralph Fretwell, for eighty negroes of his own at a meeting in his own family. But though the justice, John Merrick, did what he could to countenance the said Cobham, yet after several sessions of the court, at which the said justice was an assistant, judgment was given in favor of the defendant; and it was remarkable that the abovesaid Cobham, though a lusty likely young man, became dejected, and generally slighted; and soon after was taken with a fever and an inflammation in his neck and throat, which so increased, that towards his latter end he cried out, 'Fire, fire; I am all on fire;' and to his mother he said, she needed not provide a coffin for him; for he should be burned up before it was made: crying out, 'Neither heaven nor hell, but all fire, fire;' to which he added, 'Now the Quakers will say it is a judgment fallen on me.' After this manner he miserably ended his days. And justice Merrick's exit was also dismal: for riding to his house, after having drank too much, he was thrown from his horse, whereby his brain was so hurt, that he lay some days in a violent raving condition, to the terror of his friends, and so died. In like manner William Sharp, a judge of the court, who had been a great opposer to the Quakers' instructing their negroes, riding from his house to Bridgetown, fell from his horse, and was so hurt, that he was not heard to speak any thing else afterwards, but 'O my head;' and three or four days after his fall, he died.

Sir Timothy Thornhill, major-general, had often threatened to take away the Quakers' lives, and was such an abominable blasphemer, that I feel myself seized with horror in reading the most detestable and direful blasphemies which this monstrous wretch belched out: for being at a feast, and drinking so excessively, that some of the company refused to drink so hard, he wished, (shall I say it, or be silent,) *Seipsum esse Deum Omnipotentem, quò posset damnare animas eorum qui cum ipso bibere nollent*. At another time, being in company where a woman, by way of discourse, spoke of the power and omnipotency of Almighty God, he returned this accursed language, worse than that of the devil himself, Matt. iv. 'God damn ye, go to the top of yonder tree, and see if God Almighty can save you from breaking your neck before you come to the bottom.' Other devilish language he spoke, I pass by with silence. When once a person was brought before him for not appearing in arms, and told him, he could not do so for conscience-sake, he returned, 'God damn your conscience; if I cannot make your conscience bow, I will make your stubborn dog's back bend,' and so tied him neck and heels with his own hands so violently that he almost deprived the man of life. He also once, when a declaration of war was published in the island, said, that the first time an enemy appeared, he would hang up the Quakers, binding his words with abominable oaths, to which he was so accustomed, that he seldom spoke without them. But now at length the time came that he must remove from this to the other world. He had

been sick, and being pretty well recovered, he boasted among his companions of his conquest over death, and daringly said that he had taken a new lease of his life from God Almighty for thirty years longer. But within a few months after, the thread of his life was cut, and his pretended lease was taken from him by the Sovereign of the universe. Thus he died unlamented by moderate people, and cursed by others, who lost considerably by him, notwithstanding a great estate left him by his father.

But more happy was his marshal, John Batt, who had taken much goods from the Quakers; yet on his dying bed, some years before, viz. 1679, was so sensibly touched with repentance, that he caused the following paper to be written, and signed it.

‘Whereas, I, John Batt the younger, of the island of Barbadoes, was lately, by commission from Colonel Thornhill, marshal to his regiment of foot soldiers; and by that power did distrain upon the estates of several of the people called Quakers, and took and carried away many parcels of their sugar, and other goods, for their defaults in not appearing in arms to the said regiment; which they refused out of tenderness of conscience, to which I had not regard; but now the Lord having laid his hand sorely on me, by afflicting me with a hard and grievous sickness, those things done to the aforesaid people come fresh in my mind to my very great grief and terror; and I do declare that all the sins that I have been guilty of besides, which are very many, do not trouble or lie so heavy upon my conscience, as those my doings to that people; and do believe that no man will ever be blessed or prosper, that practices such things against that people. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, this tenth day of May, 1679.

JOHN BATT, JUN.’

Witness WILLIAM HOWARD,

*Antrobus.*

Well had others done, if they had taken example by it; but it was not in vain that our Savior in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, made Abraham say to the rich man, “If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.” But other persecutors took no caution by this penitent John Batt; for yet not long after some others in Barbadoes most furiously showed their malice and rage against the Quakers, and among these one Alexander Ruddock, a Scotchman, who was not only a colonel of a regiment of foot, but also judge of a court, and one of the council. He caused one of the society of the Quakers to be rated four hundred pounds of sugar, for payment of the priest’s wages, who was his son-in-law; whereas upon complaint of the said person, and upon inquiry, it appeared that the pretended due was but ten pounds of sugar: and it was well known that he and his friends duly paid for maintaining the poor, and for

mending highways: but all this could not avail him; for a cow was taken from him worth ten pounds sterling. And though some of the magistrates, seeing the unreasonableness of these proceedings, would have had the cow returned to the right owner, yet such was the power of the said Ruddock, that they were not able to withstand it. And because the aforesaid man had complained of the wrong and oppression he suffered, this so incensed Ruddock, that he caused him to be fined five pounds sterling, for having refused to take the oath as constable, though he was willing to have served the office. For this fine Ruddock issued out a warrant against him, upon which was taken from him a negro woman, who by the management of Ruddock, was valued at but two thousand three hundred pounds of sugar, which, as the price of sugar then went, might amount to eleven pounds ten shillings: and yet the negro was sold for six and twenty pounds sterling, and all kept for the fine of five pounds. From this same man was taken the value of above seven thousand pounds of sugar in one year, by the direction of Ruddock; which the sufferer laying before him in the presence of his daughter, the priest's wife, and telling him he had suffered all that for complaining of the wrong he had done him about his cow, he, as rejoicing at it, said it should be so yearly, so long as he was magistrate. But he did not live a year after.

He was of a fierce temper, and very ready to put negroes to death for example, saying, 'What is it for Barbadoes to put twenty or thirty negroes to death yearly for example's sake?' And as he vexed the Quakers many ways, so he showed his grudge also by taking the meat they bought and paid for; nay, so malicious he was, that meeting once a butcher carrying meat to the house of him that bought it, he commanded him to carry it back, saying the Quakers shall not eat fresh meat. But at length the measure of his iniquity was full: he came from the council, where an order was issued from the governor to break up the Quakers' meetings, and he promised the governor diligently to obey all his commands. But in his very way home he was taken ill, and being come to his house, he called for some cream of tartar, which he used to take in his broth; but by his own mistake he took arsenic instead thereof, and so wretchedly ended his days. And how wicked soever he was, yet the priest Kennedy, his countryman, did not stick when he was to preach his funeral sermon, to take his text from these words of the apostle, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." And in this sermon it was declared of him, that he had attained to the prudence of a judge, the dignity of a colonel, and the honor of a counsellor; and that he had served his king and country faithfully, and died a saint. This last expression seemed to regard some repentance he had shown; but whatever it was, we must commit that to God; and in the meanwhile not rely too much on such a repentance: since Judas also repented

of his wickedness. If I did not study brevity, I could relate more remarkable cases concerning the persecutors in Barbadoes ; but I break off.

Now I return to England, where the parliament sitting the latter end of this year, had effectually taken in hand the making an act to ease the people called Quakers from that heavy burden of swearing ; but this work met with great opposition : for though many good-natured members were inclined to it in good earnest, yet their enemies were so active in altering and clipping the bill, that it looked almost as if the whole project would have come to naught. But the king himself forwarded the work, and to his praise be it said, he was the principal promoter of it : insomuch that in the beginning of the year 1696, it was enacted by the king and parliament, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form, as appears by the act, which was as followeth :

*An Act that the solemn Affirmation and Declaration of the people called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an Oath, in the usual form.*

‘Whereas divers dissenters, commonly called Quakers, refusing to take an oath in courts of justice, and other places, are frequently imprisoned, and their estates sequestered by process of contempt issuing out of such courts, to the ruin of themselves and families ; for remedy thereof, be it enacted by the king’s most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the fourth day of May, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-six, every Quaker within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, who shall be required upon any lawful occasion to take an oath in any case, where by law an oath is required, shall, instead of the usual form, be permitted to make his or her solemn affirmation or declaration, in these words following, viz.

‘I A. B. do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say.’

‘II. Which said solemn affirmation or declaration, shall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared to be of the same force and effect, to all intents and purposes in all courts of justice, and other places, where by law an oath is required, within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, as if such Quaker had taken an oath in the usual form.

‘III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any Quaker, making such solemn affirmation or declaration, shall be lawfully convicted, wilfully, falsely, and corruptly, to have affirmed or declared any matter or thing, which if the same had been in the usual form, would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, every such Quaker so

offending shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures as by the laws and statutes of this realm are enacted against persons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury.

‘IV. And whereas by reason of a pretended scruple of conscience, Quakers do refuse to pay tithes and church rates, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that where any Quaker shall refuse to pay, or compound for his great or small tithes, or to pay any church rates, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the next two justices of the peace of the same county, other than such justice of the peace as is patron of the church or chapel, where the said tithes do or shall arise, or any ways interested in the said tithes, upon the complaint of any parson, vicar, farmer, or proprietor of tithes, church-warden or church-wardens, who ought to have, receive, or collect the same, by warrant under their hands and seals, to convene before them such Quaker or Quakers neglecting or refusing to pay or compound for the same, and to examine upon oath, which oath the said justices are hereby empowered to administer, or in such manner as by this act is provided, the truth and justice of the said complaint, and to ascertain and state what is due and payable by such Quaker or Quakers to the party or parties complaining, and by order under their hands and seals to direct and appoint the payment thereof, so as the sum ordered as aforesaid, do not exceed ten pounds; and upon refusal by such Quaker or Quakers to pay according to such order, it shall and may be lawful to and for any one of the said justices by warrant under his hand and seal, to levy the money thereby ordered to be paid, by distress and sale of goods of such offender, his executors or administrators, rendering only the overplus to him, her, or them, necessary charges of distraining being thereout first deducted and allowed by the said justice: and any person finding him, her, or themselves aggrieved by any judgment given by two such justices of the peace, shall and may appeal to the next general quarter sessions to be held for the county, riding, city, liberty, or town corporate: and the justices of the peace there present, or the major part of them, shall proceed finally to hear and determine the matter, and to reverse the said judgment, if they shall see cause: and if the justices then present, or the major part of them, shall find cause to continue the judgment given by the first two justices of the peace, they shall then decree the same by order of sessions, and shall also proceed to give such costs against the appellant, to be levied by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the said appellant as to them shall seem just and reasonable: and no proceedings or judgment had or to be had by virtue of this act shall be removed or superseded by any writ of certiorari or other writ out of his majesty's courts at Westminster, or any other court whatsoever, unless the title of such tithes shall be in question.

‘V. Provided always, that in case any such appeal be made as aforesaid, no warrant of distress shall be granted until after such appeal be determined.

‘ VI. Provided, and be it enacted, that no Quaker, or reputed Quaker shall by virtue of this act be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal causes, or serve on any juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government ; any thing in this act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

‘ VII. Provided, that this act shall continue in force for the space of seven years, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, and no longer.’

Thus the Quakers became discharged and free from that grievous burden by which they had been oppressed so many years. This parliament made also an act for enforcing the laws which restrain marriages without licenses or bands ; and for the better registering marriages, births, and burials ; and for keeping a distinct register of all persons born ; for which no more was to be paid than sixpence.

Mention hath been made already that George Keith had at London got a place called Turner's-hall to preach in ; and as his auditory consisted chiefly of persons envious against the Quakers, so there were among these also many of the vulgar sort, who generally are fickle and unsteady, and often inclined to novelties : though Keith would as yet in some respect be looked upon as an adherent of the Quakers, he also had published some papers, wherein he endeavored to make it appear that they held several heterodox sentiments.

The books which he had published concerning this matter were so fully answered by the Quakers, that he being at a loss to make a reply to their answers, pretended that he was not in a condition to set the press at work, and bear the charges of the impression. But that this was a frivolous evasion was well known. Yet he, to do something, fell upon another project, and published an advertisement, that on the 11th of the month called June, he would defend his charge against the Quakers, and therefore he summoned some of them to appear there at that time, to answer for themselves. Beginning now to comply with the Episcopalians, he had, as he said afterwards, given notice of his intention to the lord mayor of London, who not having forbidden it, he grew the more bold. But the Quakers did not think it meet to appear there to enter into a dispute with him, the rather because the king at that time was beyond sea, and many of the vulgar were idle for want of work and trade, occasioned by the scarcity of money, which then was very great, by reason of the recoinage it, insomuch that it could not be foreseen whether some disaffected persons might not have got together and caused a dangerous disturbance. And therefore, they declined to appear there, and gave the following reasons of their refusal, which were read in the appointed meeting, and afterwards published in print :

‘ Whereas, G. Keith hath, after his wonted irregular and unruly manner,

challenged divers of us to defend ourselves against such charges as he has to exhibit against us at Turner's hall : these are to certify all whom it may concern, that the reasons why we decline any such meeting are as follow :

*First.* ' Because the said G. Keith hath given us such frequent proofs of his very passionate and abusive behavior, at the many more select meetings we have had with him, in all manner of sweetness, long-suffering and patience, on our side, to satisfy and preserve him from these extremes : that we cannot assure ourselves now of any better entertainment, or that the meeting can have any desirable success, for a thorough information.

*Secondly.* ' We decline to meet, because it is not an agreed meeting on both sides, which it ought to have been, and where that is not, or cannot be adjusted, the press is the next fair way and expedient, which he has begun with, and now seems to decline ; nor hath he sent us a copy of his charge or indictment against us, which also he ought to have done.

*Thirdly.* ' That he has two of our books which lie hard at his door, in vindication of us and our doctrines from his exceptions, and which he has not yet answered ; so that he is not upon equal terms with us ; and therefore we think his challenge, appointment, and summons, unfair ; and that all that are not partial will be of the same mind with us.

*Fourthly.* ' Such public and unlimited meetings are too often attended with heats, levity, and confusion, and answer not the end desired by sober and inquiring men. Besides, that it sets up a practice that authority may judge to be an abuse to our liberty, and so draw that under reflection, as no friend to the civil peace.

*Fifthly.* ' We know not what religion or persuasion this wavering man is of, or what church or people he adheres to, or will receive him, with his vain speculations, that have led him to desert us ; nor who are accountable to us for him and his irregularities and abuses ; the generality of such assemblies usually making ill auditors, worse judges, and no good security for our satisfaction. And we must therefore take leave to say, it seems to us an indirect way of disquieting and invading our present liberty, that so irreligious a meeting should be held, whose end is to abuse other men for their religion. If this should be imitated by all the several sorts of different persuasions in this city, what heats and confusions must necessarily ensue.

*Sixthly, and lastly.* ' Wherefore be it known unto all, that for the sake of religion, the liberty granted us, and the civil peace, we decline to meet

him ; and not from any apprehension we have of his abilities, or our own consciousness of error, or injustice to the said G. Keith ; whose weak and unbridled temper we know is such, that what learning and parts he hath, have not been able to balance and support him on less occasions, so that we may say they are in ill hands : and if he proceeds as he begins, they will be employed to an ill end, which his, poor man ! cannot but be, unless he change his course ; which we heartily pray for, that a place of repentance he may find ; and through a true contrition, the remission of his great sin of envy, and evilly entreating the Lord's people, and way, which we profess, and which he the said G. Keith, hath long and lately both professed, and zealously vindicated as such.'

These reasons the Quakers, as hath been said, published in print, to show the world, that it was not without a weighty cause, that they did not accept G. Keith's summons. Now though G. Whitehead and W. Penn, for the abovesaid reasons did not appear in Turner's hall, yet some of their friends were there as spectators, to see what would be the issue of the business. G. Keith seeing himself thus disappointed in his intention, took upon him for all that to defend his charge in the absence of his adversaries, which now he could do easily, since none contradicted him ; and he was applauded by the frequent shoutings of the mob that was there in great numbers. After the reasons of non-appearance were read, Keith signified that they were not satisfactory, by calling them slender, weak, and frivolous. 'What,' said he, 'may a malefactor make this excuse : You shall not call me before a justice without my consent ? If a man robs me, I may complain of him as a robber, and without his consent call him to account. But here is a strange thing : if injuring men may not be called to account without their consent, it will trespass against the law, and intrenches upon liberty of conscience.' This reason he published in print, in his narrative of that day's work : but who would formerly ever have thought, that such a little man as he was, would have been so big. It looked just as if the Quakers were obliged to appear as malefactors before the pretended judge Keith, accompanied with his assistants, the mob, and I do not know who. And to keep to G. Keith's comparison, though a malefactor may not say, you shall not call me before a justice without my consent, yet with some good reason he might say, you shall not make yourself a justice, as Keith now did. It is probable that he was supported by some great churchmen, otherwise such a bold action might easily have turned to his disadvantage.

My limits do not admit of a circumstantial relation of what was transacted at that time in Turner's hall ; yet to show briefly how he treated matters, I will produce one or two instances, by which my reader may know, *ut ex ungue leonem*,\* and so judge of the rest. He said he would charge the Quakers with nothing but what he could prove from

\* As of a lion by his claw.



their own writings, and he went on thus: 'I offer to prove that G. Whitehead hath denied Christ both to be God and man.' A strange thing indeed, since it was very well known that G. Whitehead had published a book of above twenty sheets, under this title, 'The Divinity of Christ, and Unity of the Three that bear record in Heaven, with the blessed end and effect of Christ's appearance, coming in the flesh, sufferings, and sacrifice for sinners, confessed and vindicated by his followers called Quakers.' This book G. Keith could not pretend ignorance of, for he picked somewhat out of it in his narrative: but to maintain his charge, he appealed to a book of G. Whitehead's, called, 'The Light and Life of Christ within.' This book G. Whitehead had written in answer to W. Burnet, a Baptist preacher, who writing of Christ, said, 'As he was God, he was Co-Creator with the Father, and so was before Abraham, and had Glory with God before the world was, and in this sense came down from heaven.' To which G. Whitehead answered, 'What nonsense and unscripture-like language is this, to tell of God being Co-Creator with the Father! Or that God had glory with God! Doth not this imply two gods, and that God had a father? Let the reader judge.' Certainly it appears from this plainly, that G. Whitehead did not intend any thing else, but to censure the unscriptural expressions of his antagonist, as Co-Creator, and implying two gods: for not only the apostle saith, "God is One," but Christ himself saith, "I and the Father are One." Yet G. Keith did not stick to say, 'G. Whitehead denieth the divinity of Christ, and he deceives the nation and the parliament by telling them the Quakers own Christ to be both God and man, and believe all that is recorded of him in the Holy Scripture.' This he strove to prove from a passage taken out of the afore-mentioned book, which in sense agreed with the former; and speaking in another page of the same matter, viz. The Baptists calling God the Word, Co-Creator with the Father, G. Whitehead answers thus to it: 'To tell of the Word God, Co-Creator with the Father, is all one as to tell of God being Co-Creator with God, if the Father be God; and this is to make two gods and two creators: for God Co-Creator with the Father plainly implies two.' Was this showing of others their absurd expressions, a denial that Christ was God, as Keith would have it? Might it not be asked here, whether the acute wit of Keith was now altogether flown away? But a great part of his auditory consisted of an ignorant crew, and one or other of them was continually heard to cry out, 'It is sufficient.'

Now to prove that G. Whitehead had denied Christ to be man, Keith cited from the forementioned book, called 'The Divinity of Christ,' &c., these words, 'If the body and soul of the Son of God were both created, doth not this render him a fourth person?' Here Keith stopped, and broke off with an &c. without adding the following words; 'For creation was in time, which contradicts the doctrine of three distinct, uncreated, co-eternal, co-essential persons in the Deity, seeing that which was created was not so.' This G. Whitehead asked and said, to show his

opponent, T. Danson, the absurdity of his assertions about the personalities of the Deity. But Keith went on, reading from G. Whitehead's book thus: 'Where doth the Scripture say that his soul was created? For was not he the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his divine substance? But supposing the soul of Christ was with the body created in time,' &c. Here Keith broke off again, omitting the following words: 'I ask, if from eternity he was a person distinct from God and his Holy Spirit, without either soul or body? Where doth the Scripture speak of any person without either soul or body? Let us have plain Scripture.'

Now though G. Whitehead had written this to show, how we often enter into inextricable straits, when we do not keep to the words of the Holy Scripture, which nowhere speaks of three persons in the Deity; yet Keith perverting the passage abusively, said to his auditory, 'Here ye see he will not own that Christ had a created soul.' At this rate, and after this manner, Keith reasoned, and treated the other passages. But how smartly would he have carped at others, if they had cited his words thus piecemeal.

But now he had a temporal reward in his view, and seeing for that end, he began more and more to declare himself in favor of the Episcopal church, somebody of that persuasion, who did not further make himself known than by these initial letters W. C., made it his business to show the changeableness of Keith's opinion and sentiments, from his own writings, which he had published in print, and thereby evidently proved, that in every respect Keith was turned an apostate, though he appeared much offended at the Quakers, because they had called him so. 'But,' said this author, 'if the Presbyterian principles, of which society Keith once was a member, were better than the Quakers', then is Mr. Keith an apostate, in revolting from, and deserting the Presbyterians, and turning his coat Quaker-fashion. But if the Quakers were more in the right than the Presbyterians, then *à contrâ*.'

Now he appeared to fawn on the Episcopal clergy, and esteemed lawful what formerly he had zealously oppugned. For he was in hopes that by opposing the Quakers he should be best rewarded among the Episcopalians; and this was not altogether without reason; for it being no more in their power now to persecute the Quakers in manner as formerly, they made use of other means as much as possibly they could, to render them and their doctrine odious; for which Keith seemed to them no unfit tool; for he being both of a witty and impetuous temper, was also crafty, subtil, cunning, and violent in his expressions. And to charge the Quakers with inorthodoxy, he himself launched out into a heterodox sentiment. For it was believed, that for maintaining this position, that the historical knowledge of Christ's sufferings, death, resurrection, &c., was absolutely necessary for salvation, he had no other ground than the twelve pretended transmigrations or transitions of man's soul from one body into another; and because the ignorant souls hence

seemed to get opportunity of being informed, before the end of the world, concerning the death and resurrection of our Savior. Who would have imagined before that this same G. Keith should have accused the Quakers of inorthodoxy in point of doctrine, which he had often so effectually defended; and among the rest, in a book against one Cotton Mather, wherein upon the charge of their being guilty of many heresies and blasphemies, he said after this manner: 'Our principles do mostly agree with the fundamental articles of the Christian Protestant faith. According to my best knowledge of the people called Quakers, and those owned by them as preachers and publishers of their belief, being of an unquestionable esteem among them, and worthy of double honor, as there are many such, I know none of them that are guilty of such heresies and blasphemies as they are charged with. And I think I should know, and do know those called Quakers, having been conversant with them in public meetings as well as in private discourses, with the most noted and esteemed among them, for about twenty-eight years past, and that in many places of the world, both in Europe and America.' Who would ever have thought then, that one who had conversed so many years with the Quakers, preached their doctrine, and defended it publicly both by writing and by word of mouth, should afterwards have decried them, as deniers of the most essential points of the Christian faith? But to what extravagancies may not temporal gain transport a man, the case of Balaam may serve for an evidence.

I have in all this relation of Keith's behavior, set down nothing but what I believe to be really true; neither have I endeavored to aggravate his failures; for I never bore him ill-will, but a good esteem when I believed him to be upright, because in that time I perceived in him some good abilities. And I yet wish from my very heart, that it may please God, in his unsearchable mercy, so to touch his heart, before the door of grace be shut, that seeing the greatness of his transgression, he may by true repentance, obtain forgiveness from the Lord, of his evil; which I take to be worse, because by his craftiness he endeavored to set false colors on things that were really good, thereby to insinuate himself into favor with the Episcopal party.\* And since some others suborned thereto did not omit also to render the Quakers odious, as such that held inorthodox sentiments, these did not neglect to show in print, how they were injured and wronged. For now the old tale, that there were popish emissaries among them, was revived and divulged anew. But it was no hard matter for them to show how ill-grounded this conceit was; and therefore they might say, 'We are so well known to our neighbors, that if this were true, our adversaries would be very active to find out and discover such emissaries, since the law against them is still in force.' Three Episcopal clergymen in Norfolk, had also drawn up a paper to the king and parliament, to blacken the Quakers from their own writings;

\* N. B.—This was written some years before I heard G. Keith was deceased.

but George Whitehead, William Penn, and others, were not backward to show how their words, or the true meaning thereof, were perverted; since at such a rate, even the salutary lessons of the Holy Scriptures might be exposed as wicked expressions.

Now the late king James intending an invasion upon England, and great preparations being made in France in order thereto, a plot was discovered in England against king William; this gave occasion to the house of commons to draw up a kind of declaration, which was called an association, to be signed by all their members, as follows:

‘Whereas, there has been a horrible and detestable conspiracy, formed and carried on by Papists, and other wicked and traitorous persons for assassinating his majesty’s royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, to subvert our religion, laws, and liberties, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify and declare, that his present majesty king William, is rightful and lawful king of these realms. And we do mutually promise and engage to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his majesty’s most sacred person and government, against the late king James, and all his adherents. And in case his majesty come to any violent and untimely death, which God forbid, we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies and their adherents, and in supporting and defending the succession of the crown, according to an act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled, ‘An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and settling the succession of the Crown.’

An association was also signed by the lords, and both presented to the king, and were followed by all the corporations in England. (See Life of king William, vol. III.) The dissenters also presented declarations to the king, that had some resemblance with the other. But the Quakers professing non-resistance, and an inoffensive behavior, could in no wise enter into such a league; yet to show that they were loyal and faithful to the king, they drew up the following declaration, and published it in print:

*The ancient testimony and principle of the people called Quakers renewed, with respect to the king and government, and touching the present association.*

‘We, the said people, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that it hath been our judgment and principle from the first day we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up, and putting down kings, and governments, is God’s peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that

it is not our work or business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busy-bodies in matters above our station ; much less to plot and contrive the ruin or overturn of, any of them ; but to pray for the king and for the safety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over us.

‘ And according to this our ancient and innocent principle, we often have given forth our testimony, and now do, against all plotting conspiracies, and contriving insurrections against the king or the government, and against all treacherous, barbarous and murderous designs whatsoever, as works of the devil and darkness : and we sincerely bless God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government, for the liberty and privileges we enjoy under them by law : esteeming it our duty to be true and faithful to them.

‘ And whereas, we the said people are required to sign the said association, we sincerely declare, that our refusing so to do, is not out of any disaffection to the king or government, nor in opposition to his being declared rightful and lawful king of these realms, but purely because we cannot for conscience-sake, fight, kill, or revenge, either for ourselves or any man else.

‘ And we believe that the timely discovery and prevention of the late barbarous design and mischievous plot against the king and government, and the sad effects it might have had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty God ; for which we, and the whole nation, have great cause to be humbly thankful to him, and to pray for the continuance of his mercies to them and us.

‘ From a meeting of the said people in London, the 23d of the First month, called March, 1694.’

In this year Roger Haydock died of a fever, at his house in Penketh, in Lancashire, about the age of fifty-three years. He had been in Holland the year before, in which time I had more than once opportunity to speak with him privately, and thereby discovered such Christian qualities in him, that were indeed excellent ; therefore the news of his decease did much affect me ; and because of his ministry, in which he was eminent, being more than ordinary full of matter in his preaching, his death was much lamented among those churches in England where he had labored most in the gospel. His wife Eleanor, in her testimony concerning him, said, ‘ My spirit hath been, and is bowed under a deep sense of my great loss and exercise, in the removal of my dear husband, whom it hath pleased God in his wisdom to take away from me, who was comfort to my life, and joy to my days in this world, being given me of God, in great mercy and loving kindness ; and so he hath been enjoyed by me in thankfulness of heart, to the close of that time God had appointed ; and now is taken from the world, with all its troubles and exercises, as also from all his labors and travels, which were great

amongst the churches of Christ, which with me have no small loss in his removal. But what shall I say: wise and good is the Lord, who doth what he will in heaven and in earth, and amongst his churches and his chosen. He can break and bind up, wound and heal, kill and make alive again, that the living may see his wonders, and magnify his power in all, through all, and over all, who is God eternal, blessed for ever. Amen.'

Then in her testimony she gives an account of his life, and how in her young years he had been to her a faithful instructor in godliness, and at length became her husband. After a description of his life, and his many travels in the ministry of the gospel, to edify and build up the churches, she saith also, that though his love to her was above all visibles, as the best of enjoyments he had in this world, yet she was not too dear to him to give up to serve the truth of God. 'I was made,' saith she, 'a blessing to him, more comfortable every day than other: he would often express it; and truly so was he to me every day, every way, and in every respect. No tongue nor pen can relate the full of that comfort and joy we had in God and one in another. Yet we find such hath been the pleasure of God concerning them he hath loved, to try them in the most near and dear enjoyments, that it might be manifest he was loved above all; that no gifts may be preferred above the giver; but that he may be all in all, who is, and is to come, God blessed for ever. And truly there hath been great care and watchfulness one over another, and over our own spirits, to see that our love, though great, was bounded and kept within its compass, the truth being its original, the Alpha and Omega also. Although it hath been the pleasure of God to try me, in the removal of so great a blessing from me, sure it is, that I may be the more inward to him, and have his love always in my remembrance, who gives and takes away, and in all bless his name. My soul travails that I may always follow his footsteps of self-denial in all things, that I may finish my course in this world to the glory of God, as he did, and have my part in that mansion of glory with him eternal in the heavens; though it may be my lot to stay for a time in this world of troubles, yet I have hope in immortality and eternal blessedness, when time in this world shall be no more.' Thus she wrote: but to shun prolixity, I break off. She then giving some further account of his life and ministry, mentions, that being gone from home, she was not present at his death; but that they having taken leave of each other before, had parted in great love, with mutual breathings to God, for one another's welfare; and she concludes with these words: 'Though I saw not his going away, yet I have seen in what he went, that it was full of zeal and fervency in the love of God, and life of righteousness. So in pure submission to the will of God, I conclude this short but true relation of my worthy dear husband, whose name and memory is blessed, and will live, and be of a sweet savor in the hearts of the righteous through ages.' With such a

testimony, it was, that Eleanor transmitted the memorial of her beloved consort to posterity.

Meeting in this year with no more remarkable occurrences, I pass over to that of 1697, in which a treaty of peace was concluded between England, France and Holland, and though many thought it would be lasting, yet among the popish clergy there were those that had another opinion of it; of which this artificial distich, sent over by a clergyman from Ghent in Flanders to Holland, so that it fell first into my hands, was an evidence:

*Prospicimus modò quod durabunt Fœdera longo  
Tempore, nec nobis pax citò difugiet:*

which may be turned into English thus, 'We foresee now that the confederacy shall last a long time, and that peace will not quickly fly away from us.' But if one reads this distich, backward, it runs thus:

*Difugiet citò pax nobis, nec tempore longo  
Fœdera durabunt, quod modò prospicimus:*

and it makes out a quite contrary sense, viz. 'Peace will soon fly from us, and the covenant shall not last long; which we foresee already.'

'This peace being concluded, the inhabitants of England vied with one another to congratulate their king on that account, who was now acknowledged as king of Great Britain, by the French king Louis XIV. And since the magistrates of cities, the heads and fellows of the universities, and people of all societies and persuasions addressed the king, the Quakers were not wanting in this respect, and therefore drew up also an address, which they presented to the king, and was as followeth:

**'TO KING WILLIAM III, OVER ENGLAND, &c.**

*The grateful acknowledgment of the people commonly called Quakers,  
humbly presented:*

'May it please the King,

'Seeing the most high God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over them whomsoever he will, hath, by his over-ruling power and providence, placed thee in dominion and dignity over these realms; and by his divine favor hath signally preserved and delivered thee from many great and eminent dangers, and graciously turned the calamity of war into the desired mercy of peace; we heartily wish that we and all others concerned may be truly sensible and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the same, that the peace may be a lasting and perpetual blessing.

'And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in safety, it is cause of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and seasonable resolution effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality; righteousness being that which exalteth a nation: and as the king has been tenderly inclined to give ease and liberty of conscience to his subjects of different persuasions, (of whose favors we have largely partaken,) so we esteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the same: earnestly beseeching Almighty God to assist the king to prosecute all these his just and good inclinations, that his days here may be happy and peaceable, and hereafter he may partake of a lasting crown that will never fade away.'

London, the 7th of the Eleventh month,  
called January, 1697.

This address being signed, and presented to the king by George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, Daniel Quare, John Vaughton, John Edge, and Gilbert Latey, was favorably received and accepted by that prince; who gave signal proofs that he bore no ill will to any for difference of opinion in religion, if they were honest people; of which this may serve for an evidence, that both his watchmaker, and the nurse of the young duke of Gloucester, were of the Quakers' persuasion.

I think it was about the beginning of the year 1698, that a bill was brought into parliament, for restraining the licentiousness of the press. Those called Quakers, perceiving that this might be pernicious, drew up the following remarks, which they delivered to the members of parliament:

*Some considerations humbly offered by the people called Quakers, relating to the bill for restraining the licentiousness of the press.*

'This bill is, they conceive, of the like nature with the expired act, 13 and 14 Car. II. ch. 33, and many inconveniences did attend the subjects by it whilst in force, by which the said people were sufferers.

'To prevent the printing and publishing of seditious or treasonable books against the government, and scandalous pamphlets tending to vice and immorality, is the wisdom of all good governments, and must be the desire of all good men.

'But to limit religious books to a license, where the tolerated persuasions are many, they conceive, seems altogether unsafe to all, but that whose opinion the licenser is of, who by this bill hath power to allow what he shall judge sound and orthodox, or reject what he shall construe to be either heretical, seditious, or offensive.

'History and experience have taught how the obscure term of heresy hath been turned and stretched against primitive Christian martyrs, and famous reformers: nor is it forgotten for what reason the writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* was abolished.



‘It is no strange thing to have learned men of the same church interfere in their opinions concerning several texts of holy scripture; and it is uncertain when their opinions come to the licenser, whether the world shall have the best or no.

‘The different apprehensions men have of divers parts of Scripture, give birth to different persuasions, who yet all make the Scripture the test thereof; which by the kindness of the government being tolerated, they conceive they ought to be left free to defend them from the misrepresentations, prejudice, or mistakes of others, without being subjected to the censure of a licenser of a different persuasion.

‘They therefore humbly hope that nothing may be enacted that will lessen the toleration, which they thankfully enjoy under the favor of this, as well as the late government.’

These considerations, with what others were offered, were of such effect, that the bill dropped.

About this time the writings of Antonia Bourignon were not only translated into English, but also published in print at London. This displeased many of the clergy, and an author was employed to write against them, but chiefly against the Quakers. He called his book, ‘The Snake in the Grass;’ but his own name he concealed; though it was discovered afterwards that he was a suppressed parson, one Leslie, who had refused the oath of allegiance to king William. This man, to render the Quakers odious, had picked up and collected many things from their writings; but he had so mutilated their expressions, by omitting several words that went before, or followed, and by skipping over some in the midst of the period, that they made out quite another sense than the authors had given. To this he added relations of several things that happened, as he said, among the Quakers. Whereas, some of these were fictitious, and mere untruths; he also raked up things that never had been approved by the Quakers, as the case of James Naylor described here before in its due place; notwithstanding the said James Naylor had publicly given eminent tokens of true repentance.

Among the author’s untruths, this was one, that the Quakers in their schools did not suffer the children to read the Holy Scriptures. The falseness of which was made to appear very evidently by a certificate of the French usher of one of their schools at Wandsworth, near London, who himself was no Quaker; as also by the testimonies of some of the neighbors that were people of note; and declared that the Bible was daily read by the scholars in the said school, beginning with Genesis, and going on to the end of the Revelations: and then from Genesis again. The false citations of the aforesaid author, were also clearly set forth: for if any would be so malicious, it might by his method be insinuated from Psal. xiv. 1; and Psal. liii. 1, that in the Holy Scriptures was said, ‘There is no God;’ because these words are indeed found there. But who would be so desperate as to draw such a conclusion

thence, unless he were an atheist, who openly made a mock of what is sacred. The answerers of this poisonous book, 'the Snake in the Grass,' were George Whitehead and Joseph Wyeth; this being a work which required more toil and labor than art, to review all those manifold citations from many authors, and to show the unfairness and disingenuity of the Snake. Now since many were very ready to take for true the falsities in that book, and also in the pamphlets of the apostate Francis Bugg, who was gone over to the church of England, at the request of John Crook, who was still alive, though above eighty years of age, a book of his was reprinted, first published in the year 1663, and so five and thirty years before, the title of which was, 'Truth's Principles concerning the Man Christ, his Suffering, Death, Resurrection, Faith in his Blood, the Imputation of his Righteousness,' &c. By this it appeared that the sentiments of the Quakers concerning these points were not only orthodox now, but that they had been so in those early days.

Having thus again made mention of John Crook, of whom I have spoken several times in this history, I proceed now to mention somewhat concerning his decease, since he departed this life in the year 1699. He left behind in writing an exhortation or advice to his children and grand-children, written scarce two months before his death, and of this tenor:

*'Dear Children,*

'I must leave you in a wicked age, but commend you to the measure of the grace of God in your inward parts, which you have received by Jesus Christ; and as you love it, and mind the teachings of it, you will find it a counsellor to instruct you in the way everlasting, and preserve you out of the ways of the ungodly.

'I have seen much in my days, and I always observed that the fear of the Lord God proved the best portion: and those that walked in it were the only happy people, both in this life, while they continued faithful, and when they come to die, though they meet with many hardships in their passage. By experience I can speak it, that the ways of holiness afford more true comfort and peace to the upright soul than the greatest pleasures this world can afford; the former reaches the heart and soul, while the delights of this world are but a show, and appearance only, vanishing like a dream; and whoever believes otherwise of them, will certainly find them to be but lying vanities; therefore the apostle, Rom. vi. 21, might boldly put the question to the converted Romans, viz. "What fruit had you then in those things whereof you are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death."

'Therefore, dear children, be in love with holiness; make it your companion, and those that walk in it; you may find buddings of it from a holy seed in your hearts; as you mind the inner man, the light will

manifest the stirrings of it after God, which I felt from my tender years ; although I understood them not so plainly till I heard the truth declared.

‘ I advise you to keep a pure conscience, both towards God and man : for if that be defiled, hypocrisy and formality will deprive you of all comfortable feeling of God’s presence ; and then deadness and dryness will be your miserable portion.

‘ Be careful how you spend your precious time, for an account must be given of every idle word, though but few regard it ; but foolish jesting and vain talking are said to grieve the spirit of God ; read Eph. iv. 29, 30. But improve your time in prayer and religious exercises, &c. and be diligent in your lawful callings ; for, “ The desire of the slothful man killeth him.” Prov. xxi. 25.

‘ Be careful what company you frequent ; for a man is commonly known by the company he keeps, as much as by any one outward thing : and of your behavior in company ; for I have found that a wise and sober deportment, adds much to a man’s reputation and credit in the world.

‘ Watch to the light, and its discoveries of good and evil, that you may not be ignorant of Satan’s devices : so the net will be spread in vain in the sight of the bird, for watchfulness will make you in love with a retired estate ; and the more truly and perfectly any man knows and understands himself, the better discerning will such have of other men : as in the beginning, when deep silence of all flesh was more in use, the spirit of discerning was more common and quicker, than since it hath been neglected ; therefore be sure you spend some time, at convenient seasons, in waiting upon God in silence, though it be displeasing to flesh ; for I have had more comfort and confirmation in the truth, in my inward retiring in silence, than from all words I have heard from others, though I have often been refreshed by them also.

‘ Love the Holy Scriptures, preferring them to all other books whatsoever ; and be careful to read them with a holy awe upon your spirits, lest your imaginations put constructions upon them to your hurt ; but exercise faith in the promise of Christ, who hath said, “ My spirit shall take of mine, and show them unto you.”

‘ Keep constantly to religious meetings amongst Friends ; but look to your affections, that you respect not persons, but the power and life of truth from whomsoever it comes ; not minding the tickling of your affections, but the demonstration of the truth to your understandings and consciences ; for that will abide, when flashes of affections will fade and come to nothing, after the words are ended.

‘ Love one another truly, manifesting your love by good counsel and being helpful to each other upon all occasions ; being good examples to all you converse with, especially to your children, and those of your own families ; that pride and vanity may not be countenanced by you, but rather reprov’d ; remembering while they are under your government, you must give an account of the discharge of your duty to God towards them.

‘Lastly, Be always mindful of your latter end, and live as you would die, not knowing how soon your days may be finished in this world ; and while you do live in it despise not the chastenings of the Lord, whatever they be ; he is pleased to visit you withal. I have been afflicted from my youth up, both inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom I served provided for me, when all my outward relations forsook me, none of them giving me any portion to begin the world withal. This I speak, to let you know, I shall leave more outwardly, even to the least of you than was left me by all my relations, &c. I need not mention this sharp affliction, beyond expression, in my old age, because, in some measure, you know it ; but I could not have been without it, as the Lord hath shown me, or I have seen his wonders in the deeps ; therefore I say again, despise not afflictions, but embrace them as messengers of peace to your souls, though displeasing to the flesh.

‘These things I commend unto you, out of true love to your souls, knowing how the vain mind of man little regards such advice as this I leave behind me ; but by this advice I show my true love to you all, desiring God’s blessing upon it ; to whom I commit you all, my dear children, and end my days

Your loving father and grandfather,

JOHN CROOK.’

Hertford, the first of the First month, 1698-99.

The sharp affliction he speaks of in this writing was more than one distemper ; for the stone, gout, and cholic, attacked him sometimes sorely ; and though this had been for a long time, yet he always behaved himself patiently, though his pain was sometimes so violent, that he was often heard to say, that did he not feel and witness inward power from the Lord, he could not subsist under his great pains. That of the stone was the greatest, which continued with him to his end ; and yet he was not heard to utter any unsavory word, or to cry out impatiently ; but when the extremity of his fits was over, then he expressed his inward joy and peace, and so praised the Lord. He had an excellent gift in opening the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures, so that he was like Apollos, of whom we find upon record, that he was an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures. And by his zealous and effectual preaching, when he was in his strength of life, many were convinced of the truth. In his latter days, he said sometimes that the furnace of affliction was of good use to purge away the dross and earthly part in us. And under the sorrow and grief he had concerning some of his offspring, he would sometimes comfort himself with the words of David, “Although my house be not so with God, yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure.” In his old age he was many times heard to say, ‘Many of the ancients are gone to their long home, and we are making haste after them : they step away before me, and I, that would go, cannot. Well, it will be my turn soon also.’ And then he seemed to rejoice in

the consideration, that the time of his dissolution, to be freed from his sore distempers, approached apace. Yet in the latter part of his life he often appeared so strong in the spiritual warfare, that some judged that in some respect he might have said with Caleb, "As yet I am as strong this day, as I was in the day that Moses sent me; as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out, and to come in." About three weeks before his death, though he was weak in body, yet he said powerfully, and after a prophetic manner, 'Truth must prosper, truth shall prosper, but a trying time must first come, and afterwards the glory of the Lord shall more and more appear.' He continued in a sedate and truly Christian frame of mind to the last period of his life, and departed the 26th of the month called April, in the eighty-second year of his age, in his house at Hertford, where he had lived many years. I knew him in England, and he hath also been in Holland, so that I do not speak of one that was unknown to me.

George Keith, by vilifying the doctrine of the Quakers, was now so much in favor with the Episcopal clergy, that he began to serve them as a vicar; having been ordained by the bishop of London about the year 1700. And since this seemed strange and wonderful to many, somebody, of what persuasion I do not know, made a collection of his sentiments concerning a national church, and its clergy, and what account he gave of their rites and ceremonies, from books and papers he had published many years before; to which the author gave this title, 'Mr. George Keith's Account of a National Church and Clergy, humbly presented to the bishop of London.' To this were added some queries he once wrote concerning what is called the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This account was now published in print, and presented to the bishop of London, ending with these words of the apostle, "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor."

In the next year, viz. 1701, the late king James died in France. I mentioned before how that unhappy prince, after having ascended the throne, fell suddenly by his hasty conduct, and ardent desire to introduce popery in England, and all his endeavors to regain his lost kingdoms proved ineffectual. In September, being at mass, he was seized with a qualm, and the distemper increasing, within a day or two he vomited blood, and all remedies made use of were unprofitable. If what was written about that time from Paris be true, he declared that he forgave all men what they had done amiss to him: and on the 16th of the said month he died at St. Germain's, in France, where he kept his court.

King William was returned from Holland, where he had been, because of new troubles drawing on from France. And since the succession of the crown of England was now settled in the Protestant line, and for want of nearer Protestant heirs, than to the house of Hanover, the king was congratulated on that account with many addresses from his subjects: and therefore those called Quakers thought it also their duty to address

him, against whose life a horrible plot was discovered, with a thankful acknowledgment of his favors. This they did as followeth, it being presented to the king in December, by George Whitehead, Wm. Mead, and Francis Camfield.

TO KING WILLIAM III., OVER ENGLAND, &c.

*An Address from the People commonly called Quakers humbly presented :*

‘ May it please the King, -

‘ We, thy dutiful subjects, sincerely express our joy for thy safe return to thy people ; having great cause to love, honor, and pray for thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath promoted and principled for the good ends of government, under whose reign we enjoy great mercies and favors ; and particularly that of liberty to tender consciences in religious worship, as a proper expedient to unite thy Protestant subjects in interest and affection.

‘ For which great mercy we cannot but be humbly thankful to God ; and renew our grateful acknowledgment to the king, whom God by his almighty power hath eminently preserved, and made exemplary in prudence, as well as goodness, to other kings and princes, whereby thy memorial will be renowned to posterity.

‘ We are also engaged to bless the Lord for that he hath manifestly frustrated the mischievous and treacherous designs of thine and the nation’s adversaries, both against the lawful establishment of thy throne, and the true interest of thy Protestant subjects.

‘ And we beseech Almighty God to bless the good designs and just undertakings of the king, and his great council, for the good of his people, and for obtaining to Europe a firm and lasting peace ; and continue thee, O king, a blessing to these nations, establish thy throne in mercy and truth, give to thee a long and prosperous reign over us, and hereafter a glorious immortality, is, and shall be the fervent prayer of us, thy true and faithful subjects.

‘ Signed in behalf and by appointment of the aforesaid people, at a meeting in London, the Eighth month, 1701.’

This address being read to the king, was favorably received, and he thanked those that presented it. George Whitehead and the others saying what they thought material to the case, the king returned, ‘ I have protected you, and shall protect you : ’ and repairing with the address to his closet, he read it over again, as was understood afterwards, and spoke in its commendation. But he keeping the paper some days by him, without giving it to be made public by the Gazetteer, some French news-writers at London forged a very ridiculous address, and sent it beyond sea ; and the French Gazetteers in Holland were very ready to

divulge in their prints such fictitious stuff, though the expressions therein were so exceeding blunt and unmannerly, that they could not be spoken to a king, but by such who were impudent enough publicly to make a mock of crowned heads, which the Quakers never have been guilty of. After a few days the king gave the address to be made public ; and then every body could see how shamefully the French news-mongers had exposed their malice.

This year being come to an end, that of 1702 followed, and also the end of king William's life.

The French king, upon the death of the king of Spain, had not only placed his grandson, the duke of Anjou, on the throne of that kingdom, but had also acknowledged the pretended prince of Wales as king of England ; by which, in a manner, he attained king William's crown ; who thereupon took occasion to make alliances for his security, with other princes and potentates. Of this he gave notice to the parliament that was then sitting, who promised to assist him to the utmost of their power, and to maintain the succession of the crown in the Protestant line. And an abjuration was also drawn up, wherein it was declared that the aforesaid pretended prince, who now suffered himself to be called James the Third, king of England, &c., had no right or claim to the crown of that kingdom, or any dominions appertaining thereto. Now though all this was intended for maintaining and assisting the rightful king William, yet he lived not to see the effect of it ; for his time was near expired, and his glass run, as soon appeared.

About the beginning of the month called March, he went a hunting, and riding a horse he never rode on before, the horse fell, and the king, at the same time, broke his collar-bone : the fracture was soon set, and all seemed like to do well ; but the king having endured many fatigues and hardships, had been weak in body some time before ; insomuch that this sore fall seemed to occasion his sickness, which soon followed, and put a period to his life. But before his departure, he did yet one good work more for the Quakers ; for the term of seven years, granted for their affirmation to be accepted instead of an oath, was near expiring ; and therefore they solicited the king and parliament that this act might be continued, and confirmed by a new one, which was obtained ; for the king always showed himself willing to favor them as his peaceable subjects ; and in parliament many eminent members were well affected towards them. Thereupon this renewed act, containing a prolongation of the said grant for the space of eleven years, passed at length, after mature consideration, the king having named commissioners, who on the third of March, gave the royal assent to it in the house of lords, because, by reason of his illness, he could not appear himself on the throne. He also sent a message to the parliament, recommending the uniting of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland into one, commissioners being already appointed in Scotland, to treat with the English concerning that affair ; but time showed that he was not to bring that work to an

end, since the accomplishing thereof was reserved for his successor, though some hopes appeared of his recovery ; for he had been walking a little in his garden to take the air, and sitting down afterwards, he caught cold, which was followed by a fever ; and his sickness so increased, that on the next First-day of the week, being the eighth of the month called March, he died at Kensington, to the great grief of all his faithful subjects ; nay, such was the sorrow on the death of that excellent prince, that the news of it being come to Holland, it caused a general dejection, and drew tears from many eyes ; for perhaps no king in these late ages hath been more beloved than he was. The day before his demise, he had by commissioners given the royal assent to the bill of abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales ; and the following night, feeling death approaching, he sent for the princess Anne, sister of his deceased consort, queen Mary ; and having kept her sometime with him, after tender embracing, he wished her the last farewell. Then he sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and his understanding continuing good to the last, with evident tokens of piety, and a resignation to the will of his Creator, in the morning about eight of the clock, he gave up the ghost to him from whom he had received it, being entered into the fifty-second year of his age, and having reigned as king above thirteen years.

In the afternoon the princess Anne was proclaimed queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. and the parliament promised to assist her, in maintaining those alliances that were already made, or should yet be made, with foreign powers. This the queen accepted with much satisfaction, and confirmed the ministers and high officers in their respective stations. She also wrote to the States-General of the United Netherlands, that she would keep to the alliances made with the States by the deceased king, her brother.

The body of the king, which was lean, and much emaciated, was opened after his death, and many of the inward parts appeared sound, especially the brain ; yet in general little blood was found in the body ; but in the lungs, which adhered much to the pleura, was more than in all the other parts ; his heart was firm and strong ; but some inflammation, on the left side of the lungs, was thought to have been the immediate cause of the king's death, for he had long been asthmatical.

He was of a middle stature ; his face lean and oblong ; his eyes were exceeding good, quick, and piercing ; his hands very fine and white ; he did not talk much, but was solid in thought ; of a strong memory, quick of apprehension, of a composed mind, and not given to voluptuousness, but grave in his deportment ; he often gave evidence of a devout attention at the hearing of the name of God ; and even in the midst of dangers, put great trust in divine Providence. Thus he was valiant and undaunted without temerity ; for where he judged his presence to be necessary, he repaired thither without fear. He was a great lover of hunting, that being his most pleasant diversion, which made him the



more fit to endure the fatigues of war. He was easy of access, and gave a favorable hearing to every body, and those that spoke to him he treated discreetly ; and such was his devotion, that he often retired privately, when some thought he was about other business. Many had conceived hopes that this great prince, in that critical juncture, would have lived yet somewhat longer : but his work was done ; and God hath since that time shown very eminently, that he is not limited to any instruments ; and the queen who succeeded on the throne, gave afterwards signal proofs of it to the world. His corpse was interred the 12th of the month called April, about midnight, in the chapel of king Henry the VIIth, in Westminster Abbey.

It was by the favor of this king, a Hollander by birth, that the Quakers, so called, were tolerated as a free people ; so that now they saw fulfilled the truth of what some of their deceased friends had prophetically foretold, viz. That it should not be in the power of their enemies to root them out, but that God, in his own time, should work their deliverance.

Thus we have now seen from what weak beginnings they had their rise, and how they increased and became a great people against all opposition, of which at first there seemed little probability ; as in the beginning of this history may be seen : and to look a little back, it may appear also, by a testimony of George Fox, published after his death, in the collection of his epistles, viz.

‘ When the Lord first sent me forth in the year 1643, I was sent as an innocent lamb, and young in years, amongst men in the nature of wolves, dogs, bears, lions, and tigers, into the world, which the devil had made like a wilderness, no right way then found out of it. And I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, which Christ, the second Adam, did enlighten them withal ; that so they might see Christ, their way to God, with the Spirit of God, which he doth pour upon all flesh, that with it they might have an understanding, to know the things of God, and to know him, and his Son Jesus Christ, which is eternal life ; and so might worship and serve the living God, their Maker and Creator, who takes care for all, who is Lord of all ; and with the light and Spirit of God they might know the Scriptures, which were given forth from the Spirit of God in the saints, and holy men and women of God.

‘ And when many began to be turned to the light, which is the life in Christ, and the Spirit of God, which gave them an understanding, and had found the path of the just, the shining light ; then did the wolves, dogs, dragons, bears, lions, tigers, wild beasts, and birds of prey, make a roaring, and a screeching noise against the lambs, sheep, doves, and children of Christ, and were ready to devour them and me, and to tear us to pieces. But the Lord’s arm and power did preserve me, though many times I was in danger of my life, and very often cast into dungeons and prisons, and hauled before magistrates. But all things did work

together for good : and the more I was cast into outward prisons, the more people came out of their spiritual and inward prison through the preaching of the gospel. But the priests and professors were in such a great rage, and made the rude and profane people in such fury, that I could hardly walk in the streets, or go in the highways, but they were ready oft-times to do me a mischief. But Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in the earth, did so restrain and limit them with his power, that my life was preserved ; though many times I was near killed.

‘ Oh, the burdens and travails that I went under ! Often my life pressed down under the spirits of professors and teachers without life, and the profane ! And besides, the troubles afterwards with backsliders, apostates, and false brethren, which were like so many Judases in betraying the truth, and God’s faithful and chosen seed, and causing the way of truth to be evil spoken of ! but the Lord blasted, wasted, and confounded them, so that none did stand long ; for the Lord did either destroy them, or bring them to naught, and his truth did flourish, and his people in it, to the praise of God, who is the revenger of his chosen.

G. F.’

G. Fox then, having in England been the first of the Quakers that preached and proclaimed Christ the light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world, had in a short time, as we have seen in this history, notwithstanding all opposition, many adherents, whereby several others also began to publish that doctrine. And many of these first preachers were like sons of thunder ; for they testifying of the light of Christ shining in the consciences of men, proclaimed, that the day of the Lord was dawned and should yet further break forth, to the destroying of the former buildings of human inventions and institutions ; though not of that which had formerly been felt and enjoyed by true experience of the operations of the Spirit of God in people’s hearts. By their powerful way of preaching repentance, many were awakened out of the sleep of careless security, and came to see that their covering was too short, and that they were not covered with the true wedding garment : and many that had been of a rude life, came to be so touched to the heart by these zealous preachers, that crying out what shall we do to be saved ? they were brought to repentance and conversion ; and so from wild and rough, came to be sedate and sober. And as in the beginning many of these first preachers did run on like a mighty stream, and seemed fit to thresh and grind mountains and stones, and to hew down tall cedars, and wash away all opposition ; so there were others also, who as sons of consolation, proclaimed glad tidings to the hungry and thirsty souls, many of which were in England about that time, insomuch that some said, Now the everlasting gospel is preached again. And it was indeed remarkable, that though these promulgators of the doctrine of the inward light shining in the hearts of men, were mean and illiterate, yet many people of note, not only such as were in

magistracy, but also many preachers of several persuasions, were so touched at the heart by their lively preaching, that they not only received their doctrine, but came themselves in process of time, to be zealous publishers thereof, and thus a great crop was gathered ; nay sometimes even men of great skill and sharp wit, were deeply struck by plain and homely preaching ; of whom,

Isaac Pennington, mentioned more than once in this history, was a signal instance, as may appear from a relation concerning himself, written with his own hand, and found among his papers after his death, wherein he speaks as followeth :

‘ I have been a man of sorrow and affliction from my childhood, feeling the want of the Lord, and mourning after him ; separated by him from the love, nature and spirit of this world, and turned in spirit towards him, almost ever since I could remember.

‘ In this sense of my low estate, I sought after the Lord ; I read Scriptures ; I watched over mine own heart ; I cried unto the Lord for what I felt the want of ; I blessed his name in what he mercifully did for me, and bestowed on me, &c. Whatever I read in the Scriptures, as the way of God to my understanding, I gave myself to the faithful practice of ; being contented to meet with all the reproach, opposition, and several kinds of sufferings, which it pleased the Lord to measure out to me therein ; and I cannot but say, that the Lord was good unto me, did visit me, did teach me, did help me, did testify his acceptance of me many times, to the refreshing and joy of my heart before him.

‘ But my soul was not satisfied with what I met with, nor indeed could be, there being further quickenings and pressings in my spirit, after a more full, certain and satisfactory knowledge ; even after the sense, sight and enjoyment of God, as was testified in the Scriptures to have been felt and enjoyed in the former times ; for I saw plainly, that there was a stop of the streams, and a great falling short of the power, life and glory, which they partook of. We had not so the spirit, nor were so in the faith, nor did so walk and live in God, as they did. They were come to Mount Zion and the heavenly Jerusalem, &c., which we had hardly so much as the literal knowledge or apprehension what they were. So that I saw the whole course of religion among us, was, for the most part, but a talk, to what they felt, enjoyed, possessed and lived in.

‘ This sense made me sick at heart indeed, and set me upon deep crying to God, close searching the Scriptures, and waiting on God, that I might receive the pure sense and understanding of them, from and in the light, and by the help of his Spirit. And what the Lord did bestow on me in that state, with thankfulness I remember before him at this very day ; for he was then my God, and a pitier and a watcher over me ; though he had not pleased then to direct me, how to stay my mind upon him and abide with him. And then I was led, (indeed I was led, I did not run of myself,) into a way of separation from the worship of the

world, into a gathered society ; for this both the Scripture and the Spirit of God in me gave testimony unto ; and what we then met with, and what leadings and help we then felt, there is a remembrance and testimony in my heart to this day. But there was somewhat wanting, and we mistook our way, for whereas we should have pressed forward into the spirit and power, we ran too much outward into letter and form ; and though the Lord in many things helped us, yet therein he was against us, and brought darkness, confusion and scattering upon us. I was sorely broken and darkened, and in this darkened state, sometimes lay still for a long season, secretly mourning and crying out to the Lord night and day ; sometimes I ran about, hearkening after what might appear or break forth in others, but never met with any thing, whereto there was the least answer in my heart, save in one people, who had a touch of truth ; but I never expressed so much to any of them, nor indeed felt them at all able to reach my condition.

‘ At last, after all my distresses, wanderings, and sore travails, I met with some writings of this people called Quakers, which I cast a slight eye upon and disdained, as falling very short of that wisdom, light, life and power, which I had been longing for and searching after ; I had likewise, some pretty distance of time after this, opportunity of meeting with some of them, and divers of them were by the Lord moved, (I know it to be so since,) to come to me : as I remember at the very first they reached to the life of God in me ; which life answered their voice, and caused a great love in me to spring to them ; but still in my reasonings with them, and disputes alone, in my mind, concerning them, I was very far off from owning them, as so knowing the Lord, or so appearing in his life and power as my condition needed, and as my soul waited for. Yea, the more I conversed with them, the more I seemed in my understanding and reason to get over them, and to trample them under my feet, as a poor, weak, silly, contemptible generation ; who had some smatterings of truth in them, and some honest desires towards God, but very far off from the clear and full understanding of his way and will. And this was the effect almost of every discourse with them, they still reached my heart, and I felt them in the secrets of my soul, which caused the love in me always to continue, yea sometimes to increase towards them ; but daily my understanding got more and more over them, and therein I daily more and more despised them.

‘ After a long time I was invited to hear one of them, (as I had been often, they in tender love pitying me, and feeling my want of that which they possessed,) and there was an answer in my heart, and I went in fear and trembling, with desires to the Most High, who was over all, and knew all, that I might not receive any thing for truth, which was not of him, nor withstand any thing which was of him, but might bow before the appearance of the Lord my God, and none other : and indeed, when I came, I felt the presence and power of the Most High among them : and words of truth, from the spirit of truth, reaching to my heart and

conscience, opening my state as in the presence of the Lord. Yea, I did not only feel words and demonstrations from without, but I felt the dead quickened, the seed raised, insomuch as my heart, in the certainty of light and clearness of true sense, said, 'This is he, this is he, there is no other; this is he whom I have waited for and sought after from my childhood, who was always near me, and had often begotten life in my heart, but I knew him not distinctly, nor how to receive him, or dwell with him.' And then in this sense in the melting and breakings of my spirit, was I given up to the Lord, to become his, both in waiting for the further revealings of his seed in me, and to serve him in the life and power of his seed.

'Now what I met with after this, in my travails, in my waitings, in my spiritual exercises, is not to be uttered; only in general I may say this, I met with the very strength of hell. The cruel oppressor roared upon me, and made me feel the bitterness of his captivity, while he had any power; yea, the Lord was far from my help, and from the voice of my roaring. I also met with deep subtilties and devices to entangle me in that wisdom, which seemeth able to make wise in the things of God; but indeed is foolishness and a snare to the soul, bringing it back into captivity, where the enemy's gins prevail. And what I met with outwardly from my own dear father, from my kindred, from my servants, from the people and powers of the world, for no other cause but fearing my God, worshipping him as he hath required of me, and bowing to his seed, which is his Son, who is to be worshipped by men and angels for evermore, the Lord my God knoweth, before whom my heart and ways are, who preserved me in love to them, in the midst of all I suffered from them, and doth still so preserve me, blessed be his pure and holy name.

'But some may desire to know what I have at last met with: I answer, 'I have met with the seed.' Understand that word, and thou wilt be satisfied, and inquire no further. I have met with my God, I have met with my Savior; and he hath not been present with me without his salvation; but I have felt the healing drop upon my soul from under his wings. I have met with the true knowledge, the knowledge of life, the living knowledge, the knowledge which is life; and this hath had the true virtue in it, which my soul hath rejoiced in, in the presence of the Lord. I have met with the seed's father, and in the seed I have felt him my father; there I have read his nature, his love, his compassions, his tenderness, which have melted, overcome, and changed my heart before him. I have met with the seed's faith, which hath done and doth that which the faith of man can never do. I have met with the true birth, with the birth which is heir of the kingdom, and inherits the kingdom. I have met with the true spirit of prayer and supplication, wherein the Lord is prevailed with, and which draws from him whatever the condition needs, the soul always looking up to him in the will, and in the time and way which is acceptable with him.

What shall I say ? I have met with the true peace, the true righteousness, the true holiness, the true rest of the soul, the everlasting habitation, which the redeemed dwell in. And I know all these to be true, in him that is true, and am capable of no doubt, dispute, or reasoning in my mind about them, it abiding there, where it hath received the full assurance and satisfaction. And also I know very well and distinctly in spirit, where the doubts and disputes are, and where the certainty and full assurance is, and in the tender mercy of the Lord am preserved out of the one, and in the other.

‘ Now, the Lord knows, these things I do not utter in a boasting way, but would rather be speaking of my nothingness, my emptiness, my weakness, my manifold infirmities, which I feel more than ever. The Lord hath broken the man’s part in me, and I am a worm and no man before him : I have no strength to do any good or service for him ; nay, I cannot watch over or preserve myself : I feel daily that I keep not alive my own soul, but am weaker before men, yea weaker in my spirit, as in myself, than ever I have been. But I cannot but utter to the praise of my God, that I feel his arm stretched out for me ; and my weakness, which I feel in myself, is not my loss, but advantage, before him. And these things I write, as having no end at all therein of my own, but felt it this morning required of me, and so in submission and subjection to my God, have I given up to do it, leaving the success and service of it with him.

I. PENNINGTON.’

Aylesbury, 15th of Third month, 1687,

. From this conclusion, we see the humility of the mind of this friend, who, when he wrote this, was already much advanced in the way of godliness, and had lived several years in the communion of those called Quakers. Now, though it be the duty of every one, not to be conceited of himself, yet certain it is, that men of refined wits, above all others, have need to continue truly humble, and not to rely thereon, since the trusting to acuteness of wit, hath rather drawn off many from the way of truth, than led them to it ; nay, it hath occasioned the fall of some. But that I. Pennington endeavored to continue in true humility, appears plainly from the relation above. He was a man of a very compassionate temper, and yet valiant in adversities : he also suffered not a little on the account of his religion, but endured many tedious and long imprisonments ; which were the more hard to him, because he being of a weakly constitution, the suffering of cold and hardship, did him the more hurt. And yet he never fainted, but continued steadfast to the end of his life, which was in the latter part of the year 1679, when he departed in a pious frame of mind.

By the foregoing relation, it appears evidently that he was very earnestly seeking after the true way to salvation, before he attained to a perfect quietness of mind ; yet in that time there wanted not such as

were helpful to him with good and wholesome advice ; and among these John Crook, whose occurrences make up no small part of this history, was none of the least. And since there is yet extant a letter of his to him, wherein he not only spoke very effectually to the inward state of L. Pennington ; but for his instruction and encouragement, gave also an account of the great difficulties and temptations he himself had met with, I cannot well omit to insert the same here ; because from the ingenuous and open-hearted letters of familiar friends to one another, we generally may discover very plainly their inward state, and also their outward qualities. This letter was as followeth :

*‘ Dear Friend,*

*‘ My dear and tender love salutes thee, in that love whence I had my being, whence sprang all my Father’s children, who are born from above, heirs of an everlasting inheritance. Oh ! how sweet and pleasant are the pastures which my Father causeth all his sheep to feed in ; there is a variety of plenty in his pastures, milk for babes, and strong meat for them of riper age, and wine to refresh those that are ready to faint ; even the wine of the kingdom, that makes glad the heart when it is ready to faint, by reason of the infirmities ; sure I am, none can be so weary, but he takes care of them ; nor none so nigh fainting, but he puts his arm under their heads ; nor none can be so beset with enemies on every side, but he will arise and scatter ; nor none so heavy laden and big with young, but he takes notice of them, and gently leads them, and will not leave them behind unto the merciless wolf ; because they are his own, and his life is the price of their redemption, and his blood of their ransom ; and if they be so young that they cannot go, he carries them in his arms ; and when they can feel nothing stirring after him, his bowels yearn after them ; so tender is this good Shepherd after all his flock. I can tell, for I was as one that once went astray, and wandered upon the barren mountains ; and when I had wearied myself with wandering, I went into the wilderness, and there I was torn as with briers, and pricked as with thorns ; sometimes thinking this was the way, and sometimes concluding that was the way, and by and by concluding all were out of the way. And then bitter mourning came upon me, and weeping for want of the interpreter ; for when I sought to know what was the matter, and where I was, it was too hard for me ; then I thought I would venture on some way where it was most likely to find a lost God ; and I would pray with them that prayed, and fast with them that fasted, and mourn with them that mourned, if by any means I might come to rest, but found it not, until I came to see the candle lighted in my own house, and my heart swept from those thoughts and imaginations, and willings, and runnings ; and to die unto them all, not heeding of them ; but watching against them, lest I should let my mind go a whoring after them ; and here I dwelt for a time, as in a desolate land uninhabited ; where I sat alone as a sparrow upon the house top, and was hunted up and down*

like a partridge upon the mountains ; and could rest no where, but some lust or thought or other followed me at the heels, and disquieted me night and day, until I came to know him in whom was rest, and no occasion of stumbling, in whom the devil hath no part ; and he became unto me as a hiding-place from the storms, and from the tempests ; then came my eyes to see my Savior, and my sorrow to fly away, and he became made unto me all in all, my wisdom, my righteousness, and my sanctification, in whom I was and am complete, to the praise of the riches of his grace and goodness that endures forever. Therefore be not discouraged, O thou tossed as with tempests, nor dismayed in thyself, because thou seest such mighty hosts of enemies rising up against thee, and besetting thee on every side ; for none was so beset, and tried, and tempted as the true seed was, who was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief : but be thou still in thy mind, and let the billows pass over, and wave upon wave, and fret not thyself because of them, neither be cast down as if it should never be otherwise with thee : sorrow comes at night, but joy in the morning, and the days of thy mourning shall be over, and the accuser will God cast out forever ; for therefore was I afflicted, and not comforted, and tempted and tried for this end, that I might know how to speak a word in due season unto those who are tempted and afflicted as I once was : as it was said unto me in that day when sorrow lay heavy upon me. Therefore be not disconsolated, neither give heed unto the reasonings and disputings of thy own heart, nor the fears that rise therefrom ; but be strong in the faith, believing in the light which lets thee see them ; and his grace thou wilt know to be sufficient for thee, and his strength to be made perfect in thy weakness ; and so wilt thou rather glory in thy infirmities, that his power may rest upon thee, than in thy earnest desires to be rid of them ; for by these things thou wilt come to live in the life of God, and joy in God, and glory in tribulation ; when thou hast learned in all conditions to be contented ; and through trials and deep exercises is the way to learn this lesson. These things, in dear love to thee, I have written, being somewhat sensible of thy condition, and the many snares thou art daily liable unto ; therefore watch, that thou fall not into temptation, and my God and Father keep thee in the arms of eternal love, over all, unto the end, unto his praise. Amen.

JOHN CROOK.'

This John Crook had been a man of note in the world, not only because he had been a justice of peace, as hath been said in due place, but also because he was a man of good intellects ; and yet his zeal for what he believed to be truth, was such, that he became willing to bear the reproach of the world, that so he might enjoy peace with God. But though he was a man of learning, yet most of the first preachers of the doctrine held forth by those called Quakers, were people of small account in the world ; but yet they were so powerful in their preaching, that many thereby were turned to true godliness.



Some have been reached by the sayings of dying penitents ; for there have been remarkable instances of young people sprung from honest parents, who having walked in the broad way, did very earnestly bewail their out-goings on a dying bed, and then declared, that if it pleased God, to raise them up again, they would not, as before, be ashamed of the despised way of the Quakers, nor fear any mockings or persecution, but that they would serve the Lord, in uprightness, and with all their heart. These thus repenting with tears for their transgressions, have experienced after great agonies, that God wills not the death of sinners, but that they should repent, and so live in everlasting happiness.

Of several such like cases, I will only mention one, viz. that of a young maid at London, called Susanna Whitrow, whose mother was of the society of the Quakers, but not her father. On her dying bed she complained exceedingly of her rebellion and vain behavior : ‘ Ah,’ said she to her mother, ‘ how often hast thou said, the Lord would plead with us : now the day is come. Pride and disobedience were my cursed fruits, which I brought forth when I was a hearer in the public church. How often have I adorned myself as fine in their fashion as I could make me ; yet they despised my dress, and said to me, ‘ How like a tawdry have you dressed yourself ; you are not at all in the mode.’ Then coming home on the Sabbath day, I went immediately up into my chamber, and locking the door, I altered all my laces, and so I went to their worship in the afternoon, dressed in their mode, and then I pleased them.’ At another time she said, ‘ O that I might have a little time longer to go into the country, and walk in the woods to seek the Lord. O what matter for fine houses and silk apparel : O remember him that sat on the ground, and wore a garment without a seam, our blessed holy Lord, who went up to the mountains to pray, and withdrew himself into gardens and desolate places. I have done nothing for the Lord, but he hath done all for me : therefore I desire to live, that I might live a holy and righteous life, that my conversation might be in heaven, though my body be here on earth. How would I then invite and warn others, not to spend their precious time in adorning themselves like Jezebel, patching and painting, and curling their hair. O the Christian life is quite another thing : we must not give ourselves the liberty to think our own thoughts, much less to act such abominations.’ Several days she was in a strong wrestling and conflict of spirit, and in fervent prayer to God, so that when somebody was for removing her head a little, she refusing it, said, ‘ I would not suffer a thought to wander ; if I move, I shall be drawn off from my watch, and then the tempter will prevail.’ Continuing in this conflict, she conceived at length hopes of forgiveness ; and being thus strengthened by mercy, she said to the Lord, ‘ O what can my soul say of thy power : when I sought thee, but could not find thee ; I knocked hard, but none did open : for my sins stood like mountains, that I could not come near thee : I would fain have prayed to thee, but could not. Thus I lay several days and nights struggling for life, but could find none : and I

said, "There is no mercy for me:" then I said, "I will never leave thee; if I perish, I will perish here; I will never cease crying unto thee." And then I heard a voice say, "Jacob wrestled all night before he obtained the blessing." Oh, then thy word, O Lord, was strong to my soul: then my stony heart was broken to pieces, and the spirit of prayer and supplication was poured upon me. And now I can sing as David did, of mercy and of judgment: "Unto thee, O Lord, will I sing, with a rent heart, and with my mouth in the dust will I sing praises to thee, my blessed Savior." In this frame she endeavored to continue, and once she prayed for her father, called Robert Whitrow, part of which prayer was as followeth: 'O Lord, remember not his offences, let me bear them; let it be easy to him; make his friends to be enemies to him, that thou mayest have mercy upon him. His temptations are great; Lord, carry him through; O let him not perish with the world; do thou support him over this world. Shall a little dirt of this world draw away his mind: O Lord, let his mind be set on things above; fix his mind upon thee.' Thus fervently this young maid prayed for her father, herself now having attained to a full assurance of her salvation, so that she once said to the Lord, 'O thou beloved of my soul, what shall I say of thee, for thou art too wonderful for me: O praises be unto thee.' And afterward perceiving that her end was approaching, she said to her mother, 'I must lay down this body, the Lord will not trust me longer in this present wicked world: happy am I: my Savior, my soul loves thee dearly; thy love is better than wine; my Savior, my holy One, how glorious art thou: I have seen thy glory; I am overcome with thy sweet countenance; O how lovely art thou! My heart is ravished with the sweet smiles of thy glorious countenance. O, come away, come away, why dost thou stay? I am ready, I am ready.' Then she lay some time very still, and so departed this life without sigh or groan: which was about the year 1677.

Such like dying persons have been the means sometimes to stir up others to true godliness, whereby they came to be joined with the people called Quakers; and though these in time came to be very numerous, yet at first there were but few laborers in the ministry of the word. But these recommending one another to give diligent heed to the word of God in the heart, and to mind that as their teacher, did often meet together and keep assemblies, sitting down with such a deep retiredness of mind, being turned inward to God, that tears trickled down their cheeks, to the astonishment of many that looked upon them, some of which, only by beholding this serious retiredness, came to be so effectually reached, that they also joined with them, and frequented their meetings. In the mean while many of these became more and more confirmed in their minds by this silent exercise, and their understandings came to be so opened, that in process of time they became apt and fit instruments to exhort others to godliness: and among these several women also found it their duty to preach the gospel.

There have been many who were very averse to the Quakers, and yet

came to join with them in the faith ; as among others, Christopher Bacon, in Somersetshire, who, about the year 1656, coming into a meeting, not with intention to be edified there, but rather to scoff, and to fetch his wife thence, who went thither against his mind, was so reached by the lively exhortation he heard, that he was not only convinced of the truth preached there, but in time became a zealous preacher of it himself, and was valiant in sufferings. Once being taken up at a meeting in Glastonbury, and brought before bishop Mew, at Wells, who called him a rebel, for meeting contrary to the king's laws, Christopher having formerly been a soldier for the king, said to him, ' Dost thou call me rebel ? I would have thee to know, that I have ventured my life for the king in the field, when such as thou lay behind hedges.' By this he stopped the bishop's mouth, who did not expect such an answer, and therefore was willing to be rid of him.

The like instance of an unexpected conversion, was seen also in William Gibson, whom I knew well, and who at the time of the civil wars, being a soldier at Carlisle, he and three others having heard that a Quakers' meeting was appointed in that city, they agreed to go thither and abuse the preacher, whose name was Thomas Holmes ; but Gibson hearing him powerfully declare the truth, was so affected by his testimony, that he stepped in near him, to defend him, if any should have offered to abuse him : and he himself afterwards came to be a zealous preacher of that truth he had been at unawares convinced of.

To these instances I may add that of a certain trumpeter, who coming into a Quakers' meeting, began in an insolent manner to sound his trumpet, thereby to drown the voice of him that preached : but this had a contrary effect, and stirred up the zeal of the preacher the more, so that he went on as if none disturbed him. The trumpeter at length, to recover his breath, was fain to cease blowing ; but being still governed by an evil spirit, after some intermission began to sound again ; but whatever he did, he was not able to divert the preacher from his discourse, though he hindered the auditory from hearing what was spoken. Thus he wearied himself so much that he was forced to rest again for respiration : whereby in spite of his evil will, he came to hear what the preacher spoke, which was so piercing, that the trumpeter came to be deeply affected with it, and bursting into tears, confessed his crime, and came to be a true penitent : a remarkable evidence of the truth of that saying of the apostle, " So then, it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."

Among these, who contrary to their intent entered into communion with the Quakers, so called, may be reckoned also Anthony Pearson, the justice, of whom in this history it hath been mentioned, that he was so reached by G. Fox, at Swarthmore, that he came to be one of his followers ; which though true, yet it was before that time that he was in some respect convinced of the doctrine maintained by the people called Quakers : which happened to be by James Naylor, who upon an indict

ment of blasphemy, appearing at the sessions at Appleby, in the month called January, 1652, found the said justice Pearson sitting there on the bench as one of his persecutors: who asking him several questions received such pertinent answers from J. Naylor, that in a great degree he was convinced of the truth held by J. Naylor and his friends.

By what hath been related here may be seen how unexpectedly some entered into society with the Quakers, so called; more instances of which might be produced if needful; since I have known such, who being naturally of a boisterous temper, yet were so struck with the terror of the Lord, that they came to be of such a quiet spirit, and harmless behavior, that as formerly they could not suffer the least provocation, so now they bore all revilings and mockings with an even and undisturbed mind; because the fear of God had made such deep impression upon them, that they were careful lest by an angry or impetuous deportment they should sin against him. And thus continuing to live in fear, and a reverential awe, they improved in true godliness; insomuch that by their pious lives they preached as well as others with words. After this manner the number of their society increased; but then grievous sufferings ensued; for the priests could not endure to see that their hearers left them; the furious mob was spurred on, and among the magistrates there were many, who, being of a fierce temper, used all their strength to root out the professors of the light, (as they were called at first,) and to suppress and stifle their doctrine; but all proved in vain, as appears abundantly from this history; although there were hardly any prisons in England, where some of these people were not shut up; besides the spoil of goods, and cruel whippings that befel some of them. Yet all this they bore with a more than ordinary courage, without making resistance, how great soever their number was; and notwithstanding many of them had been valiant soldiers, who often had slain their enemies in the field, without regarding danger.

In the consideration of this undaunted steadfastness, it hath seemed to me, that there have been some such among this people, whose talent was valiantly to endure persecution for a good cause; and who perhaps in ease would not have been such good Christians as they proved to be under these sufferings; resembling the chamomile in this, which the more it is depressed or rubbed, the better it grows, and yields the stronger scent. Being then thus oppressed, they found themselves under a necessity of continuing vigilant and watchful; and, according to king Solomon's advice, to keep their hearts with all diligence. This made them love what they judged to be truth, more than their lives, and it caused them to be careful, lest that should come over them which the church of Ephesus was threatened with, because she had left her first love, viz. the removing of her candlestick out of its place. Thus their mutual love increased, and their own lives they valued not, when the grieving of their consciences stood in competition with it.

Having thus passed through many adversities, with an unwearied and lasting patience, and being become a great people, known by the name of Quakers, they were at length, by the generous clemency of king William III., and the favor of the Parliament, declared to be a society, who should henceforth be tolerated in the kingdom as Protestant dissenters, with liberty to perform their religious worship in public without disturbance.

# THE HISTORY

OF

## THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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### THE TWELFTH BOOK.

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QUEEN ANNE having now ascended the throne, and taken in hand the reins of government, was congratulated from all quarters ; and the people called Quakers thought themselves no less obliged than others to condole the king's death, and to testify their affection and fidelity to the Queen ; and therefore they drew up an address ; and when some of them, of whom G. Whitehead was one, went to present it, (which was on the 11th of the Second month, April,) they were introduced by the then earl, but now duke, of Marlborough, and the duke of Ormond. The address was as followeth :

TO QUEEN ANNE, OVER ENGLAND, &c.

*' May it please the Queen,*

*' We, thy peaceable subjects, cannot but be sorrowfully affected with a deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of our late king William the Third, whom God made the instrument of much good to these nations ; a prince who indeed desired to be the common father of his people, and as such did by his great example, as well as precept, endeavor to unite them in interest and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender consciences, by all which his reign was adorned, to the renown of his memory.*

*' And it having pleased the all-wise God, the disposer of kingdoms, to preserve thee to succeed to the government of these nations ; and thereby to the maintaining and consummating those great works so happily begun ; we humbly beg leave to congratulate thy free and peaceable accession to the throne, whence we observe the queen's excellent declaration, manifesting her care for the good of all her people, and*

therefore doubt not but we, her Protestant dissenting subjects, shall partake of her royal favor and protection.

‘We sincerely declare, that with the assistance of the grace of God, we will always, according to our Christian duty, demonstrate our good affection, truth, and fidelity to the queen and her government; and heartily pray that his wisdom may direct, and his blessing be upon the queen and her great council, to the suppressing of vice and immorality, and the promoting of piety, peace, and charity, to the glory of God, and the benefit of these nations.

‘May the King of kings make thy reign long and glorious, to which temporal blessing we shall pray for thy eternal happiness.

‘Signed on behalf and by appointment of the aforesaid people, at a meeting in London, the 10th of the Second month, 1702.’

This address was very favorably received by the queen, and after it was read to her, she answered,

‘I thank you for your address, and I assure you of my protection.’

It was scarce a month after, when war was proclaimed in England against France, which had been proclaimed in Holland also against that crown some days before. Not long after followed the general Yearly-Meeting of those called Quakers, held at London, in which it was thought fit to thank the queen for her declaration, that she would maintain the act of toleration in favor of the dissenters; and therefore an address was drawn up by the said assembly, which was as followeth :

TO QUEEN ANNE, OVER ENGLAND, &c.

*The humble and thankful acknowledgment of the people commonly called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting in London, the 30th day of the Third month, called May, 1702.*

‘May it please the Queen,

‘We, thy peaceable and dutiful subjects, met from most parts of thy dominions at our usual Yearly Meeting, (for the promotion of piety and charity,) being deeply affected with thy free and noble resolution in thy late speech at the prorogation of the parliament, to preserve and maintain the act of toleration for the ease and quiet of all thy people, could not but in gratitude esteem ourselves engaged both to thank Almighty God for that favorable influence, and to renew and render our humble and hearty acknowledgments to the queen for the same, assuring her, on behalf of all our friends, of our sincere affection and Christian obedience.

‘And we beseech God, the fountain of wisdom and goodness, so to direct all thy counsels and undertakings, that righteousness, which exalts

a nation, and mercy and justice, that establish a throne, may be the character of thy reign, and the blessings of these kingdoms under it.

‘Signed by the appointment and on the behalf of the said meeting.’

Of those who presented this address, William Penn was the deliverer, and the queen was pleased to speak to him in a very kind manner, and not only received the said address favorably, but after it was read to her, she made the following most gracious answer :

‘Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what I have said is to your satisfaction, that you and your friends may be assured of my protection.’\*

This year died Margaret, the widow of G. Fox, at about eighty-seven years of age, as appears to me from an account of her son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Lower, in which I find, that she was born at Marsh-Grange, in the parish of Dalton, in Lancashire. Her father was John Askew, a gentleman of an ancient family, a man of a good estate, and famous for his piety and charity. His daughter Margaret was religious even in her young years, and was married, before she had attained the age of eighteen, to Thomas Fell of Swarthmore ; who being bred a lawyer, became a justice of the peace, and having afterwards been a member in several parliaments, was made vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaster, and in process of time a judge, being beloved because of his justice, wisdom, moderation and mercy.

In the year 1652, George Fox coming the first time to his house, when he himself was from home, did by his exhortations so reach to the family, that a priest with some gentlemen went and told judge Fell, that a great disaster had befallen his wife and family; they being seduced and turned Quakers. This was so odiously represented to him, that it troubled him not a little : but being come home, and received very kindly by his wife, according to her usual manner, he soon perceived that it had been intended to make him believe untruths, and possess him with prejudice. Not long after George Fox got opportunity to speak to him, which gave him such satisfaction, that he owned that which was spoken to be truth ; and his wife ordered a dinner to be made ready for her friend G. Fox, and those that were with him. And some time after he told his wife, when he heard that she and her friends were consulting where to have a meeting, that they might meet in his hall, which they did ; and though he himself did not come there, yet when a meeting was kept, he used to sit in a chair so near to it, that though he could not be seen of every body, yet he could hear what was preached ; which he liked so well, that it is not known that after he had heard George Fox, he ever frequented the public church : insomuch, that though he entered not into full society with the Quakers, yet he favored them, and several

\* This, from the Record, appears to be rather the substance than the exact words of the answer.



times stopped the malice of their persecutors, when it was in his power so to do.

After he had been married six and twenty years to Margaret, and had nine children by her, he deceased in the year 1658, leaving behind him a son and seven daughters.

Margaret being thus become a widow, neglected no opportunity to serve her friends. In the year 1660, when king Charles II. was restored, scarce two weeks after he came in, she went to London, and spoke several times with that prince, that he would cause the sufferings of her friends to cease; and in order thereto she wrote, not only to him, but also to the dukes of York and Gloucester, the queen mother, the princess of Orange, and the queen of Bohemia. And after having been about fifteen months at London, she at length prevailed with the king, that her friends who were in prison, were released by proclamation. But persecution afterwards beginning again, she went to speak with the king and the duke of York, at Hampton Court. In the year 1664, for refusing to swear, she was confined in Lancaster Castle, and kept long in durance: for because of her great service in the church, she was much envied, as well as George Fox, to whom she was married about eleven years after the decease of her first husband judge Fell. But not long after, she was again imprisoned, and continued a year in jail, being most part of that time sickly; and afterwards was several times fined for preaching. In the seventieth year of her age, she spoke again with the king, which was the last time; but she was not received so favorably as formerly, for he seemed to be somewhat angry; and therefore she wrote to him, and staid at London in hopes of an answer; but he was suddenly taken away by death. Afterwards she spoke with king James, and wrote to him also. And at length after a laborious and godly life, she piously departed hence in a great age, as hath been said already, having uttered in the time of her sickness, many excellent sayings, by which it appeared that she was prepared for death, and longed to be dissolved. She had been a zealous preacher, and also written much, and among the rest a book entitled, 'The Call of the Jews out of Babylon,' which she dedicated to the famous Manasseh Ben Israel, and charged him, as he would answer it before God, to cause it to be read among his brethren. This book being translated by William Ames into Dutch, was also printed in that language, whilst her first husband lived.

The same year she died, George Keith, who now preached up and down where the bishops thought fit, went by their order to New England, New York, Pennsylvania, &c., for it seems he imagined that in those parts he should get many adherents among the Quakers: but he came much short of his aim; for even in Pennsylvania, where many of the Baptists formerly sided with him, he was by them looked upon with disdain, and rejected for wearing a clergyman's gown; and now appearing to be a great apostate, there was no likelihood for him to get entrance, or to be esteemed there. After some time being returned into England,

he got a living in the parish of Edburton, in Sussex, worth about £120 a year. Now though the Episcopalians seemed to be in great expectation that Keith should suppress the doctrine of the Quakers, yet all his endeavors proved in vain; for whatever some may think, it is certain, and appears from this history, that they are become a great people after a very singular manner, and that all projects and attempts to root them out, have been quashed, and come to naught: and from this consideration it was, as I have reason to think, that many of the Quakers, so called, in their preaching did sound forth these words, being as it were extorted from Balaam: "There is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel;" as I myself have often heard. And now the strength and power of their violent opposers was broken by the favor of king William the Third, and his successor, queen Anne, hath favorably confirmed the liberty of conscience and worship, granted by an act of parliament to the Quakers. So that now we may look upon them as a free people, and a society tolerated by supreme authority; and therefore I might now finish this history, as to the import of the title.

But before I conclude, I intend to say something concerning their doctrine, of which mention hath been often made in this work, viz. That their chief principle, in which they differ from the generality of modern Christian societies, is, That every man is enlightened with the Divine Light, according to the evangelist John, who in the first chapter, speaking of Christ, as he was from eternity with the Father, calls him the Word, and saith, "That the Word was God that all things were made by him, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men." And the evangelist speaking concerning John the Baptist, who was sent from God, saith, "He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." By this it appears, that the Quakers have not coined a new phrase, but only made use of the express words of the Holy Scripture. I am not unacquainted that, during the great apostacy, people generally have not clearly understood this; yet it ought not to seem strange, because the evangelist saith, "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." But to elucidate this doctrine a little more, it may serve for information, that the Quakers believe this light to be the same that the apostle Paul calls "The grace of God that bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men:" and concerning its operation, he saith, "teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."

Thus much briefly, concerning the above-mentioned denominations of this divine light; and to make it appear more plainly what this phrase means, "Take heed to the Light;" thereby we understand, that each one minding the counsel of the light in their souls, may learn to fear God, and hate pride, arrogancy, and every evil way; which will beget in us such a reverential awe towards God, that we dare not do any thing

which we certainly know will displease him; and this is the first step to godliness: and therefore both David and Solomon have said, that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom; viz. that fear which is filial and accompanied with circumspection and cautiousness; and as we persevere in this fear, we are enabled to serve the Lord in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

But since we can do this only by the grace of God, it is absolutely necessary that we take heed thereto: and therefore we ought to pray to God continually for his assistance. But here starts up something, of which people generally have a wrong notion: for all sorts of Christians agree, that we must often pray to God, but in the manner of it many err greatly. For some think they perform this duty of praying to God, when in the mornings and evenings, and at other certain times of the day they repeat or recite some forms of prayer, and do not seem to consider, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint. And the apostle Paul exhorts to pray without ceasing. And what this means he himself explains in these words, "Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit," which plainly shows, that it consists not in a continual repeating of prayers, but in pious and devout breathings to God, raised in the soul by the spirit of Christ, that it may please him to keep us continually in his fear and counsel, since we are in want of daily support from him. And thus praying in faith, we receive an answer to our breathings in some measure, though not always so soon as we desire; but we must not faint; and our prayer must be from a sincere believing and breathing of the heart; otherwise we pray amiss, and do not receive: according to the saying of the apostle James, "Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss." But what devices and wiles have not been invented by the enemy of man's soul, to keep him off from this continual state of prayer! although Christ very expressly saith, "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. And, what I say unto you, I say unto all, watch;" which in regard to the instruction we may reap thence, doth not imply a continual watching without sleeping, but a vigilancy of the mind, which Solomon recommends in these words, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." Now though our constitution doth not seem to admit an incessant continuance in the deepest retiredness of mind; yet this is certain, that the more fervently we turn our minds to God, the more we are kept from evil. And man persevering in this godly exercise, is the less in danger of falling into spiritual pride; since he finds that his preservation is in true humility, and in a continual dependence upon God; for if he once departs thence, and thinks himself safe enough, and that now he needs not to walk circumspectly in fear as he once did, then he is caught already, and somewhat gone astray from his spiritual guide: to wit, from that which showed unto him his transgressions, and troubled him whilst he was in the evil way. And this is the manifestation of the spirit, which the apostle saith, is given to every man to profit withal.

Now to call this principle, which reproves men for evil, and consequently discovers it, Light, doth not carry with it any absurdity, especially if we consider that this denomination is found in sacred writ. Evil deeds are called by the apostle the works of darkness; and saith he, "All things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light." By which it appears plainly, that the Quakers have not coined a new phrase, but only followed the scripture language. And that they are not the only people that have declared of the light, might be proved from other authors of good esteem, if necessity required.

As to oaths, they judge the taking of an oath unlawful; and why, may abundantly be seen in this history from a multitude of instances.

The making of war they also believe to be inconsistent with pure Christianity, and esteem that its followers, being led by its precepts, will come to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and not to learn war any more, according to the prediction of the prophet, Isaiah ii. 4: and Christ, the author of our faith, unto whom we are commanded to look, saith expressly, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." And the apostle, James, iv. giveth us to understand, that wars and fightings come of lusts. And we believe that by receiving the spirit of Christ in our souls, and being entirely guided by it, enmity and lusts, the root of wars and fightings, come to be destroyed, and his love remains, by which we not only love one another sincerely, but also can love our enemies, and pray for them; as also for those who hate and persecute us for his name, not rendering evil for evil, but good for evil; and this we believe to be that lamb-like spirit which will prevail, and must overcome, and therefore they judge it not lawful for them to make war, and for all that they think that they may very safely be tolerated by the civil government: not only because they are willing and ready to pay taxes to Cæsar, but also that since they cannot fight for the government, neither can they fight against it.

Concerning the sword of magistracy, they do in no wise assert, that it is unlawful for some Christians to be magistrates: for to say so, what doth it imply, but the unchristianing of magistrates, whom they truly honor; magistracy being the ordinance of God. But although they believe this office to be consistent with Christian religion, yet they think it more safe for themselves not to seek for it.

Tithes to the priests they do not look upon as a gospel maintenance; since our Savior said in express terms to his disciples, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" yet they do not stretch this so far, as not to suffer that any who hath imparted of his spiritual gifts to others, might not receive temporal gifts of them, if he himself was in want thereof, provided the maintenance of a minister of the gospel be free, and not forced; and also that it consists not in a fixed stipend, which leads to turn the ministry of the gospel into a provision of a livelihood; which

they look upon to be far beneath the dignity of the ministerial office, which ought to be performed purely out of love to God and our neighbor, and not with any regard to secular gain.

The ordinary way of showing respect or honor in common conversation is also what they scruple; for to give the same outward sign of respect to men, which is given to God, viz. the uncovering of the head, they think, not without good reason, to be unfit; and so they esteem also the giving flattering titles of honor; since Christ so sharply reproves the greetings in the markets, and the being called of men Rabbi, Rabbi, saying, "Be not ye called Rabbi;" which title of that time may be equalled with the modern *master* or *sir*. Thus Christ saith also, "How can ye believe, who receive honor of one another?" Yet they limit this only to common conversation with one's equals: for a servant may call his master by that title, and subjects their magistrates by the title of their office, and this may be spoken not contrary to truth; whereas the other is nothing but mere flattery, invented to gratify and cherish pride: and therefore they think it inconsistent with the true gravity of a Christian to call one's self a servant of one who has not any mastership over us; and they believe we cannot be too cautious in speaking, since our Savior saith, "That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." The common fashion of greeting they also decline, thinking it more safe not to imitate the ordinary custom therein. But that it is more agreeable with Christian simplicity to greet one another by giving their hand, or by other innocent and harmless notice in passing by, which are signs of friendship and respect, that may be shown, without giving to man that which appertains to God, as the uncovering of the head is among Christians: for the uncovering of the head is an outward sign of the worship and honor that is paid to God: and if we give the same token also to men, it may be queried, wherein the difference consists? If it be answered that it consisteth in the meaning and intention, then use is made of the same argument, whereby Papists endeavor to excuse their adoration of images and relics.

As the Quakers testify against the common vain way of salutation, so likewise against gaming, interludes, jesting, and all sinful and unprofitable recreations, and drinking of healths, all which they believe to be contrary to the exhortation of the apostle, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

In their method of marriage, they also depart from the common way: for in the Old Testament they find not that the joining of a couple in marriage ever was the office of a priest, nor in the gospel, any preacher among Christians appointed thereto. Therefore it is their custom, that when any intend to enter into marriage, they first having the consent of parents or guardians, acquaint the respective men's and women's meetings of their intention, and after due inquiry, all things appearing clear, they in a public meeting solemnly take each other in marriage,

with a promise of love and fidelity, and not to leave one another before death separates them. Of this a certificate is drawn, mentioning the names and distinctions of the persons thus joined, which being first signed by themselves, those then that are present sign as witnesses.

In the burying of their dead they mind decency, and endeavor to avoid all pomp; and the wearing of mourning is not approved among them; for they think that the mourning which is lawful, may be shown sufficiently to the world by a modest and grave deportment.

As to water-baptism, and the outward supper, though they do not use the external signs, witnessing Christ the substance to be come, yet they are not for judging others who do use them conscientiously and devoutly. They do not deny that water-baptism was used by some in the primitive church; but let it be considered unto whom it was administered, viz. to such that came over either from the Jews or the Gentiles, to the Christian society: and baptism was as well a judaical ceremony as circumcision: for, according to the account of Maimonides,\* a Gentile, who would be received into the covenant of the Jews, must be baptized as well as circumcised, whereby he became a proselyte. Whence it evidently appears that baptism did not come in the place of circumcision, as it hath been often urged to persuade the ignorant.—But as a Jewess proselyte needed not to get the child she brought forth baptized, since the Jews did not baptize their children, but administered baptism only to such of the Gentiles that came over to them; so we do not find the least evidence that the primitive Christians in the time of the apostles, did baptize their issue, that so they might claim to be members of the church; but the contrary seems rather to appear from what the apostle saith, “The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now they are holy:” which implieth no more, but that such children, whose father or mother alone was a believer, were not excluded from, but comprehended in, the outward membership: for this cannot have any relation to that sanctification, whereby the mind comes to be cleansed: but in regard of being partaker of the outward fellowship, this reached so far, that if but one of the parents, either father or mother, was a believer, the child thereby became entitled to the outward society: for to make one a true and real member of the church of God, the baptism of the spirit was required, as the main thing; which made John the Baptist, speaking of Christ, say, “He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.” And the apostle Peter signifieth, that baptism, which now saves us is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God. This was that baptism of which God by the prophet Ezekiel said concerning Israel, “I will take you from among the

\* Vid. John Leusden Philog. Hebræo-mixt, Dissertat. xxi. de Proselyt. Sect. 1. pag. mihi 144.

heathen, and gather you out of all countries. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you ; and ye shall be clean from all your filthiness," &c.

It is a common objection, that Christ himself was baptized with water, and that we are required to follow his footsteps : but let it be considered that he was circumcised also, though the one as well as the other needed not to his melioration, but was done for our sake, to show us by the latter, that our hearts must be circumcised, that is, separated from all evil inclinations and lusts. And by the baptism which he suffered to be administered to him, is signified to us that we must be baptized by his spiritual baptism. And if it be objected that Christ said to Nicodemus, " Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God ;" it may be answered, that if this must be understood of outward water, the consequence will be, that water-baptism is of such an absolute necessity, that if any be deprived of it, he is to be shut out of heaven, which, though believed by Papists, yet I think Protestants will hardly say so ; neither was John Calvin\* of that opinion. It is also worth taking notice, that John the Baptist said, " That Christ should baptize with fire ;" by which it appears that both water and fire in this sense, are metaphorical expressions : for they both serve for cleansing and purifying, though in a different way. Now although some did baptize with water, yet it ought to be considered, that if the command of Christ to his disciples, " Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," related absolutely to water-baptism, it would indeed have been very strange that Paul, that eminent apostle of the Gentiles, did not think himself commissioned for the administration of that baptism. Whereas, if the apostles had really received a commission from the Lord to that purpose, he by no means would have been singled out ; since speaking of himself he saith, That he supposed he was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles ; and yet he also saith in express terms, " Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel. And I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius. And I baptized also the household of Stephanus : besides, I know not whether I baptized any other." And yet he saith, " There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism," which was the baptism of the Spirit. And the same apostle saith also, " As many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ : " and this cannot have relation to water-baptism, because many receive that, who never put on Christ, and become conformable to his image, which however is required of all Christians. To this may be added, that if the command to baptize, Matt. xxviii. 19, were literally restricted to water-baptism, then why not our Savior's words be as well understood literally concerning the washing his disciples' feet, when he said to Peter, " If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me ;" and to his disciples, " If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." More might be said

\* Vid. Calvin, Epist., 184 and 229.

on this subject ; but since R. Barclay hath treated of this matter at large long ago, the reader may apply to his 'Apology for the true Christian Divinity.'

Concerning the outward supper, it may be truly said, that it was the Passover that was kept by Christ at the eating of the paschal lamb ; which likewise was a judaical ceremony, that Christians generally take to be a figure or shadow. But is not the modern use of the outward supper in remembrance of Christ's sufferings, also a figure, viz. of his spiritual supper with the soul ; and doth it not seem absurd, that one figure should be the antitype of the other. The Passover was not a memorial of another sign that was to follow ; but it was a memorial of the slaying of all the first-born in Egypt, and of the preservation of Israel and their first-born. Moreover it may be said, that the paschal lamb was eaten in their families, whereas the outward supper now is celebrated in public places for worship. We find, that the apostles, "Breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart ;" which implies an usual meal or eating. And certainly they do well, who daily at meals remember Christ and his sufferings : for the spiritual supper, which is the thing required, ought to be partaken of by every true Christian ; and this cannot be, unless, we, being attentive, open the door of our hearts to Christ, and let him come in. Let it also be considered, that the soul wants daily food as well as the body ; and being destitute of that, will faint and languish, and so become unable to do good ; and therefore our Lord recommended his disciples to pray for daily bread :\* for that this chiefly had relation to the spiritual manna, the bread that comes down from heaven, appears from this saying of Christ, "Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." Besides, the apostle tells us, "That the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." And the author to the Hebrews saith, "It is a good thing that the heart be established, with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein."

All this then being duly considered by those called Quakers, it hath restrained them from the use of those ceremonies. For the man who through grace is become truly spiritual, hath no need of ceremonies or outward means to depend upon, but finds himself excited to rely on the inward divine grace, and to depend upon God alone, walking continually in reverential watchfulness before him, and so keeping to the immediate teachings of Christ in his heart, he approaches with boldness to the throne of grace, and with a full assurance of faith, becomes a partaker of salvation.

\* Τὸν ἄρτον τὴν ζωὴν, signifying, according to the nice explanation of Passor, bread to maintain or uphold the essence or substance ; though others have translated it superessential bread.



But I leave this matter, to say something also concerning the Quakers' way of worship. It is usual among them when they meet together in their religious assemblies, to spend some time in a devout silence and retiredness of mind, inwardly praying with pure breathings to God, which they generally call, waiting upon the Lord: and if under this spiritual exercise any one feels himself stirred up of God to speak something by way of doctrine or exhortation, he doth so, and sometimes more than one, but orderly, one after another. And that this was usual in the primitive apostolical church, appears from what Paul saith, "If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all prophesy one by one." And what prophesying signifieth under the new covenant, the apostle himself explains with these words, "He that prophesieth, edifieth the church." Yet let none think this liberty of speaking to be so unlimited, that every body that can say something, may freely do so in the congregation: for he that will speak there, must also by all means be of a good, and honest, and holy life, and sound in doctrine; and if in process of time he finds in himself a concern from the Lord to travel in the ministry, and desires a certificate of his soundness in doctrine and orderly life, he may have it from the congregation where he resides. And certainly a preacher himself ought to have experience of the work of sanctification, before he is qualified to instruct others in the way thereto: for mere brain-knowledge cannot do that effectually. Sometimes in their meetings there is a public prayer before preaching; and preaching is generally concluded with a prayer.

Now preaching among them is not confined to the male sex as among others: for they believe that women whom the Lord hath gifted for gospel-ministry, may exercise their gifts among them to edification: for who will presume to say to him, What dost thou? To him namely, who, by his apostle, hath said, "Quench not the Spirit." They are not ignorant that the same apostle said to the Corinthians, "Let your women keep silence in the churches." Now not to insist on the word *your*, which seems to carry an emphasis along with it, as being chiefly applicable to those Corinthian women, yet by what follows it appears plainly, that it regards ignorant women, since it is said there, "If they will learn any thing," that is, if they will be further instructed concerning some points of doctrine, "Let them ask their husbands at home." Whereby it appears that this saying hath relation to such women, who either from indiscretion or curiosity, or out of a desire to be looked upon as such that knew also to say something, proposed questions to the church, and thereby caused more confusion than edification: "For it is indeed a shame for [such] women to speak in the church;" and the apostle's precept is, "Let all things be done decently and in order." Moreover, it ought to be considered also, that these words, "Let your women keep silence," have a tendency also to the subjection which women owe to their husbands, because it is said there also, that women are commanded "To be under obedience." This the apostle explains further in one of his epistles to Timothy, where

he saith, "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection : but I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man." Now that the apostle doth not absolutely forbid women speaking to edification in the church, appears from his own words, when he saith, "Every woman that prayeth, or prophesieth, with her head uncovered, dishonoreth her head : " for here he gives to women a prescript how to behave themselves when they prophesy ; and what he means by prophesying, he himself declareth in the same epistle, as hath been hinted already, where he saith, "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort ; and he that prophesieth edifieth the church." And pray what is this but that which we now-a-days call preaching ? For though prophesying under the old covenant seemeth chiefly to signify a prediction of what is to come, yet it is credible that the ancient prophets were also preachers ; and according to the New Testament language, it is evident that prophesying is chiefly preaching. Hence we may easily understand what kind of virgins the four daughters of Philip were, which did prophesy, and what kind of servant of the church Phœbe was, and Tryphena, and Tryphosa, who labored in the Lord, and Persis, who labored much in the Lord, which is considerably more than what is said of that Mary, who bestowed much labor on the apostles. How significantly doth the apostle call Priscilla and Aquila his helpers in Christ Jesus. And what he means by his helpers in that sense, we may see Phil. iv. 3, where he speaks of women who labored with him in the gospel. All this then being duly considered, the Quakers, so called, think it unlawful to forbid such women to preach whom the Lord hath gifted, and who are of a godly life and conversation ; since it appears sufficiently that in the primitive church they were not debarred from that service. And as in those days, so in ours, it hath evidently appeared, that some pious women have had a very excellent gift to the edification of the church. All which tends to the glory of God, who is no respecter of persons, and is pleased to make use of weak instruments to show forth his praise.

As to singing the words of David, since they do not suit the state and condition of mixed assemblies, they disuse the customary formal way of singing in the churches, which has neither precept nor precedent in the New Testament.

Concerning the resurrection, their belief is orthodox, and agreeable with the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures : but because they judge it to be very improper to say that we shall rise again with the same numerical bodies we now have, their opposers have often falsely accused them, as such who deny the resurrection ; though they fully believe this saying of the apostle, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." And as to the qualities of the bodies wherewith we shall arise, he saith, "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body : " "For," saith the same apostle, "our conversation is in heaven, whence we look for the Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body,

according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself." And he saith also, "We shall all be changed." And therefore they have counted it more safe, not to determine with what kind of bodies we shall be raised, provided we have a firm belief that there is to be a resurrection of the dead : for from such a determination many difficulties may arise, which otherwise are avoided ; and therefore they have also said to their antagonists, ' Christ's resurrection is indeed an argument for our resurrection ; but would it be valid thence thus to argue : because Christ's body, which was without sin, and was not corrupted in the grave, was raised the same it was buried ; therefore our bodies, which admit of corruption, must also be raised the same they are buried ? ' Nay, by insisting stiffly on this point, we fall into many difficulties : who will venture to say, that when people die, and are buried about the age of ninety years, their bodies in the resurrection shall be the same decrepid bodies they were when buried ; and that unborn children dying, shall be raised with such small bodies as they had then ? To shun therefore such kind of absurdities, they think it better not to suffer human wit to expatiate too far, since the apostle saith, " Mind not high things ;" and adviseth every man, " not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think."

Now as to church government, both for looking to the orderly conversation of the members, and for taking care of the poor, and of indigent widows and orphans, and also for making inquiry into marriages solemnized among them, they have particular meetings, either weekly, or every two weeks, or monthly, according to the greatness of the churches. They have also quarterly meetings in every county, where matters are brought that cannot well be adjusted in the particular meetings. To these meetings come not only the ministers and elders, but also other members, that are known to be of sober conversation ; and what is agreed upon there, is entered into a book belonging to the meeting. Besides these meetings a general annual assembly is kept at London in the Whitsun week, so called ; not for any superstitious observation the Quakers have for that more than at any other time, but because that season of year best suits the general accommodation.

To this Yearly Meeting, which sometimes lasteth four, five, or more days, are admitted such as are sent from all churches of that society in the world, to give an account of the state of the particular churches ; which from some places is done only by writing ; and from that meeting is sent a general epistle to all the churches, which commonly is printed ; and sometimes particular epistles are sent also to the respective churches. By which it may be known every year, in what condition the churches are : and in the said epistle generally is recommended a godly life and conversation, and due care about the education of children. If it happens that the poor any where are in want, then that is supplied by others who have in store, or sometimes by an extraordinary collection.

As to the denomination by which they are distinguished from other

religious societies, it is, as is well known, Quakers ; but since that name was given them in scorn, as hath been said in due place, they do not assume it any further than for distinction-sake from others ; but the name whereby they call one another is that of FRIENDS. And herein they have the example of primitive Christians, as may be seen Acts xxvii. 3, where it is said, that Julius the centurion courteously entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto the friends, (for so the Greek hath it,\*) to refresh himself, and 3 Epist. John 14, we read, " The friends salute thee ;" and " Greet the friends by name." Now this name of Friends is so common among the Quakers in England, that others also know them, and sometimes call them by that name.

It was, as I find, in the year 1705, that Anne, the late wife of Thomas Camm, deceased in a great age ; and having already made mention of her by the name of Anne Audland, I will say something more of her before I describe her exit. She was daughter of Richard Newby, in the parish of Kendal in Westmoreland, being born in the year 1627, and well educated ; and being come to maturity, she conversed much with the most religious people of that time. About the year 1650, she was married to John Audland, and in the beginning of 1652, they both were by the ministry of G. Fox, convinced of that truth he preached ; and in the next year they began to preach that doctrine to others ; for which in the following year she was committed to prison in the town of Aukland in the county of Durham, where she had opportunity to speak to the people through the window ; which she did so pathetically, that several were affected with her testimony ; and after being released, she travelled up and down the country, and had good service ; but not long after, she was again committed to prison on an accusation of having spoken blasphemy, for which she was tried at Banbury in Oxfordshire ; the indictment drawn up against her containing that she had said, God did not live : whereas that which she said was, that true words might be a lie in the mouth of some that spoke them, alleging for truth the saying of the prophet Jeremiah v. 2, " Though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely." The judge before whom she appeared, behaved himself moderately, and observing how wisely she answered to his questions with a modest boldness, proposed the matter to the jury thus : ' That she acknowledged the Lord her God and Redeemer to live, and that there were gods of the heathen that were dead gods.' Some of the justices upon the bench, who sought her destruction, perceiving they should not obtain their end, for it had been divulged that she should be burnt, went off to influence the jury, and bias them ; which had this effect, that they brought her in guilty of misdemeanor ; which made one present say, it was illegal to indict her for one fact, and to bring her in guilty of

\* *Ἐπὶ τοῖς Φίλοις*, and *ἐκ Φίλων*, which is not his friends, or our friends, as it is rendered, but *the friends*.

another ; since they ought to have found either guilty or not guilty upon the matter of fact charged in the indictment. The judge, though he had carried himself discreetly, had a mind however somewhat to please the justices that were her enemies ; and therefore at her refusal to give bond for her good behavior, she was sent to prison again ; though he was heard to say, that she ought to have been discharged. And the prison whither she was sent was a nasty place, several steps under ground ; on the side whereof was a common sewer, which sometimes stank very much, and frogs and toads crawled in the room. Here she was kept about eight months, but showed herself content, being persuaded that it was for the Lord's sake she thus suffered.

Her husband, John Audland, died, as hath been said before, about the beginning of the year 1664, and two years after she was married to Thomas Camm, a minister also of the gospel. She lived very retiredly, and spent much time in solitariness, and was almost daily exercised in reading the Holy Scriptures, and other edifying books. Her husband suffered imprisonment three years, at Kendal, and about six years, at Appleby ; insomuch that she came to be well acquainted with adversities : but by all these she was the more spurred on to advance in true piety ; and was a very remarkable teacher in the church, having an extraordinary gift to declare the truth. And yet she was very modest and humble, insomuch that how full soever she was of matter, she rarely appeared to preach in large meetings, where she knew there were men qualified for that service ; and she was grieved when she perceived any of her sex to be too forward on such occasions ; and therefore she advised them to be cautious, though she did not omit to encourage the good in all, and endeavored not to quench the Spirit in any. Thus she continued in a virtuous life to the end of her days. At Bristol she once fell so sick, that it was thought she was nigh death ; and then she exhorted those that stood by, to prize their time, and to prepare for their latter end, ' as God, (said she,) hath inclined me to do, so that I enjoy unspeakable peace here, with full assurance of eternal rest and felicity in the world to come.'

But she recovered from this sickness ; and when her dying hour came, which was in her dwelling place near Kendal, she was not less prepared, but said, ' I bless the Lord I am prepared for my change. I am full of assurance of eternal salvation, and a crown of glory, through my dear Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.' Many other excellent sayings she uttered during the time of her sickness ; and when she drew near her end, some of her friends asking her, whether she knew them, ' Yes,' said she, ' I know you every one. I have my understanding as clear as ever : for how should it be otherwise, since my peace is made with God through the Lord Jesus Christ. I have no disturbance in mind, therefore is my understanding and judgment so good and clear ; but to lie under the affliction of body and mind, to feel pinching pangs of body even to death, and to want peace with God ; O that would be intolerable to

bear!' She advised her husband to quit himself of the cumber of the things of this world, after her death, that he might with the more freedom attend the ministry of the gospel, and, said she, 'Warn all, but especially the rich, to keep low, and not to be high-minded: for humility and holiness is the badge of our profession.' A little before her departure, some fainting fits taking her, she revived again, and said, 'I was glad, thinking I was going to my eternal rest, without disturbance. I have both a sight and earnest of eternal rest with God in the world to come.' A little after she said, 'Methinks I grow weak and cold, My hands and feet are grown very cold, yet my heart is very strong. I must meet with sharper pangs than I have yet felt—This pain is hard to flesh and blood, but must be endured a little time; ease and eternal rest is at hand; I am glad I see death so near me.' A little after, seeing her friends weep, she said, 'Be not concerned, for all is well: I have only death to encounter, and the sting of it is wholly taken away: the grave hath no victory, and my soul is ascending above all sorrow and pains. So let me go freely to my heavenly mansion, disturb me not in my passage. My friends, go to the meeting; let me not hinder the Lord's business, but let it be the chief, and by you all done faithfully, that at the end ye may receive your reward; for mine is sure. I have not been negligent, my day's work is done.' Feeling afterwards her pains increasing, she prayed the Lord to help her through the agony of death; and a little after she said, 'O my God, O my God, thou hast not forsaken me, blessed be thy name for ever. O my blessed Savior, that suffered for me and all mankind, great pains in thy holy body upon the cross, remember me thy poor handmaid in this my great bodily affliction. My trust is in thee, my hope is only in thee, my dear Lord. O come, come dear Lord Jesus, come quickly, receive my soul; to thee I yield it up, help me now in my bitter pangs.' Then her husband prayed to God, that he would be pleased to make her passage easy. And she had no more such pangs but drew her breath shorter by degrees, and said little more, but that it was good to leave all to the Lord. And so she slept in the Lord the 30th of November, 1705, in the 79th year of her age. Thus Anne Camm departed this life, and her husband said afterwards that he counted it a great blessing to have had her to wife: for she was indeed a very excellent woman, and therefore I have described her latter end thus circumstantially.

Having now related what hath come to my knowledge, that I thought remarkable, and of singular moment in respect of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers, I think what I have written may suffice, and answer the contents of the title of this history; and therefore I will add only a few occurrences, and then come to a conclusion.

Many years ago, even in the time of king James I. endeavors were used to unite England and Scotland into one kingdom, but all in vain: king William III. also tried what could be done in this case, but his life did not permit him to bring the work to perfection. Yet at length

the matter was agreed and settled about the beginning of the year 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne, it being concluded that these two kingdoms henceforth should be united into one, and be called Great Britain. In the forepart of the year 1708, Scotland was threatened with an invasion by the pretended prince of Wales ; but he failed in the attempt, and his design came to naught. Now since the union of the said kingdom with that of England was accomplished, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line established by law, the queen on that account was congratulated by a multitude of addresses of her subjects ; and the Quakers, so called, judged themselves obliged also to testify their affection to that princess, as they did by the following address :

TO ANNE, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

*The grateful and humble Address of the People commonly called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting in London, this 28th day of the Third month, called May, 1708.*

‘ We having good cause to commemorate the manifold mercies of God vouchsafed to this united kingdom of Great Britain, believe it our duty to make our humble acknowledgments, first to the Divine Majesty, and next to the queen, for the liberty we enjoy under her kind and favorable government, with hearty desires and prayers to Almighty God, (who hath hitherto disappointed the mischievous and wicked designs of her enemies, both foreign and domestic,) that he will so effectually replenish the queen’s heart, together with those of her great council, with his divine wisdom, that righteousness, justice and moderation, which are the ornaments of the queen’s reign, and which exalt a nation, may be increased and promoted.

‘ And we take this opportunity to give the queen the renewed assurance of our hearty affection to the present established government, and that we will as a people in our respective stations, according to our peaceable principles, by the grace of God, approve ourselves in all fidelity the queen’s faithful and obedient subjects, and as such conclude with fervent prayers to the Lord of Hosts, that after a prosperous, safe and long reign in this life, thou, O queen, mayest be blessed with an eternal crown of glory.’

This address was signed in the name of the meeting by fourteen members thereof, who also were ordered to present it ; but it being understood that the queen seemed willing to be attended with it in private, only seven, among whom were G. Whitehead and Thomas Lower, went in with it, and were introduced by the principal secretary of state, Boyle ; and G. Whitehead presenting it, said, ‘ We heartily wish the queen health and happiness ; we are come to present an address from our Yearly Meeting, which we could have desired might have been more

early and seasonably timed, but could not, because our said meeting was but the last week; and therefore now hope the queen will favorably accept our address.' Then G. Whitehead delivering it, the queen said, 'Pray read it:' whereupon he took and read it, and the queen answered:

'I thank you very kindly for your address, and I assure you of my protection; you may depend upon it.'

'To which G. Whitehead replied, 'We thankfully acknowledge, that God by his power and special providence, hath preserved and defended the queen against the evil designs of her enemies, having made the queen an eminent instrument for the good of this nation and realm of Great Britain, in maintaining the toleration, the liberty we enjoy in respect to our consciences against persecution. Which liberty being grounded upon this reason in the late king's reign, for the uniting the Protestant subjects in interest and affection, the union of Great Britain now settled tends to the strength and safety thereof; for in union is the strength and stability of a nation, or kingdom; and without union, no nation or people can be safe; but are weak and unstable. The succession of the crown being settled and established in the Protestant line, must needs be very acceptable to all true Protestant subjects.

'And now, O queen, that the Lord may preserve and defend thee for the future, the remainder of thy days, and support thee under all thy great care and concern for the safety and good of this nation and kingdom of Great Britain, and that the Lord may bless and preserve thee to the end, is our sincere desire.'

To this the queen returned, 'I thank you for your speech, and for your address; and ye may be assured I will take care to protect you.'

And G. Whitehead replied, 'The Lord bless and prosper the queen and all her good intentions.' And thereupon he and his friends withdrew.

The most remarkable occurrences the Quakers in England now met with, were that they enjoying the liberty to perform their religious worship publicly, without disturbance, were afterward encountered by the writings of their enemies from ignorance or envy, and represented as maintainers of heterodox sentiments; but they not failing of answers, the eyes of many were opened, and some came over to them. And though sometimes those of the public church had the success to draw over one that was born and educated among the Quakers, but inclined to more liberty, and to be esteemed by the world, yet there have been others of the Episcopal church, who not from any earthly consideration, but merely by a conviction of their mind, have entered into society with the Quakers; not fearing to make public profession of their religion, as may appear by two letters which I will insert here; the one of Samuel



Crisp, a clergyman of the Episcopal church, who gave the following account of his change to one of his near relations :

*' My dear Friend,*

*' I received a letter from thee, the week before last, which was sent by thy uncle Bolton : there were a great many kind expressions in it, and in thy sister Clopton's likewise : I acknowledge myself much obliged to you both, and to the whole family, for many repeated kindnesses, and if my school had not engrossed so much of my time, I would have taken opportunity to answer my dear friend's letter now, and upon that account my delay will be the more excusable.*

*' The news thou hast heard of my late change is really true ; I cannot conceal it, for it is what I glory in ; neither was it any prospect of temporal advantage that induced me to it, but a sincere love to the truth, and pure regard to my own soul ; neither can I be sufficiently thankful to God, that he hath let me live to this glorious day, and not cut me off in the midst of my sins and provocations against him ; he is long suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance : he hath brought me off from the forms and shadows of religion, and let me see in a more illustrious manner what is the life and substance of it, as he found me in some degree faithful to that measure of light and knowledge he had bestowed on me, whilst I was in the communion of the church of England ; therefore he was pleased of late, as I humbly waited upon him to make known to me greater and deeper mysteries of his kingdom ; and I can truly say, that I find by daily experience, as I keep low and retired into that pure gift which he hath planted within me, things are every day more and more cleared up to me, and the truth shines and prevails greatly over the kingdom of darkness ; and if I should now turn my back upon such manifestations as these, and entangle myself again with the yoke of bondage, surely I should grieve the Holy Spirit, so that he might justly withdraw his kind operations, and never return more to assist and comfort me ; for God is not mocked ; religion is a very serious and weighty thing ; repentance and salvation are not to be trifled with, nor is turning to God, to be put off till our own time, leisure or conveniency, but we must love and cherish the least appearance of Christ, not slighting or despising the day of small things, but embrace the first opportunity of following Christ in any of his commands : when he speaks, there is such force and authority in it, that we cannot stand to cavil, dispute, or ask questions ; for unless we will be so obstinate as to shut our eyes against the sun, we must needs confess to the truth of his doctrine, and presently strike in with it ; and therefore when for several weeks I had lived more privately and retiredly in London, than was usual, fasting twice or thrice in a week, or sometimes more, spending my time in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer to God, this was a good preparation of my mind, to receive the truth which he was then about to make known to me. I lamented the errors of my past life,*

and was desirous to attain a more excellent degree of holiness than I had discovered in the church of England. In this religious retirement God knew the breathings of my soul, how sincere I was, and resigned to him when alone. I wanted him to set me free, and to speak peace and comfort to my soul, which was grieved and wearied with the burden of my sin: for though I had strictly conformed myself to the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, and had kept myself from running into any great or scandalous enormities, the fear of the Almighty preserving me, yet still I had not that rest and satisfaction in myself which I desired, and greatly longed for. I found when I had examined my state and condition to God-ward, that things were not right with me.

‘As for a sober and plausible conversation in the eye of the world, I knew that was a very easy attainment. A good natural temper, with the advantage of a liberal education, will quickly furnish a man with abilities for that, so that he shall be looked upon as a saint, and very spiritual; when perhaps in chains of darkness, in the gall of bitterness, and in the very bond of iniquity. If this sort of righteousness would have done, perhaps I might make as fair pretensions that way as some others; but alas, I quickly saw the emptiness and unsatisfactoriness of those things: this is a covering that will not protect or hide us from the wrath of the Almighty, when he comes to judgment. It is not a man’s natural temper, or his education, that makes him a good Christian; this is not the righteousness which the gospel calls for, nor is this the truth in the inward parts which God requires. The heart and affections must be cleansed and purified before we can be acceptable to God; therefore it was death to me to think of taking up my rest in a formal pretence of holiness, wherein yet I saw to my grief, abundance of people wrapped themselves, slept securely and quietly; dreaming of the felicity of paradise, as if heaven were now their own, and they needed not trouble themselves any more about religion. I could not entertain so dangerous an opinion as this, for then I should be tempted to take up my rest by the way, whilst I was travelling towards the promised land. I think I made a little progress in a holy life, and through God’s assistance I weakened some of my spiritual enemies, whilst I lived in the communion of the national church. I thank my God, I can truly say, whilst I used those prayers, I did it with zeal and sincerity, in his fear and dread; but still I ceased not my earnest supplication to him in private, that he would show me something more excellent; that I might get a complete victory over all my lusts and passions, and might perfect righteousness before him; for I found a great many sins and weaknesses daily attending me; and though I made frequent resolutions to forsake those sins, yet still the temptation was too strong for me; so that often I had cause to complain with the apostle in the bitterness of my soul, “O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” Who shall set me free, and give me strength to triumph over sin, the world, and the devil: that I may in every thing please God, and there may not be the

least thought, word, or motion, gesture or action, but what is exactly agreeable to his most holy will, as if I saw him standing before me, and as if I were to be judged by him for the thought of my heart next moment? O divine life! O seraphic soul! O that I could always stand here; for here is no reflection, no sorrow, no repentance: but at God's right hand there is perfect peace, and a river of unspeakable joy. O that we might imitate the life of Jesus, and be thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work. This was the frequent breathing of my soul to God when I was in the country, but more especially after I had left my new preferment of a chaplain, and took private lodgings in London. In this retirement I hope I may say without boasting, that I was very devout and religious, and I found great comfort and refreshment in it from the Lord, who let me see the beauty of holiness; and the sweetness that arises from an humbled, mortified life, was then very pleasant to my taste, and I rejoiced in it more than in all the delights and pleasures of the world.

'And now it pleased God to show me, that if I would indeed live strictly and holily as becomes the gospel, then I must leave the communion of the church of England; but knew not yet which way to determine myself, nor to what body of men I should join, who were more orthodox and more regular in their lives. As for the Quakers, so called, I was so great a stranger to them, that I had never read any of their books, nor do I remember that ever I conversed with any one man of that communion in my whole life. I think there was one in Foxly, whilst I was curate there; but I never saw the man, though I went several times to his house on purpose to talk with him, and to bring him off from his mad and wild enthusiasm, as I then ignorantly thought it to be. As for that way, I knew it was every where spoken against. He that had a mind to appear more witty and ingenious than the rest, would choose this for the subject of his profane jests and drollery; with this he makes sport, and diverts the company; for a Quaker is but another name for a fool or a madman, and was scarce ever mentioned but with scorn and contempt. As for drollery, I confess I was never any great friend to it; but indeed if aill was true that was laid to the Quaker's charge, I thought they were some of the worst people that ever appeared in the world, and wondered with what face they could call themselves Christians; since I was told they denied the fundamental articles of the holy faith, to which I ever bore the highest veneration and esteem; and notwithstanding I had always lived at the greatest distance from that people, and was very zealous in the worship of the church of England, and upon all occasions would speak very honorably of it, moreover was content to suffer some few inconveniences upon that account, as thou very well knowest; yet my father still looked upon me as inclining to the Quakers; and some years ago signified to a friend, he was afraid I would become an enthusiast; and whilst I was at Bungan school, he sent me two books to read that were written against the Quakers, one of

which was John Faldo's: who hath been sufficiently exposed for it by William Penn.

'Whilst I lived in London in that private retired manner, I was just now speaking of, walking very humbly in the sight of God, and having opportunity to reflect upon my past life, as I had occasion to be one day at a bookseller's shop, I happened to cast my eye on Barclay's works; and having heard in the country, that he was a man of great account amongst the Quakers, I had a mind to see what their principles were, and what defence they could make for themselves; for sure, thought I, these people are not so silly and ridiculous; nor maintainers of such horrid opinions, as the author of the 'Snake,' and some others would make us believe. I took Barclay home with me, and I read him through in a week's time, save a little treatise at the end, which I found to be very philosophical, I omitted; but however, I soon read enough to convince me of my own blindness and ignorance in the things of God; there I found a light to break in upon my mind, which did mightily refresh and comfort me, in that poor, low, and humbled state in which I then was; for indeed I was then, and had been for a considerable time before, very hungry and thirsty after righteousness, and therefore I received the truth with all readiness of mind: it was like balm to my soul, and as showers of rain to the thirsty earth, which is parched with heat and drought. This author laid things down so plainly, and proved them with such ingenuity and dexterity of learning, and opened the Scriptures so clearly to me, that without standing to cavil, dispute, raise argument or objection, or consulting with flesh and blood, I presently resigned myself to God; and weeping for joy that I had found so great a treasure, I often thanked him with tears in my eyes for so kind a visitation of his love, that he was graciously pleased to look toward me when my soul cried after him; so, though before I was in great doubt and trouble of mind, not knowing which way to determine myself, yet now the sun breaking out so powerfully upon me, the clouds were scattered: I was now fully satisfied in my own mind which way I ought to go, and to what body of people I should join myself.

'So I immediately left the communion of the church of England, and went to Gracechurch-street meeting. After I had read Barclay, I read some other books of that kind, among which was an excellent piece, though in a small volume, called, 'No Cross No Crown.' Thus I continued reading and frequenting meetings for several weeks together, but did not let any one soul know what I was about. The first man I conversed with was George Whitehead, and this was several weeks after I began to read Barclay, and frequent their meetings. By him I was introduced into more acquaintance, and still the further I went, the more I liked their plainness, and the decency and simplicity of their conversation. They do not use the ceremonies and salutations of the church of England, but shake hands freely, and converse together as brothers and sisters, that are sprung of the

same royal seed, and made kings and priests unto God. O, the love, the sweetness, tenderness, and affection I have seen among this people ! “ By this,” says Christ, “ shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.” “ Put on therefore,” says the apostle, (as the elect of God, holy and beloved,) “ bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering.”

‘ Thus, my dear friend, I have given thee an account of my proceeding on this affair. As to my bodily state, if thou desirest to know what it is, I may acquaint thee that I have my health, as well as ever, and I bless God I have food and raiment sufficient for me, so that I want no outward thing ; and I have the necessities and conveniencies of life liberally : let us not burden ourselves with taking care for the vanities and superfluities of it ; let us possess our vessels in sanctification and honor ; and as we bring our minds into perfect subjection to the whole will of God, so let us bring our body to the most simple and natural way of living ; being content with the fewest things, never studying to gratify our wanton appetites, nor to follow the customs and humors of men ; but how we may so contract our earthly cares and pleasures, that we may bring most glory to God, most health and peace to our own souls, and do most service to the truth ; and if this be our aim, certainly a very small portion of the things of this world will suffice us, seeing we are Christians, we should therefore earnestly pursue those things which bring us nearest to God, and which are most perfective of human nature : for what is more than a competency, seems to be a burden to a generous philosophical soul, which would breathe in a pure vehicle, that so it may have a quick sense and relish of all blessings, both of the superior and inferior worlds.

‘ Thou knowest, my dear friend, that religion is a very serious thing, and repentance is a great work, and one precious immortal soul is of more worth than ten thousand perishing worlds, with all their pomp and glory ; therefore let us take courage, and be valiant for the truth upon the earth ; let us not content ourselves with a name and profession of godliness ; let us come to the life and power of it ; let us not despond of getting the victory. We have a little strength for God : let us be faithful to him, and he will give us more strength, so that we shall see the enemy of our peace fall before us, and nothing shall be impossible unto us : I say, my friend, let us be faithful to that measure of light and knowledge which God has given us, to be profited and edified by it in a spiritual life, and as God sees we are diligent and faithful to work with the strength we have, he will more and more enlighten us, so that we shall see to the end of those forms and shadows of religion wherein we had formerly lived ; but if he sees we are about to take up our rest in those shadows, that we grow cold and indifferent in the pursuit of holiness, running out into notions and speculations ; and have more mind to dispute, and to make a show of learning and subtilty, than to lead a holy and devout life, then it is just with God to leave us in a carnal and polluted state ; to continue yet but

in the outward court, where we may please ourselves with beholding the beauty and ornaments of a worldly sanctuary, and never witness the veil being taken away, and that we are brought by the blood of Jesus, into the holiest of all, where alone there is true peace with God, and rest to the weary soul. I could say much upon this head, if time or leisure would give leave.

‘As for a particular answer to thy letter, I have not time now to give it; and for the present let this general answer suffice: and if thou wilt consider things in their pure abstracted nature, and not suffer the prejudice of education to sway thee, but in fear and humility wilt search out the truth for thyself, thou wilt find that there needs no other answer to thy letter than what I have already given; for by waiting upon God, and diligently seeking him, thou wilt find an answer to it in thy own bosom, and this will be much more full, clear, and satisfactory, than I, or any other man living can pretend to give thee, or any other friend who hath lovingly written to me; for whom I desire, with all the sincere-hearted in the church of England, that they may come to witness the Almighty power of God, to save and redeem them from every yoke; and that they may see clearly to the end of those things which are abolished, and come to the enjoyment of spiritual and heavenly things themselves, is the daily prayer and deep travail of my soul, God knoweth. Till I can be more particular, if thou please thou mayest communicate this to them, and let them know that I am well, and thank them for their kind letters. Let us remember to pray for one another with all fervency, that we may stand perfect in the whole will of God, Amen, saith my soul. I am thy most affectionate friend and servant in Jesus,

SAMUEL CRISP.’

*The following letter, or account of one Evan Jevans, is also remarkable.*

‘Since it hath pleased the divine goodness to endue me with reason, I heartily thank his most excellent Majesty, that it has been the further product of his good will to give me life and being in that part of the world, where I have had the freedom to use it; especially in the choice of my persuasion, and way of returning my acknowledgments to him. I wish that all, who make any pretensions to religion, would make use of this noble faculty with subjection to the divine will to determine their choice in this grand affair: and not let the religion of their education be that of their judgment. If people were thus truly wise unto their own salvation, and did not too lazily resign themselves to the conduct of their guides, thereby regarding more their ease than safety, they would not only be the better able to give a reason of the hope that is in them, but they would show more warmth in their devotion, more charity in their religion, and more piety in their conversation than at present they do.



‘When I was visited some time ago by the chastising hand of the Lord, for sin and my disobedience to his holy will, I labored under great affliction of mind, and anguish of spirit ; and though I was constant above many in my attendance on the public prayers of the church, strict in my observation of its ceremonies, and exceeding frequent in the use of private devotion, yet my burden increased, and I waxed worse.

‘In this wretched and doleful condition I was, when at a relation’s house, who had providentially returned from Pennsylvania to his native country, I lighted upon R. Barclay’s Apology for the Quakers ; by the reading whereof I was so well persuaded of their principles, and by turning my mind inward to the divine gift, (according to their doctrine,) it gave me victory, in a great measure, over our common enemy, banished away my disorderly imaginations, and restored me to my former regularity ; I received such satisfaction and comfort to my distressed soul, that thereupon I left the church of England, and joined myself in society with them ; and I am the more confirmed in my change, especially where it respects the worship of our Creator ; because it is not only the most agreeable to the Scriptures of Truth, but heaven has given us assurance of its approbation thereof, it having been at times, to my own experience, most powerfully attended with the presence of the Most High.

‘I hope none will begrudge me this mercy, because I received it not by their ministry ; if they do, I have cause to suspect their charity is not of a Christian latitude, since our blessed Redeemer approved not of that narrowness in his disciples in somewhat a like case.

‘But here to obviate the objection some may make to my change, because of the distress I lay under, and the discomposure I was subject to at times, I would have it remarked, that I read the said Apology beyond my expectation, with more sedateness than usual, and a more quiet composure of mind : so that with the influence of the Almighty, or Providence, or both, I had also the benefit of that distinguishing faculty of man in the change of my opinion. Oh that I may never forget the Lord’s mercy to my soul, who had compassion on me when I wallowed in my blood, and who said to the dry bones, Live. O that all such as are visited by the chastising hand of their Maker would seriously lay it to heart, and consider their own welfare and salvation ; I could wish with all my heart, that such who labor under this anxiety of mind, would take encouragement to hope in the Lord’s mercy through their blessed Redeemer, by his kindness and long forbearance with me. I am a living monument of it now ; and I hope I shall be so, while he affords me a being here. If these lines should come to the hands of any that are afflicted and distressed as I was, I have an effectual remedy, through mercy, to prescribe unto them. Turn your minds inward to the grace of God in your own hearts, refrain from your own imaginations, be still, and quietly resign yourselves to his holy will, so you shall find health to your souls, refreshment to your spirits, and the sweet consolation of the Lord in your own bosoms ; you shall find your mourning turned to

gladness, and your heaviness to joy ; this has been my experience of the goodness of the Holy One of Israel, who abhors sin and iniquity ; therefore I recommend it to you, and I think this is no mistrusting of the cause, for they are the sick and wounded in spirit, not the whole, that need the physician.

‘ As for renouncing the covenant, which I and every Christian ought to be under, of forsaking the devil and all his works, I am so far from entertaining one thought of neglecting that duty, that I think myself wholly obliged to observe it : and if I should affirm, that through the grace of God, and his assistance, (for otherwise I am satisfied I cannot do it,) the observation of it is possible, I can find no reason why it should be false doctrine in a Quaker, more than in a churchman.

‘ As for deserting that church and ministry which the Son of God came down from heaven to establish, I am not conscious to myself thereof ; for I say, Christ himself is the head of our church, and, by his Spirit and grace, the ordainer of our ministry.

‘ And as to the last query my ingenious acquaintance is pleased to propose, I do let him know, that my former despair and forlorn condition has been, since my adhering to that reproached people, changed into a sweet enjoyment of the goodness of God. I could not conceal the Lord’s goodness, lest he should withdraw his mercies from me.

‘ I had no secular interest to corrupt me in this change. It is apparent to many, I declined it ; but as it was peace with God my Maker, and mercy to my soul I wanted, so having found the pearl of great price among them, I parted with all to purchase it ; or rather, I was restored to all, I mean, the enjoyment of the divine goodness, and of myself, by setting a due value upon it.’

From this account it appears that the writer thereof aimed at nothing in his change of religion, but the quietness of his mind, and the salvation of his soul.

Now I am to mention, that the queen, in the year 1710, in her speech to the parliament, having again declared that she would maintain the toleration and liberty of conscience, was addressed by many ; wherefore the people called Quakers esteemed it their duty to show also their grateful acknowledgment of this favor, which they did by the following address.

#### TO QUEEN ANNE, OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

*The humble and thankful Address of the Queen’s Protestant subjects, the People called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themselves, and the rest of their persuasion.*

‘ When we consider the queen’s royal regard to protect our religious liberty, and the fresh assurance from the throne, of her Christian resolu-



tion to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences, and her tender care that the same may be transmitted to posterity in the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, we find ourselves concerned gratefully to acknowledge her goodness therein, and the ready concurrence of her great council therewith: taking this occasion to assure the queen of our duty and affection, and peaceable behavior under her government, as is our principle, and hath always been our practice.

‘And we heartily desire our fellow-subjects may lay aside all animosities, and in a spirit of love and meekness, endeavor to outdo each other in virtue and universal charity.

‘That it may graciously please Almighty God to defend and bless thee, O queen, and guide thee by his counsel in a long and prosperous reign here, and afterwards receive thee to glory, is the hearty prayer of thy faithful subjects.’

To this address the Queen was pleased to answer:

‘I thank you for your address, and ye may depend upon my protection.’

The animosities mentioned in this address, did regard the division, which having been a good while among the subjects, began to increase as many thought by the change of the ministry. But this being out of my province, I will not meddle with it.

In the year 1712, died Richard Cromwell, the son of Oliver the Protector, about the age of ninety years. Great changes this man had seen, having himself been the supreme ruler of England, as hath been mentioned in due place.

Although I do not intend to relate much more of any occurrences, because I hasten towards a conclusion, yet I think it worth the while to add the following case:

In the year 1713, in the spring, there was a suit at law, on the act against Occasional Conformity. It happened that one John Penry, a justice of peace of Allborough, in the county of Suffolk, going to the parish church, understood by the way, that no service was to be done there at that time; but hearing that there was a Quakers’ meeting there, he went to it. One Wall, the bailiff of the place, being informed thereof, imagined that the said justice might not go there, because of the aforesaid act, and therefore thinking that something might be gained by it, got witnesses to declare that the said justice had been in the meeting; and said afterwards in a boasting way to him, ‘Now I have hooked you.’ To which the other replied, ‘I will stand to it.’ The bailiff then entered his suit in the name of one that lived thereabouts by charity. When the case was pleaded at the sessions, the judge, who was baron Salathiel Lovel, declared the meaning of the forementioned act to be thus, viz. That it did not regard any who accidentally went into a meeting of dissenters; but that it was against those who conformed with the church,

thereby to qualify themselves for an office, without changing their religion. But this was quite another case; for the priest of the parish himself gave a certificate that the said justice was a good member of the church. Hence it appeared that the suit was mere malice; and the informers, or witnesses, were brought to that pinch, that they durst not expect the verdict of the jury, for fear that they should have been condemned to pay the charges, and therefore they let the thing fall.

Being now entered into this year, I cannot omit to say, that a peace between England and France being concluded, and the subjects from all parts of the nation congratulating the queen with addresses, the Quakers did not omit also to present an address; being as follows:

TO ANNE, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

*The humble Address of her Protestant dissenting subjects, called Quakers, met at our annual meeting in London, the 3d day of the Fourth month, called June; 1713.*

‘ May it please the Queen,

‘ We having been sorrowfully affected at the calamity which war brought on Europe, cannot omit to express our satisfaction and gladness for the queen’s great care, and Christian concern, for establishing so long desired a peace.

‘ We are also under a dutiful sense of the queen’s gracious government and compassion manifested towards tender consciences at home, as well as noble and Christian interposition, in favor of persecuted Protestants abroad.

‘ And further crave leave to assure the queen, that we shall, as in duty bound, approve ourselves, in all humility and faithfulness, the queen’s obedient subjects; and though but a small part of those that enjoy, under thy mild government, protection in religion and civil liberties, we cannot but earnestly pray for, and desire the quiet and safety of our country; which evidently appears to be the queen’s care to establish, in having done so much for securing the Protestant interest, and maintaining perfect friendship with the house of Hanover. That it may please Almighty God in his mercy and goodness to assist with his wisdom the queen, in all her councils, and give her long to enjoy the quiet fruit of lasting peace in this life, and in that which is to come, joy and peace everlasting, is our hearty and fervent prayer.’

This address, which chiefly contained an assurance of fidelity to the queen, was accepted favorably.

The next year, being that of 1714, the queen was often ill, and there was much division among the people: for a bill was brought into parliament called, ‘ An Act to prevent the growth of Schism;’ and the party that prevailed then was very active to get this bill passed. And since it

tended to deprive the dissenters from keeping schools, and to allow that liberty to none but members of the Episcopal church, or at least to nobody but who had license from them, it met with great opposition, and many reasons against it were published; the people called Quakers offered also to the legislature the following reasons against it :

I. The church of England hath frequently declared, by several of her members, in a clerical, as well as civil capacity, by those who framed and espoused one or more of the bills against occasional conformity, that she is in principle against persecution, and for preserving the toleration.

II. The promoters of this bill may please to remember, that the queen hath declared from the throne, that she will maintain the toleration inviolable.

III. The Protestant subjects of this kingdom, who are parents of children, are supposed to have preserved to them, by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the natural right of the care and direction of the education of their own children; which natural right this bill seems calculated to take away and destroy.

IV. If the governments, which are now either heathen or Mahometan, should take into the same policy, the society which the queen hath incorporated for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, can have very little, if any, good effect or success.

V. May it not seem an objection and contradiction to the many princely and Christian solicitations which the queen by her ministers hath made at foreign courts, on the behalf of Protestants, against the violent intrusions of Papists, into their rights and just privileges?

VI. It may be a means to oblige the carrying out of large sums of money for foreign education.

VII. It may probably do much hurt to charitable foundations.

VIII. It seems not to be agreeable to that great law of Christ Mat. vii, 12, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

But whatever was objected, the said bill at length passed, and was confirmed with the royal assent, which gave occasion to the Quakers to add in the conclusion of the printed epistle of their annual assembly at London, the following caution and exhortation: 'There seems at present to hang over us a cloud, threatening a storm. Let us all watch and

pray, and retire to our munition and strong hold in our spiritual rock and foundation which standeth sure; that our God may defend, help, and bless us as his peculiar people, to the end of our days and time here, and the full fruition of the heavenly kingdom and glory hereafter.'

About midsummer this year died Sophia, widow and electoral princess of Brunswick Lunenburg, on whom the succession of the crown of Great Britain was settled. Scarce two months after her demise, queen Anne deceased, who after having languished a long time, at length was taken away by death on the first of August, the self-same day that the act against the growth of schism was to have taken effect.

The same day George, prince elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, was proclaimed king of Great Britain; who some time after repairing to England, made his entry at London on the 20th of September. Not long after his arrival he declared in council, that he would maintain the toleration in favor of the Protestant dissenters. Hereupon many addresses of congratulation were presented to him, and on the third of October the people called Quakers also offered their address, which was delivered by George Whitehead, and about forty of his friends, introduced by the lord Townsend, one of the principal secretaries of state. The prince was not only present, but many of the nobles, and others also; and G. Whitehead presenting the address to the king, said, 'We are come in behalf of the people called Quakers, to present to king George our address and acknowledgment: may it be favorably accepted.' Being then presented, G. Whitehead said, 'One of us may read it to the king.' Whereupon he receiving it again, delivered it to Joseph Wyeth, who read it audibly, being as followeth:

TO GEORGE, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

*The humble address of the people commonly called Quakers.*

'Great Prince,

'It having pleased Almighty God to deprive these kingdoms of our late gracious queen, we do in great humility approach thy royal presence with hearts truly thankful to divine Providence for thy safe arrival, with the prince thy son, and for thy happy and uninterrupted accession to the crown of these realms; which, to the universal joy of thy faithful subjects, hath secured to thy people the Protestant succession, and dissipated the just apprehensions we were under, of losing those religious and civil liberties, which were granted to us by law, in the reign of king William III., whose memory we mention with great gratitude and affection. We are also in duty obliged thankfully to acknowledge thy early and gracious declaration in council, wherein thou hast, in princely and Christian expressions, manifested thy just sense of the state of thy people, and which we hope will make all degrees of thy subjects easy.

And as it hath been our known principle to live peaceably under government, so we hope it will always be our practice, through God's assistance, to approve ourselves of hearty affection, thy faithful and dutiful subjects.

'May the wonderful Counsellor and great Preserver of men, guide the king by his divine wisdom; protect him by his power; give him health and length of days here, and eternal felicity hereafter. And so bless his royal offspring, that they may never fail to adorn the throne with a successor endowed with piety and virtue.'

To this address the king was pleased to give this gracious answer :

'I am well satisfied with the marks of duty you express in your address, and you may be assured of my protection.'

The address being read, G. Whitehead spoke to this effect :

'Thou art welcome to us, king George; we heartily wish thee health and happiness, and thy son the prince also. King William III. was a happy instrument in putting a stop to persecution, by promoting toleration, which being intended for the uniting the king's Protestant subjects in interest and affection, it hath so far that effect as to make them more kind to one another, even among the differing persuasions, than they were when persecution was on foot. We desire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty, under the king and his government, is according to our principle and practice.'

G. Whitehead having thus spoken, his name was asked; whereupon he answered, 'George Whitehead.' And having it upon his mind to see the prince also, and intimating his desire to a lord who was gentleman to the prince's bed-chamber, he made way to it; and thus G. Whitehead, with some of his friends, got access; and they were introduced by one of the prince's gentlemen into a chamber, where the prince met them; and then G. Whitehead spoke to him, the substance of which was as followeth :

'We take it as a favor that we are thus admitted to see the prince of Wales, and truly we are very glad to see thee; having delivered our address to the king, thy royal father, and being desirous to give thyself a visit in true love, we very heartily wish health and happiness to you both; and that if it should please God thou shouldst survive thy father, and come to the throne, thou mayest enjoy tranquillity and peace, &c.

'I am persuaded, that if the king thy father, and thyself, do stand for the toleration for liberty of conscience to be kept inviolable, God will stand by you.

'May king Solomon's choice of wisdom be thy choice, with holy Job's integrity and compassion to the oppressed ; and the state of the righteous ruler commended by king David, viz. he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God ; and he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.'

This speech was favorably heard by the prince.

It was not long after the king's coming over, that Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, the renowned author of the 'History of the Reformation in England,' died. He generally had shown himself moderate, and had written very plainly against persecution in matters of faith, especially in his 'Apology for the Church of England,' first printed in Holland in the year 1688, and afterwards also in England, wherein among other things, he said, 'I will not deny, but many of the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England ; I cannot deny it, and I am sure I will never justify it. And I will boldly say this, that if the church of England, after she is got out of this storm, will return to hearken to the peevishness of some sour men, she will be abandoned both of God and man, and will set both heaven and earth against her.'

The year being come to an end, I go on to that of 1715. In the month called May, it was moved in parliament, that the term of the act for the Quakers' solemn affirmation was almost expired ; and thereupon it was resolved, that a bill should be brought in to prolong that said term ; and on the 7th of the said month a bill was accordingly brought into the House of Commons, read the first time, and five days after, the second time, and committed. And whereas the former act was limited to a term of years, this limitation was omitted now, and consequently the act was to be perpetual. The bill thus far advanced, was at length engrossed, and on the second of the month called June, after a third reading, passed in the House of Commons, and sent to the Lords, whence it was sent back with this addition, that this favor should be extended also to the northern part of Great Britain, known by the name of Scotland, and to the plantations belonging to the crown of Great Britain for five years, for so far the former act had not reached, and to the end of next sessions of parliament.

This amendment was agreed to by the House of Commons on the 13th of the said month, and on the last of that month was confirmed by the royal assent. Thus the Quakers were protected anew against the heavy shock which otherwise they might have expected on the refusal of an oath. King George on all occasions having shown himself favorable to them, they did not omit thankfully to acknowledge his kindness, as appears from the general epistle of their annual assembly, where they expressed their gratitude in these words :

'The Lord our God, who, for the sake of his heritage, hath often  
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heretofore rebuked and limited the raging waves of the sea, hath, blessed be his name, mercifully dispersed the cloud threatening a storm, which lately seemed to hang over us; which, together with the favor God hath given us in the eyes of the king and the government, for the free enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties, call for true thankfulness to him. And humbly to pray to Almighty God for the king and those in authority, for his and their safety and defence, is certainly our Christian duty, as well as to walk inoffensively as a grateful people.'

Thus they signified their thankfulness for the favor they enjoyed;\* and as they did now enjoy liberty, and quiet, so the other subjects were also maintained in their rights under a gentle government, so that none had cause to fear, who behaved themselves like peaceable subjects. And yet in many places in England were great convulsions and tumults; and some hot-headed clergymen were not a little instrumental therein; whereupon an open rebellion ensued, but the rebels were defeated near Preston by the king's forces.

Before I conclude this year, I am to say that the French king Louis XIV. did not live to see the end of it, but on the first of September, N. S. after having long languished by a malignant distemper, died in the 77th year of his age; having before appointed his brother's son, the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom of France.

This death seemed not a little to have altered the measures of the Pretender; nevertheless in the beginning of the year 1716, he came over from France to Scotland, in hopes to make an inroad thence into England, but his attempt miscarried, and his forces were discomfited by those of the king. The common opinion was, that he chiefly relied on assistance from France; but that was denied him by that court, though he seemed to have reckoned upon it. He also lingered some time in Great Britain, after his forces were defeated; but seeing no way to invade the throne he aimed at, he returned at length to France, which kingdom he hath been fain to depart since, to the joy of many inhabitants of England; for it was thought that the rebels being deprived of their chief, the disturbance would be at an end.

This rebellion being thus happily quenched, induced the inhabitants of Great Britain to congratulate the king with addresses; and these congratulations being become so general, the people called Quakers were not wanting to prepare also an address, to testify their loyalty; and to express their joy for the quelling of the rebellion; and therefore in their Yearly Meeting they drew up an address, which they presented

\* But seeing from the first grant of an affirmation instead of an oath, the form then obtained was not entirely such as was desired, and many were not easy therewith; they several times applied to the parliament for a more easy form, which at length, through the merciful providence of God, and the favor of king George and the parliament, was obtained in the latter end of the year, 1721; the form now being, 'I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm,' &c.

to the king on the last day of the month called May, being introduced by the earl of Manchester, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, when G. Whitehead said in substance :

That in their annual assembly held for the religious concerns of their society, endeavoring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion professed by them, the sense of the great deliverance had such a weight upon their minds, that they were willing to express it in an address to king George, whom God by his providence had brought hither and preserved, so that he could well say, he was George, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, &c. And that as men carried that saying stamped on the money in their pockets, so it was to be wished it might be imprinted in the hearts of the subjects.

Hereupon the address was presented, and read to the king, being as followeth :

TO GEORGE, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

*The humble Address of the People called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting in London, the 26th day of the Third month, called May, 1716.*

‘ May it please the King,

‘ We thy faithful and peaceable subjects, being met in this our annual assembly, do hold ourselves obliged, in point of principle and gratitude, rather than by formal and frequent addresses, humbly and openly to acknowledge the manifold blessings and kind providences of God, which have attended these kingdoms ever since thy happy accession to the throne.

‘ And as our religion effectually enjoins us obedience to the supreme authority, so it is with great satisfaction that we pay it to a prince, whose justice, clemency, and moderation, cannot but endear, and firmly unite the hearts and affections of all his true Protestant subjects.

‘ We are therefore sorrowfully affected with the unhappiness of those our countrymen, who have so little gratitude or goodness, as to be uneasy under so just and mild an administration ; nor can we reflect on the late unjust and unnatural rebellion, without concluding the promoters thereof, and actors therein, were men infatuated, and hurried by such an evil spirit, as would lay waste and destroy both the civil and religious liberties of these Protestant nations.

‘ And as God, the Lord of Hosts, hath most signally appeared to the confounding that Black Conspiracy, so we pray his good Providence may alway attend the king's councils and undertakings, to the establishing his throne in righteousness and peace, and making his house a sure house.

‘ Permit us therefore, great prince, to lay hold of this opportunity to



approach thy royal presence with our hearty thanks to the king and his great council, for all the privileges and liberties we enjoy. 'To behold a prince upon the throne, solicitous for the ease and happiness of his people, beyond any other views, so heightens our satisfaction and joy, that we want words to express our full sense thereof. And therefore we can do no less than assure the king, that as it is our duty to demean ourselves towards the king's person and government with all faithful obedience, so we are determined by divine assistance, devoutly and heartily to pray the God and Father of all our mercies to vouchsafe unto the king, a long, peaceable, and prosperous reign ; and that when it shall please the Almighty to remove from us so precious a life, by taking it to himself, there may not want a branch of thy royal family endowed with wisdom and virtue to fill the throne, till time shall be no more.'

To this address the king was pleased to give this gracious answer :

'I thank you for the assurance of duty and affection to my person and government, contained in this address ; and you may always depend upon my protection.'

Thus we again see a prince on the throne, who solemnly assureth the Quakers, so called, of his protection ; so that now they enjoy the due liberty of subjects that behave themselves peaceably and dutifully under the government set over them, in like manner as other inhabitants of Great Britain : and therefore they have not neglected to exhort one another to show their thankfulness to Almighty God, and to pray for the king, as it hath been intimated already, that this was recommended in one of the epistles of their Yearly Meeting. Now since mention hath several times been made in this history of those epistles of the annual assembly to the particular churches, I have thought fit to insert here one of them, viz. that of the year 1717, which is as followeth : •

*The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting in London, held by adjournment, from the 10th day of the Fourth month, to the 14th of the same inclusive, 1717.*

*To the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain, and elsewhere.*

'Our salutation, in the love of Christ Jesus our blessed Lord, is freely extended unto you, whose tender care over, and mercy to, this our annual assembly, we do humbly and thankfully acknowledge, in the love, amity, tender condescension, and peaceable procedure thereof, with respect to the divine power and goodness of the Lord our God, and the service of his church and people ; sincerely desiring the prosperity of his whole heritage, even in all the churches of Christ among us, in his dear love, unity and peace, to his eternal glory, and our universal comfort and perpetual joy in the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

' We are truly comforted, in that we understand there is such a general concurrence and union among Friends, with our former earnest desires and counsel, for true and universal love, unity, peace, and good order to be earnestly endeavored and maintained among us, as a peculiar people, chosen of the Lord out of the world, to bear a faithful testimony to his holy name and truth, in all respects ; and that all that is contrary be watched against and avoided ; as strife, discord, contention, and disputes tending to divisions, may be utterly suppressed and laid aside, as the light and righteous judgment of truth require.

' Oh ! that all the churches and congregations of the faithful would be excited by the Spirit of the dear Son of God, fervently to pray for the prosperity of his church and people throughout the world, that Zion may more and more shine in the beauty of holiness, to the glory and praise of the King of Glory.

' The friends and brethren come up from the several quarterly meetings in this nation, have given a good account to this meeting of truth's prosperity, and that Friends are generally in love and unity one with another ; and by several epistles, from friends of North Carolina, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Barbadoes, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, which have been read in this meeting ; as also by verbal accounts given by several Friends that have lately travelled in divers parts of America, and elsewhere, we have received comfortable accounts of the state of truth and Friends in those parts ; by which we are encouraged to hope truth prevails in many places, and a concern grows upon Friends for the prosperity thereof ; and that there is an inclination in people to hear the truth declared.

' By the accounts brought up this year, we find that Friends' sufferings in England and Wales, amount to five thousand two hundred and ninety pounds, and upwards, chiefly for tithes, priests' wages, and steeple-house rates ; and that, notwithstanding there have been four Friends discharged the last year, there yet remain twenty Friends prisoners on these accounts.

' We advise that a tender care remain upon Friends in all places, to be faithful in keeping up our Christian testimony against tithes, as being fully persuaded, it is that whereunto God hath called his people in this our day ; we seeing by daily experience, that such as are not faithful therein, do thereby add to the sufferings of honest Friends, and hinder their own growth and prosperity in the most blessed truth.

' As touching the education of Friends' children, for which this meeting hath often found a concern ; we think it our duty to recommend unto you, the necessity that there is of a care in preserving of them in plainness of speech and habit, suitable to our holy profession : and also that no opportunity be omitted, nor any endeavor wanting, to instruct them in the principle of truth which we profess ; that thereby they, being sensible of the operation thereof in themselves, may find, not only their spirits softened and tendered, fit to receive the impressions of the divine image,

but may also thence find themselves under a necessity to appear clear in the several branches of our Christian testimony. And as this will be most beneficial to them, being the fruits of conviction, so it is the most effectual way of propagating the same throughout the churches of Christ. And there being times and seasons wherein their spirits are, more than at others, disposed to have those things impressed upon them ; so we desire that all parents, and others concerned in the oversight of youth, might wait in the fear of God, to know themselves divinely qualified for that service, that in his wisdom they may make use of every such opportunity, which the Lord shall put into their hands. And we do hereby warn and advise Friends in all places to flee every appearance of evil, and keep out of pride, and following the vain fashions and customs of this world, as recommended in the Epistle, 1715.

‘ And as we always found it our concern to recommend love, concord, and unity in the churches of Christ every where, so as a means to effect the same, we earnestly desire that Friends, but more especially such as are concerned in meetings of business, do labor to know their own spirits subjected by the Spirit of Truth ; that thereby being baptized into one body, they may be truly one in the foundation of their love and unity, and that therein they may all labor to find a nearness to each other in spirit ; this being the true way to a thorough reconciliation, wherever there is, or may have been any difference of apprehension : thereby Friends will be preserved in that sweetness of spirit, that is, and will be the bond of true peace, throughout all the churches of Christ.

‘ And, dear Friends, the Friends of this meeting, to whom the inspection of the accounts was referred, made report, that having perused the same, they found the stock to be near expended : whereupon this meeting thinks it necessary to recommend unto you, that a general and free contribution be made in every county, and that what shall be thereupon collected, be sent up to the respective correspondents.

‘ Finally, dear Friends and brethren, be careful to walk unblamable in love and peace among yourselves, and towards all men in Christian charity, and be humbly thankful to the Lord our most gracious God, for the favor he hath given us in the eyes of the king and civil government, in the peaceable enjoyment of our religious and Christian liberties under them ; and the God of peace, we trust, will be with you to the end.

‘ The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirits. Amen.

‘ Signed in, and on the behalf, and by the order of this meeting,

By BENJAMIN BEALING.’

From this epistle may be judged in some degree of the others, which are sent from the Yearly Meeting of the people called Quakers, to the particular meetings of their society every where. We see by it, that they give notice of the state of their particular churches, and that they earnestly recommend love and unity among their brethren, with other Christian virtues, and especially a good education of their children, besides

other matters which they judge to be meet and necessary. With this epistle here inserted, I will finish this work, as having performed my design and intention, viz. the giving of a plain and circumstantial account and relation of the rise of this religious society, which, as we have seen, sprung from mean beginnings, to a great increase and progress, and extended itself far, notwithstanding the violent opposition, and most grievous severity, for suppressing and rooting them out, so often put in practice, and committed by their enemies, but all in vain. And they now enjoy an undisturbed liberty to perform the public exercise of their worship to God, since their religion is permitted by law ; which liberty they in no wise have obtained by making resistance, but by a long-suffering patience, a peaceable deportment, and a dutiful fidelity to the government set over them : so that now they see clearly, that God doth not forsake those that do not forsake him, according to what the prophet Azariah formerly said to king Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin, 2 Chron. xv. 2. " The Lord is with you, while ye be with him ; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you : but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you." Having thus performed what I intended with this historical relation, I conclude it, to the praise and glory of the Most High, who hath afforded me lifetime and ability, after a long and difficult labor, to bring this history to a suitable end.

## A D D E N D A.

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The Author towards the conclusion of this history, having given some account of the principles of the people called Quakers, thought fit, in the Dutch Appendix, among other things, to add the following treatise in Latin, concerning the Light, written about the year 1662. And since in this English translation the subject matters contained in the said Appendix are inserted in the body of the history, in those places to which they properly belong, and no reference being made to this, but as mentioned in the preface, it is thought fit to subjoin it here, with the following words of the Author prefixed to the same.

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In the preface to this history, mention is made of a certain book, entitled, 'The Light upon the Candlestick,' published in the name, as many supposed, of William Ames, yet no ways written by him, though it contains his doctrine, but by a certain learned man, unwilling to be known publicly, and as it seems to me, written originally in Latin; which, though printed, being but in few hands, I have thought fit to reprint.

And the original in Latin, soon after the first publication, being translated into English by B. F., was printed in the year 1663, from which translation take it as follows, viz :

### THE LIGHT UPON THE CANDLESTICK.

THINGS are not for words, but words for things; if therefore we understand things aright, and as they ought, by words, it must be by such as are fit to imprint the things themselves in those to whom they should occur, and then it were enough, (to make known our thoughts to others as we conceive them,) only to make use of such words.

But forasmuch as we find the matter in this case far otherwise, and that two men speaking or writing the same words, may nevertheless have different, yea, sometimes contrary thoughts, the disability of performing this fitly by words or discourse, is clearly inferred. Nor may we at all wonder at it, seeing we know to what a perpetual change languages are subject, even such, that the very words may be changed from their pristine signification. And the imperfection is so great, that

whosoever should have invented them, such as now they are in use, we should certainly believe that he had little or no knowledge of those things that are thereby intended to be signified. So that if we would better express things unto another, by words and speeches, we had need find new words, and consequently a whole new language: but that would be a toil and labor indeed.

In the meanwhile we see what a sea of confusion flows hence upon all mankind: for although there should be none, who sometimes through ignorance, and sometimes by subtilty or wickedness, might wrest or pervert words contrary to the mind of the speaker or writer, in such manner as themselves, that so do, should think best for their own ends, whence consequently all this deceit, slandering, contention, and the like proceeds; yet, so it is, that how uprightly or prudently soever a man goes to work in this matter, he nevertheless finds himself liable to mislead, or to be misled.

But although the case be thus with words and discourses at present in use; yet for all that, they are the most ready, and so far as I know, the fittest means to make known all our thoughts unto others by; and for this reason therefore, though so much confusion and deceit happen to arise from hence, that no man that hath any experience can be ignorant thereof; yet may we not therefore be too much afraid of them neither, as many yet do manifest themselves to be, who, because they have some experience hereof, are apt to believe we are about to deceive them, especially if they be but forewarned thereof.

This, as in many things, so it hath chiefly taken place in that which is commonly esteemed for religion; in which it is so with most men, that they will scarce give audience to, much less take into consideration, any thing held forth unto them, by any whom they judge not to be of their own opinion; to avoid as they imagine, being thereby deluded.

Yet if they were thus towards their own party, we might think it was an act of prudence, and that they would see with their own eyes; but no, in nowise, this is too hard a task; whatsoever cometh on that side is received with such partiality for good and current coin, as if there were no danger nor possibility of erring: whereas nevertheless, it is all alike with the one as with the other opinion. It all depends but upon a possibility of being nearest to the truth; and for the upholding every one his own opinion, and defending it against others, there is so much ado, so much pains taken, so much scholastic learning, study, and disputing, that one would rather believe that there were no true religion at all, than that this should needs be it.

Seeing then it is thus at present, can we much blame the common people, that they despair of ever being able to solve this difficulty, and are glad when they can but find any that are greedy of the work, upon whom they may cast the whole burden? surely no: for he that sees but a little clearly, sees that there is always contention behind, and no end till a man grows weary of it: nor is the conquest just his that hath truth

but his that can best handle his tongue. A miserable thing if it were thus to be sought and found : but it is not so with the true religion.

Go to, then, O man, whoever thou art, we will not draw thee off from one society of men, to carry thee over to another ; it is somewhat else we invite thee to. Lend us but a little audience ; surely thou knowest thus much, that as it is an absurdity to receive all things without distinction that present themselves to us, so it is no less so to reject all things without judgment. We invite thee to something which may be a means whereby to attain to thy own salvation and well-being. Be as distrustful, or rather prudent, or foresighted as thou wilt, thou canst not in reason refuse us thy ear in this thing. All the damage thou canst possibly have by doing that which we exhort thee to, is only to have taken a little pains in vain, if that which is promised should not succeed ; whereas, on the contrary, if it should succeed, thou mayest come to the enjoyment of a matter of so great worth, that would not be exchanged for all that is esteemed great in the earth. Moreover it is not far to seek, but at hand ; it is nigh thee, yea, and in thyself. And there thou mayest experience the trial of that which we declare, which is the most certain and sure that can be desired.

We direct thee then to look within thyself ; that is, that thou oughtest to turn into, to mind, and have a regard unto that, which is within thee, viz. the light of truth, the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Here it is that thou must be, and not without thee. Here thou shalt find a principle certain and infallible, and whereby increasing and going on therein, thou mayest at length arrive unto a happy condition : of this thou mayest safely adventure the trial. But if thou darest not do so much, it is hard to help thee. And if thou happenest to be one of those that would know all things, before thou dost begin, yea, even those things which are experienced in a condition to which thou art so much a stranger, that there is nothing in thee hath so much agreement therewith, as to comprehend it according to truth ; know this, thou dost therein, just as those that would learn to read, without knowing the letters.

To desire to know all things that we are capable of, is good and laudable : but to go further is folly. There will be always something else to ask, and our knowledge will ever be too short. He that will not adventure till he be fully satisfied, will never begin, much less finish to his own salvation.

But we judge it needful, as much as in us lies, to open unto you that unto which we do exhort you, that people may understand what it properly is.

We say then, that we exhort every one to turn unto the light that is in him. We give it rather the appellation of light, than any thing else, otherwise it is all one to us whether ye call it, Christ, the Spirit, the Word, &c., seeing these all denote but one and the same thing : yet the word Light being in its natural signification somewhat else than that

which we intend thereby, we shall therefore in brief endeavor clearly to express what we intend under this denomination.

The Light, then we say, is a clear and distinct knowledge of truth in the understanding of every man, by which he is so convinced of the being and quality of things, that he cannot possibly doubt thereof.

From this definition which is here given of the light, it is clear, that it must needs comprehend in it the principal effect of showing us, and giving us the knowledge of what is truth and falsehood, what is good and evil : which verily is a matter of so great concernment, that without it men must needs swerve up and down in continual darkness of opinion and in sin, neither knowing truth at all, nor doing any good, but gropingly by hap-hazard, without any certainty.

This light then, Christ the truth, &c., is that which makes manifest and reproves sin in man, sheweth him how he is strayed from God, accuseth him of the evil which he doth, and hath committed ; yea, this is it which judgeth and condemneth him. Again,

This is the preaching to every creature under heaven, though they have never read or heard of the scripture. This is it which leads man in truth, into the way to God, which excuseth him in well-doing, giving him peace in his conscience, yea, brings him to union with God, wherein all happiness and salvation do consist.

Moreover, seeing it is properly the nature of this light infallibly to discover sin and evil, to reprove and convince thereof ; it can never possibly consent thereunto. And although it be true indeed, that the operations of the light are not in all men alike powerful, in whom nevertheless it is ; yea, though in some men it seems to have no operation at all ; yet this is occasioned only by those impediments that do hinder it ; for as the natural light by the interposition of other bodies or covers, may be hindered from having its operation there, where else it would, were those things which impede removed, the light, (itself,) still abiding in itself unchanged ; even so it is also with this light whereof we speak. The hinderances in this are manifold. All that we meet with in this world, seems to proclaim war in this case. What is there that hath not a powerful operation upon one or other of the senses of man, through which, passing over into the soul, the memory is so filled, that nothing else can enter ? The eyes and ears stand so perpetually open to all things, that they never want an object to bring to mind the experience of that which pleased the body so well ; and this stirs up the desire to enjoy it, yet all without satiety : the objects are multifarious, the enjoyment can be but single and transient, and the causes incessant.

Now, where this operateth in us after this manner, by education and example in manners and customs which are regulated by opinion, and not by the true light, that men live altogether therein ; is it any wonder that here, (in these men,) there is so little, or no operation of the light ? Not at all.

We are so involved into the desire of that which is high in the world,



so overwhelmed in pleasures, that it is almost impossible for the light to cause one desire after good to spring or bubble up.

Where then these so contrary operations to the light are, there it can never break through.

According to the nature and kind of every thing, is the operation thereof: where they are opposite, the one must give way unto the other, and that which is most powerful prevails; whence also the effects thereof become most visible. The light, notwithstanding, abides always the same; and therefore although man by sin, through his love and union to corruptible things, comes to perish, be damned, and miss of his everlasting happiness, the light nevertheless, which is in every man that comes into the world, abides for ever unchangeable.

The light is also the first principle of religion. For, seeing there can be no true religion without the knowledge of God, and no knowledge of God without this light, religion must necessarily have this light for its principle.

God being then known by this light, according to the measure of knowledge which the finite and circumscribed creature can have of the infinite and uncircumscribable Creator, man hath obtained a firm foundation, upon which he may build all firm and lasting things: a principle whereby he may, without ever erring, guide the whole course of his life, how he is to carry himself towards God, his neighbor, and himself, and all things else, whereby he may happily attain unto his soul's salvation, which consisteth only in union with God. And thus this light is therefore the first principle of religion.

Without this light, there is no power or ability at all in man to do any good.

This must first raise him and quicken him out of the death of sin. It is folly to expect any thing, where nothing is; there is no effect without a cause; there must be something then which must cause a man to act, if he does any thing.

And this cause must have in it whatsoever the effect produced hath in it: as for example, if the effects of light be produced, light must do it, and nothing else.

And therefore, is it not a silly thing, that all men would have people to do this or that as good, and leave this or that as evil, because they tell them so, without any more ado, or at best assigning only the customary motives thereto, and think they have reason too, just as if this were enough? Who can see such effects as are hereby required, included in this cause? Not I, for my part.

Experience also teacheth us the same; else how could it all pass away in a train and custom, without any fruit; these are therefore not the right means; but such we must endeavor to furnish people with; means whence power may issue forth to do that which they are exhorted to. Such is the nature of man, that he is moved to choose that which he judgeth to be best, before the worst, and is always willing to change for the best.

Now if it so happens, as for the most part it doth, that a man chooseth the worst before the best, it is for want of knowledge, and contrary to his aim, and so he erreth, not being led by the true light.

Here then it should be begun ; it is easy leading a man to that which of himself he is desirous of: if those now who make it their work to teach others, were but led themselves by the true light, knowing better things than those to which the multitude are linked so fast with love, they would be able to hold them forth clearly to others : and so making it their continual work, it were impossible their labor should be fruitless ; for people knowing better, would do better. Who remembers not the play of our youth, how much we were in love therewith, and yet how ridiculous is it now unto us but to think upon it ? And why ? Because we now know that, which we judge better : hence, not by force, but very easily and of itself, it comes in time to be worn out and pass away, that there is now no desire nor motion moving thereunto. How may we think then it would be, if the soul came but once to apprehend those things aright which are durable and incorruptible, and which infinitely transcend all bodily toys in worth ? So far as those things then should come to be esteemed more glorious than all bodily things, so much the more powerful would be the annihilation of those things in which all men, even to old age, yea, death itself, do take so much delight ; and then we might hope and expect that those things, which are, indeed, alone worthy to be known, would gain entrance, and being brought forth in the light, would be also owned and received by every one, according to the measure in which they should stand in the same light.

Hence from within, the amendment and conversion is to be waited for : from within it must begin, if with a foundation ; the outward then will follow of itself : the weakest must give way to the strongest ; all depends but upon the knowledge of something better, to make a true and lasting change. Therefore to hold this forth to men, is the best thing we can give them. This light is the inward ear, by which alone, and by no other, the voice of God, viz. the truth, can be heard.

By this alone must the sense and mind of him that would signify any thing by words, or any outward sign, be comprehended and understood. So that if the truth of God be presented to a man who stands not in the light of truth, it is impossible he should understand it, although he hears and comprehends the words after this manner, yet he is still fenced off from the true sense and meaning thereof.

Hence therefore it is, that, among so many hearers, there are so few that have ears to hear.

He that hears truth aright, that is, understands it well, must not stand out of, but in the truth itself.

Therefore neither is it any wonder that all men do not understand and conceive those things that are brought forth by the light. Those only that stand in it are alone capable thereof.

The case being thus, we see of how great concernment it is contin-

ually to exhort and excite men to turn unto the light that is in them, that so they may go on to such a condition and measure therein, as to be fit to understand aright the word: that is, the truth of God, because out of this there can be nothing understood, and concluded from the words and writings given forth from the light, but mere opinions, and probably errors. This light, Christ, &c. is the truth and word of God, as hath been already said, and every where appears by what we have hitherto laid down: for this is a living word, and translateth man from death to life, is powerful, and enableth a man to bear witness of it every where.

This is also the true rule according unto which all our actions are to be squared.

This hath the pre-eminence before any writing, scripture, doctrine, or any thing else that we meet with from without. We are born into the world, and brought up, as every body knows; from the very first we hear differences, every one pretends that he knows the matter, and hath truth: one holds forth this, another that, to us. If now the light which is in every man that comes into the world, shall not be judge, whither shall we go? To believe all, is impossible; to reject all, no less: who shall be judge here? Who else can be, but the light within us? For whatsoever comes from without, is the thing to be judged of: who then fitter; seeing this is infallible?

Again, is not this, (the light,) that by which we must see and know God, and so consequently that by which we must judge all things divine? Certainly it is: then it follows also, that we can judge of no doctrine, of no book that is divine, but by this light; and judging it thereby to be divine, it cannot but be truly so. As for example, if we experience that the book called the Bible, in regard of the divine doctrine therein comprised, hath such a harmony with that in which God is known, that he must needs have been the author of it; there cannot rationally any more powerful demonstration be demanded.—With them that are thus, the Scripture may become living and powerful, and not a dead letter, as it must needs be to those men who have no feeling of this thing. And hence then it is apparent, seeing this light must be preferred to all things whatsoever that we meet with from without, that then Man must first of all be directed to this: for without it what profit is there, I pray, to be reaped any where by any external sign but by it? Lay the book of the Scripture freely before any man; let him also have all the fitness the universities can give him, to look into it in its proper language in which it may have been first written, what will all be without the light? Nothing. The letters, the words, are not the Scriptures, but the meaning alone is the Scripture, and this meaning can never be truly and justly hit, but by those alone that stand in the same light, out of which the Scriptures proceeded.

These are they then to whom the Scripture is a co-witness, and as a seal of their being sons of God; while by experience they find themselves, every one according to his measure, in the same condition in

which the saints formerly were, who spake and wrote all those things comprehended in the book of the Scripture; these then have the true understanding and meaning of the Scriptures, not those that imagine unto themselves a meaning by opinion and guess, through a thousand imaginations, without the least assurance of not erring; which becomes the very ground of all jangling and contention.

In fine, this light in every man is the means to come to the knowledge of God. And seeing all external signs must needs pre-suppose this knowledge, therefore itself must need be immediate, without any external sign: that signs must pre-suppose such a knowledge, is undeniable; for these signs must either be words or effects, works or miracles.

If words, we see at first an impossibility in the thing itself: for words are created and finite, and God who should make known himself by them, uncreated and infinite: and therefore here is so infinite a difference, that there is no manner of agreement, nor any thing in the words by which they might be capable to do it. But again, if you fly to the meaning of the words, as being fit for such a thing, then that which we say will more manifestly appear; as put a case, for example-sake, that God, about to make known himself by words, should say, 'I am God,' and that this should be the sign by which he would make himself known, we see clearly, that it would be impossible for a man at first to know God by this: for if he should comprehend any thing out of the sense of the words, he must needs formerly have had the signification of the word, God, and what he is to understand by it: in like manner, if God maketh his will known to man, the knowledge of God, which hath its original from the true light, must precede and convince him, that that manifestation can be from none but God alone, whereupon he is then sufficiently assured.

If by effects, or outward miraculous works, it is the same thing; for these are no less created, no less finite: and though we might observe something in the nature of a thing, which might be too difficult for the power of any creature, which we know, to effect; yet this at the utmost would be but a demonstration taken from our impotency, and not from the nature and all the operations of it; and this kind of demonstration could not be certain and stable, till we were able clearly and distinctly to see that there was not a concurrency of many causes to produce such an effect, but that it must needs have been caused by an infinite and unlimited cause, whom we call God. But who knoweth this? Or who can declare it?

Add to this, That the knowledge of God in all things must first be, before the knowledge of any creature or particular thing; so that no particular thing without this can be well known; and consequently is altogether incapable to come to know God by, or certainly to make known himself to man by.

Go to, then; without thyself, O man, thou hast no means to look for, by which thou mayest know God. Thou must abide within thyself, to

the light that is in thee ; thou must turn thee, there thou wilt find it, and no where else.

God is, considered in himself, nearest unto thee, and every man. He that goeth forth of himself to any creature, thereby to know God, departs from God, and so much the further, as he comes more to admire the creature, and stand in contemplation thereof, to mistake himself by it. This thou must then shun, and the contrary mind, viz. Mind the light that is in thee, by it to work, unmovably and faithfully to persevere.

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